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## THE TSAR ALEXANDER III.

“ Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.”

THE Tsar Alexander III. is probably the least known monarch in Europe. Like certain stupendous masses of matter that move afar off in the heavenly void, his influence is gauged by the disturbances felt in our own system, while his character, movements, and affinities are matters of mere conjecture, rather than subjects of positive knowledge. Under these circumstances, every ray of light let in upon his life should be welcomed with gratitude; and, as a sketch of him appeared some time ago in a popular periodical, I owe it, perhaps, to my readers to lay before them, in brief outline, the salient features of the portrait. Stripped of the ornate eloquence of the enthusiastic artist, they are as follows:

“ The Tsar feareth God and loveth his people, and he chastiseth with a rod of iron a multitude of his servants who do likewise. In the days before his kingship he could not say unto Wisdom, ‘ Thou art my sister,’ nor unto Understanding, ‘ Thou art my kinswoman’; but he might have truly said, ‘ Be thou my wife,’ for there was no relationship betwixt them. Since he was anointed king he is become as a shining light to all his people; and his kingdom containeth many millions of men and women who cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and much cattle. His power extendeth to the uttermost ends of the land, and his nod is obeyed with fear and trembling; and he cannot accomplish the good that he hath conceived in his heart, and must needs do the evil that he loatheth as hateful in the sight of God. His bowels yearn upon all his people alike, even as the sun shineth upon the evil and the good, and rain falleth on the just and on the unjust; and he smiteth sorely the children of Judah, for that they were injudicious in the choice of their parents, and were born of the seed which brought forth the Saviour of mankind; and likewise on the Poles and Ruthenians, the Finns and the Baltic Germans, his hand lieth heavy. As the hart panteth after water-brooks, so thirsteth his soul after truth; and he suppressed the books and the writings which are records thereof, and waxeth wroth with them that write such. He longeth to have the needs of his



people laid bare before him, if so be that he may relieve them in his mercy; and he banished Madame Tsebrikova and a host of others who would fain make known to him the wants of their brethren. He searcheth out wise counsellors with diligence and understanding; and he hath made friends of liars and false witnesses who drink iniquity like water, and to them he giveth heed. And death and life are in the power of their tongues, wherefore their evil-doings should not be reckoned among his transgressions, nor the innocent blood which they shed be upon his head. He knoweth in his heart that there is no power but of God, and the enemies of God are an abomination in his sight; and he made a covenant with the seed of Beelzebub in the land of the Gaul, with them which said in their hearts, 'There is no God, neither should there be any king.' He charged all his people, saying, 'Walk ye in the way of the Lord'; and against the Stundists and the Baptists, and all them that do what seemeth good to the Lord is his anger kindled, and he casteth them into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. In like manner he executeth fury upon Lutherans, and bendeth his bow against Buddhists; the temples of Catholics he hath razed to the ground, and Baptist prayer-houses he hath demolished; but theatres and dens of iniquity he openeth on the Sabbath, sharing with the owners thereof the spoils of their iniquity. Verily, the Tsar is a just man; and English Puritans should rejoice with exceeding joy that he hath been anointed with the oil of gladness over his fellows.\*

In reading this sketch, the subject of it might well have exclaimed with Job, "Have pity upon me, O ye, my friends!" For a long number of years I have enjoyed innumerable opportunities of observing the Tsar, and verifying my observations in the light of the personal experience of those near and dear to him, and my impression is that he is neither a knave nor a fool, a criminal nor a hero, but a well-meaning unit of one of the innumerable crowds that do not dress in fustian, one to whom Nature has denied the rich mental equipment of the average Russian, and upon whom education has failed to bestow the compensating accomplishments of a constitutional monarch. To compare him to an intelligent English gentleman, and then to shriek over the most consistent of his actions for which an English gentleman would be sent to a lunatic asylum or a prison, is scarcely logical, and certainly not artistic, for instead of a portrait it gives us a caricature. The Emperor of Russia is not a double personality composed of an unbending Puritan and an easy-going Russian; he is a harmonious whole whose disposition and character have their root in the psychological peculiarities of the race and the individual. He has committed one, and only one, cardinal mistake, more disastrous to his people than any crime. A firm believer in the miraculous, he confidently expected to be regenerated by the Sacrament† of Coronation, as Faust was metamorphosed by the magical draught of Mephistopheles, and fancied that the dull-plodding officer of yesterday would find himself endowed to-day with all the qualities

\* Cf. *Review of Reviews*.

† The imperial coronation was first a ceremony, which Philarete raised to a sacramental rite (*tainoideistvie*), and which the clergy later on transformed into a Sacrament, of which there are now eight in the Orthodox Church.

of mind and heart needed by one whose irresponsible will was to become the sole law of one hundred millions of men. It was as if the tender Polydoros, buckling on his brother Hector's armour, and having quaffed a draught of the water of Xanthus, should have set out single-handed to encounter the mighty Achilles. To accuse him of any specific mistake in the art of governing is as reasonable as it would be to set an honest village blacksmith to repair a lady's chronometer, and then give technical names to the simple process by which he shatters it into fragments; or to attribute the failure of a town tailor to succeed as a farmer in Australia to his fondness for certain erroneous theories of the "science of geaponics."

The Tzar, like the bulk of his countrymen, is a believer in the continuous interference of Providence with the course of human events, in the divine missions of men and women, in modern prophecies, miracles, voices, and visions; and his belief in his own special mission as God's vicegerent is of the nature of Tertullian's faith, which, having fed upon all accessible impossibilities, waxed stronger and craved for more. And this is the real clue to his character, the source of his strength and weakness. In other words, the unity in this bewildering multiplicity, the cement that knits together the fragments of this curious psychological mosaic, is a mistaken religious sense of duty based upon an exaggerated sense of importance.

Alexander Alexandrovitch, not having become heir-apparent to the throne before his twenty-first year, was not brought up to the calling of monarch any more than he was trained to the profession of surgery. The rôle for which Nature, grace, and education had fitted him could be equally well played by any one of a million "supers" on the world's stage, and his consciousness of his shortcomings, before his coronation, was as keen as that of the inebriated Irishman who declared himself sober enough to know that he was not sober. His elder brother's death, which the nation viewed as the finger of cruel fate, he regarded with awe as that of a paternal Providence shaping his destiny; and bowing before the inscrutable decree which thus marked him out as the Pope of a vast empire and the autocrat of a national Church, he wisely left the puzzling question of ways and means to be worked out by Omnipotence, which alone could grapple with the insoluble problem.

In person the Tzar is powerfully built, strong and muscular; in his younger days he was able to bend a bar of iron across his knees, or to burst in a strong door with his shoulder. He possesses one of those heavy unwieldy figures whose awkward movements, resulting largely from morbid self-consciousness and consequent shyness, no callisthenics could subdue to the easy bearing which characterises the ordinary man of the world. His usual manner is cold, constrained, abrupt, and so suggestive of churlishness as often to deprive spon-

taneous favours of the honey of friendship for the sake of which they were accorded. All the forces of his being seem to have retreated from the centres to the fastnesses of flesh and bone, muscle and sinew, producing that lack of emotional warmth and intellectual vigour which marks the mendicant Grey Friar of Nature, whose appearance suggested to Alfieri the picturesque expression, *la pianta umana*.

A story is told of the Emperor before he had yet become heir-apparent which, although vouched for by ex-Ministers and courtiers, I cite merely for the light it throws on the impression which his mental capacities made at that time upon competent judges. Shortly after he had been appointed tutor to the two Grand Dukes, M. Pobedonostseff, now the trusted counsellor of the Tsar, penned a letter to his friend, Admiral Shestakoff, in which he describes the occupations and progress of his imperial pupils. After having descanted in enthusiastic terms on the marvellous talents of the elder brother, the Russian Fénelon struck a minor key in his allusions to the present Tsar, regretting that "our darling dove" (*nash yooloobooshku*) had been so sadly misused by Nature, who sent him into the world with the shabbiest of intellectual outfits. Whether the story be true or false, the personal appreciation that underlies it is acquiesced in by all the preceptors of the Grand Duke, who was considered, as was David Hume by his mother, to be "a fine, good-natured cratur, but uncommon wake-minded"; so that if Heaven's gifts to kings be at all commensurate with their genuine needs, Alexander III. can scarcely be accused of exaggeration for holding that few monarchs have such good cause as he to be grateful for the sacramental rite of coronation. But whatever change was effected on that memorable day must be taken to be as mysterious as the sacramental methods that produced it; for none of his Ministers, beginning with Count Ignatieff and ending with M. Vyschnegradsky, entertains the slightest doubt that even at the present day the mental arc of an ordinary Russian farmer is quite sufficient to measure the curve of the intellectual circle of his ruler.

The Tsar's moral staple consists mainly of negative virtues which leave the imagination cold. There are no white-hot passions, no headstrong vices, no noble enthusiasms which distinguish the born ruler of men. His attitude is usually quiescent; his passivity frequently Buddhistic; and whenever the spirit bloweth upon him as it listeth, it puffeth up quite as often as it moves and inspirits. Truly it is well for many human beings—and the Tsar is one of the multitude—that, in spite of the contrary assertion of the German mystic, character is something very different from destiny.

Those who accuse the Emperor of cruelty wrong the man and misconstrue his acts. It would be as reasonable to prosecute for assault and battery the good-natured American who, having belaboured a supposed

burglar for a quarter of an hour in the dark, was painfully shocked to discover, when the light was brought in, that he had grievously disfigured a friendly neighbour who had courageously stolen into the premises to save him from an imaginary assault. The Russian Tsar has not yet had the search-light turned upon his actions, or perhaps his visual nerve needs purging with euphrasy and rue to render it sensitive to the rays; but his intentions have never been called in question by those who are competent to sit in judgment upon his conduct. He has granted their lives to many men who risked them in dastardly attempts to take his; and, incredible though it may seem, it was owing to his personal interference that Madame Tsebrikova was not deported to the mines of Siberia. There are depths of tenderness in his soul which even most of his Ministers do not suspect, and, if his people are none the better for them, the fault cannot be entirely laid upon his shoulders, but must be added to the mountains of wrong that will never be rightly apportioned till we have solved the problem of the origin of evil.

In the midst of congenial surroundings, and with such mental and moral equipment, the wasting or development of which was left pretty much to chance, Alexander Alexandrovitch was trained to the profession of arms. The story of his youth is that of most Grand Dukes of that day and this, and is contained in a wearisome record of reviews, races, routs, balls, and those freaks of fashionable folly which modern modesty is wont to describe by the euphemism of sowing wild oats. The young Grand Duke never posed as a saint, and possessed little claim to the aureole; but the effects of temperament are sometimes similar to the fruits of virtue, and, dull and phlegmatic as he was, with the "melancholy juices redundant all over," his propensities never assumed the form of passions, and his sins never acquired the peculiar deep shade connoted by the epithet Oriental.

When Professors Solovieff and Pobedonostseff were entrusted with the education of his elder brother, he was allowed to wander at will over the pastures of knowledge, and to take in as much of the intellectual pabulum as he knew how to assimilate. But, being neither quick of apprehension nor avid of learning, he profited little by the best of what his teachers were prepared to give him. They influenced his tastes more profoundly than they illumined his intellect, and ever after he felt and displayed a lively interest in what may be termed the romance of Russian history, and a fatal fondness for questions of theology which has since proved so disastrous to many of his most devoted subjects.

But it was his natural qualities rather than any acquired dispositions that suggested the two nicknames by which he is still popularly known in his own country. Most monarchs are subjected to this old-world custom of second baptism. The *sobriquets* of the Emperor of

Germany, when communicated to him some time ago, were found to be of a nature to tickle his fancy or gratify his self-love. Those which cleave to his Russian brother are characteristic of physical peculiarities, and therefore less flattering. The massive build, the slow *tempo*, the enormous strength, the upward scowl which does duty for a glance, the side gait, awkward bearing, and bovine butting of the head, suggested "bullock" as a term of endearment which his father first conferred upon him in his childhood, and his people altered to "bull" after his accession to the throne. It still alternates with "butcher," of which, however, it is regarded merely as the synonym.

Contemporary history the Grand Duke studied in the most Liberal text-book of the day—the once famous *Golos* newspaper. Its proprietor found in him a willing and powerful protector against the Censor-General, Grigorieff, who, desirous to promote the success of its rival (the *Novoe Vremya*), frequently suspended it for weeks and months on the flimsiest of pretexts. To my own knowledge, arbitrary sentences of this kind were several times reversed or mitigated owing to the personal intercession of the heir-apparent, who professed to relish the plain-speaking of that journal. Indeed, his utterances upon some of the burning questions of the day were of the frank and sweeping kind which would, at the present moment, endanger the liberty of an ordinary citizen; and his political leanings were generally assumed to be Liberal enough to clash with the system of government pursued by his father's advisers, General Timasheff and Count D. Tolstoi. This belief was sufficiently probable, seeing that he drew his facts from the chronicle and his commentaries from the leaders of the *Golos*. The impressions made upon his mind by later events, and the paramount influence of M. Pobedonostseff produced a radical change in all his political notions, and from the attitude of Tsar-Pope which he thereupon adopted he has never yet appreciably swerved.

Alexander III. has never regarded his kingly office as anything but a heavy burden which personal inclination as well as common prudence imperatively urged him to shake off; and he richly deserves all the credit attaching to the mistaken sense of religious duty with which he struggled against the former, and the manly courage which he successfully opposed to the latter. His own modest ambition would have been amply satisfied could he have tasted the quiet joys of family life, bringing up his children in the warm sunshine of his affection, and giving them the best education he knew of. He never coveted a crown, and when he found himself in possession of the heaviest crown in Europe, he placed his head under it with the melancholy resignation of the condemned criminal holding his head under the fatal noose. "It's awfully hard lines that I, of all others, should become Emperor of Russia," was his remark, soon after it had become an accomplished fact. Nor would he have ever consented to

accept the rôle, had not his conscience been drugged by the soothing delusion that he had been specially chosen by God, like Saul and David, and a mission imposed upon him compared to which that of Moses himself shrivels into insignificance. It was then that he manfully resolved to go through life with the cares and burdens of royalty as a private individual with his hump or his goitre. Sceptics may smile at his interested credulity, but unbiassed historians will bear in mind that this consoling belief was, at least outwardly, shared by atheistic Ministers like Count D. Tolstoi, was enlarged upon and propagated by archbishops and metropolitans, and was corroborated by servile theologians who pointed to his miraculous escape from death at Borki, as a proof of his special vocation cabalistically foretold by the Prophets of the Old Testament. Nor would it be easy to conceive anything more tragic than the results of this courage and resignation, as they appear to the eye of the uninterested spectator. It is as if a patriot were to set fire to the fuse communicating with a powder magazine beneath a citadel, in the hope of annihilating the enemy, but by some fatal mischance blows up his own family, his country's soldiers, and the king whom he would have died to save; and to crown all preserves his own life, undeservedly losing honour and reputation in the eyes of his nearest and dearest friends.

The Tsar's daily habits of life are those of a Pope rather than of a secular monarch, his relaxations those of a prisoner rather than of a potentate. When residing at Gatchino he generally rises at seven A.M., whereas few noblemen in the capital leave their beds much before midday; and I am personally acquainted with two who rise with the regularity of clockwork at three o'clock every day. He then takes a quiet stroll in the uninteresting, well-watched palace park, returns to early breakfast, and engages in severe manual labour as a preparation for the official work of the day. The latter consists mainly in the reading and signing of enormous piles of edicts, ukases, laws, and reports, all of which he conscientiously endeavours to understand. Upon the margins of these documents he writes his decision or his impressions with a frankness and *abandon* which laughs prudence and propriety to scorn. Those who maintain that he is kept in complete or even partial ignorance of the cruel measures adopted in his name, or else that his boasted love of his people is but the varnish of hypocrisy, are as much astray in the matter of fact as in their appreciation. Cold-blooded cruelty or savage hatred is not the correct name of the motives that inspired the slaughter of the Amalekites by Saul, or the *autos de fe* of Arbues de Epila; and it should not be forgotten that there is a moral ailment called a false conscience, the effect of which is to poison the action without vitiating its source. "Men never do wrong so thoroughly and so cheerfully," says Pascal, "as when they are obeying the promptings of a false

principle of conscience." To fancy, therefore, as many English optimists do, that the Emperor needs only to be informed of the facts in order to repeal the cruel laws and remodel the system of government which is ruining his people, is as reasonable as to delude oneself with the pleasing notion that an illiterate peasant needs but a pair of spectacles in order to enable him to read his Bible.

The remarks which the Tsar thus jots down on the margin of the documents submitted for his consideration, are probably more characteristic of the man than all his fragmentary conversations with his Ministers and courtiers; although it would be a mistake to attribute to this fact the custom of glazing everything he thus pens and carefully preserving it in the imperial archives for the edification of future generations. He writes down the thoughts suggested by what he reads just 'as they occur, employing the picturesque phraseology in which they embody themselves. And the former are not always very correct nor the latter very refined. "They are a set of hogs" is a phrase that recurs more frequently than most. "What a beast he is!" is another (*chuya skotjau*). The account of a fire, of a failure of the crops, of a famine, or of some other calamity, is almost invariably commented upon in the one stereotyped word, "discouraging" (*neyootshitelno*), and so frequently has this brief commentary been written on the most important reports, that a Minister once remarked that if the fingers of fate were to write on the wall of the Anitshkoff Palace what they are reported to have written on that of Belshazzar, the Russian monarch could not withstand the temptation of scribbling under it the customary gloss: *neyootshitelno*. Two years have not elapsed since he wrote a very disparaging remark on the margin of a document prepared by his own Imperial Council, the results of which threatened to prove more serious than he had reason to anticipate: "The Council thought to trick me, but they sha'n't." The members of that body, which consists of men who have occupied the highest posts in the empire, were highly indignant when they heard of the libel, and threatened to strike work unless the words were expunged. The Grand Duke Michael, who is President of the Council, was requested to lay the matter before his Majesty; but the Tsar's uncle shrank from the crime implied in such disrespectful presumption; whereupon State-Secretary Polovtseff mustered up the needful courage, and explained matters to the Emperor, who asked, "Well, and what do they want done?" "That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to order that the words should not be glazed over nor preserved in the imperial archives, lest they should be endowed with an invidious species of immortality." "What rot!" exclaimed the Tsar (*kakoy vzdor*) smiling; "however, I'll have the words struck out;" and the libellous gloss disappeared.

Lunch is always served at one o'clock, and consists of three courses, including soup, in the preparation of which Russian cookery is far ahead of that of the rest of Europe. After lunch the Emperor takes his recreation in the park, walking or working, conversing with the members of his family or with General Richter, General Tsherevin, or one of his adjutants. He generally reads the newspapers at this time of the day—viz., the *Grashdanin* and the *Moscow Gazette* (the *Novoie Vremya*, which is presented to him each day on special paper, he rarely honours with a glance), and listens to the reading of the summary of the previous day's news, which consists of extracts from the Russian and foreign papers selected by officials and copied out in a calligraphic hand on the finest paper in the empire. Besides these *présis*, one of foreign, the other of home news, he takes a keen delight in hearing the gossip and scandal of the fashionable world of the capital, and not one of his courtiers possesses the profitable talent of seasoning it with such spicy anecdotes and uncharitable but piquant *innuendoes* as General Tsherevin, who is known as the Tsar's jester.

Recreation over, the Emperor gives audience to those Ministers whose reports are due on that day, discusses the matters laid before him, and reads over the edicts drawn up for his signature, signing them or putting them aside for future consideration. At eight P.M. dinner, consisting of four courses, is served *en famille*. After dinner the Tsar takes tea in the private apartments of the Empress, where he invariably appears in a check blouse and leather belt, which would impart a rude shock to the notions of Court etiquette prevalent in most European countries.

The Emperor takes a visible delight in manual labour, which, in his case, is a physical necessity no less than a favourite pastime. He unhesitatingly puts his hand to any kind of work that has to be done, but his usual occupation is to fell huge trees, saw them into planks, plane them, and generally prepare them for the cabinet-maker. In winter the gardeners have strict orders not to clear away the snow from the avenues and walks in the park, which is invariably left for his Majesty, who, attired in a short grey jacket (*tuoshookka*), shovels it up into enormous mounds, and then transfers it to a cart. It occasionally happens, when he cannot complete the task he had set himself within the time at his disposal, that his children lend him their assistance, and cart away the snow to a remote part of the grounds.

Gatchino is a dull, dreary, dingy place for any man to retire to, especially in spring or autumn; and to enhance its natural drawbacks, the Emperor, moved by peculiar notions of his own, has chosen the very worst suite of apartments in the palace to live in: a range of small low rooms on the *entresol*, the ceilings of which he has



no difficulty in touching with his hands. The lack of air in these apartments has more than once proved prejudicial to the health of the Empress during a spell of indisposition; but she would never listen to the advice of the doctors to move away from her consort into more spacious apartments.

All the clouds that lower over the house of the Romanoffs seem to gather and condense over the Winter Palace, of which the Tsar has a superstitious horror. He never passes a night there. Even when residing in the Anitshkoff Palace he seems and feels considerably out of his element, for the even tenour of his life is broken by balls, official receptions, visits to various institutions, and other uncongenial occupations. He never dines when staying in town, unless the necessity of entertaining foreign princes or diplomatists imposes a duty which is also a discomfort. At half-past one he lunches, four courses being served instead of three, and at seven partakes of cold refreshments, after which he generally visits the theatre, which constitutes the only compensation afforded him by city life for the inconveniences it compels him to endure. He rarely misses a chance of visiting one of the imperial theatres, where he appreciates good acting, and manifests his appreciation after the traditional manner of plebeians; and although he frequently encourages the Russian, and occasionally the French, drama by his presence, neither of the two affords him such genuine pleasure as the opera. After the theatre he never partakes of the tea and refreshments which are always served to the other members of the family, but retires to rest as soon as possible.

Tasks of manual labour are much more difficult to find in the city than in the country, and he sometimes has recourse to curious make-shifts in order to satisfy his desire. Three years ago, for instance, he undertook to contribute his share in preparing the apartments of the Anitshkoff Palace for winter residence. Previous to that time the work of hanging the pictures used to be entrusted to a specialist in town, whose charge was seven roubles a picture (about 14s.). That year, however, he hung them all to his own satisfaction and that of the other members of the imperial family, refusing all assistance except that of a workman of the palace, named Sokoloff. As soon as the task was accomplished, the Tsar remarked with a smile: "This is the first money I have earned in my life." Had he learned the truth, he would have been astonished to discover how small was the equivalent of his labour in money; for the wages of Sokoloff and the cost of the materials, instruments, &c., had well-nigh absorbed all that he fancied he had saved.

But in spite of all his occupations, physical and mental, he has ample time to brood over his imperial loneliness, and sigh for the quiet pleasures of private life which he is destined never to know again. Surrounded by a host of unscrupulous flatterers, and a limited circle

of intimate associates, he possesses no genuine friends; and costly experience has taught him that the most solemn statements of his most trusted advisers require to be largely discounted on the score of interest, unconscious bias, or at least that difference of standpoint between him and them which results from training and education; and he is naturally irritated to think that he possesses no standard by which to measure the deviation. Nor is this all: isolated from the rest of mankind, like a modern Deioces, he is effectually hindered by the non-conductors which are to be found at all points of possible contact with his subjects from enjoying the kingly luxury of doing good by design. Even his brothers, cousins, and other relations are never at their ease in his presence, and are far more afraid of correcting an error or giving utterance to an unpalatable statement of fact than the meanest of his subjects. The atmosphere of human sympathy is thus exhausted by a moral air-pump from the State apartments, which are in consequence "filled with worse than vacancy," and, "pinnaced dim in the intense inane," the Tsar feels faint and languishes for the love which becomes his only in the narrow circle of his family. Many an afternoon he presses his sorrowful face against the window-pane of his apartment in the Anitschkoff Palace, and looks out wistfully at the broad stream of humanity as it ebbs and flows along the Nevsky Prospekt, and envies the unenviable lot of the humblest of his subjects. When his Ministers and courtiers come to pay him their respects before setting out for their estates in summer, fancy's pictures of pastoral pleasures and rural quiet come to him with the lure of glorious freedom, and he has more than once remarked to the departing official: "Ah, how I, too, long to bury myself in the country, and live on an estate! I envy you your happiness"; while other sayings of his are almost identical with Jeremiah's exclamation: "Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place of wayfaring men!" Truly, it is a bitter pastime to peer wistfully at happiness through the eyes of other men.

Whatever the Tsar's faults, even the strictest censor will admit that, from a man who holds thus tenaciously on to a post of suffering and danger in the silent manliness of grief, in the belief that he is performing a duty to his people and his God, it is impossible to withhold the tribute of respect reserved for the noble and the brave.

The Tsar's intellectual occupations are not nearly so fatiguing as his physical labours, and his reading is less varied and extensive than that of many of the ladies who frequent his court. Besides the two newspapers already named, and two historical reviews,\* he confines his reading to Russian, French, and English novels. Among the novelists of his own country he prefers Count Tolstoi, little though

\* The *Russkaja Starina* (*Russian Antiquity*), and *Russky Arkhiv* (*The Russian Archives*).

he relishes him as a preacher. Music has a soothing effect upon him, as it had upon Saul, but, like Kant, he displays a particular fondness for loud music. He himself plays the trombone with as much success as any specialist in his military band, and occasionally organises quartettes at the palace, in which he takes an active part with his favourite instrument. His love for the fine arts is moderately developed, and is excelled by the correct taste which he has uniformly displayed in all the purchases of pictures he has ever effected at home or abroad.

For science the Tsar has no appreciative organ. Russian history, where it merges into romance—the Russian history painted by Repin and dramatised by Count A. Tolstoi—possesses powerful attractions for a monarch the dream of whose life it is to resuscitate the spirit, if not the outward form, of the forgotten past. Such episodes of his country's history he reads with rapt interest, living the life of his forefathers over again in imagination. He encourages private theatricals in which historical Russian dramas are represented at the palace, and in the houses of Count Sheremetieff and Prince Volkhonsky. He is the president of a select historical society, which holds some half-dozen sittings in the palace every year, where he solemnly rings a bell, commands silence for a paper, and encourages original research on the part of invertebrate courtiers like M. Bytschkoff, whose self-assurance would induce them to set up for astronomers to-morrow were that science raised to the level of an imperial pastime. In his capacity as an historian he allows himself the rare luxury of protecting people and writings that he would have unhesitatingly condemned as a monarch. It was thus that, in the teeth of his censors and his Ministers, he insisted on permitting the first volume of Bilbassoff's "History of Catherine II." to be published, instead of having it chopped to pieces on Holiday's Island; but the laudable feeling which impelled Shem and Japheth to cover their father's nakedness got the better of his love of historical truth when the remarkable revelations of the second volume appeared, and he unhesitatingly handed it over to the hangman. Other considerations, which had little to do with science or history, prompted him to remove the ban of censure from the Krentzer Sonata of Tolstoi, and to regret the indulgence shortly after he had granted it.

Physical and psychological causes sufficiently explain the Emperor's aversion from dancing, balls, and other "social functions" which he occasionally manifests in ways that are highly distasteful to his pleasure-loving courtiers. His loathing for everything suggestive of the pomp and pageantry of imperial courts, and for what might be termed the æsthetics of every-day life, would qualify him—were talent not also an essential qualification—to vie with Julian in composing a modern Misopogon. He eagerly avails himself of every plausible

pretext to curtail the number of court balls, which at the best of times is strictly limited to the indispensable, while to such magnificent entertainments as he does give every guest must bring his own amusement, much as Irish scholars of former generations were wont to bring each his sod of turf to heat the tumbledown schoolhouse. The Emperor's observance of early hours has found but little favour among his subjects, and while at court balls supper begins at about half-past twelve A.M., and the apartments are deserted before two, this meal is seldom served before three or half-past three at the entertainments given by M. Polovtseff, Prince Volkhonsky, or Countess Kleinmichel.

These quiet tastes have influenced his action in matters of infinitely greater importance than court entertainments; thus he displays a very languid interest in military manœuvres and reviews, and he abolished the famous institution of the May reviews where Guardsmen and Cossacks bravely vied with each other, and witched the world with noble horsemanship; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that the officers of the Guards are extremely discontented with a Commander-in-Chief who no longer takes a delight in the circumstance of glorious war.

In this connection the Tsar has been frequently accused of cowardice—an indictment to which, it must be admitted, many undeniable facts lend a strong colouring of probability. Thus it has been alleged in support of the charge that he seldom drives about the city alone, and when not escorted by a body of Cossacks is invariably accompanied by her Majesty the Empress. His profound seclusion at Gatchino, where for a considerable period he hid himself even from the bulk of his own officers, likewise created a most unfavourable impression which is by no means yet removed. Again, the sight of the armies that guard the railway lines along which he happens to be travelling; the elaborate system of espionage and the immoral practice of employing *agents provocateurs* who sometimes organise the crime which they discover, have contributed to impart consistency to a charge which his creditable career as an officer should have amply sufficed to refute. An *izvostshik* who was driving me one day through St. Petersburg a couple of years ago, was stopped at the entrances to four different streets and ordered back by the mounted police, because his Majesty was expected to pass that way. "Is this thoroughfare closed to us, too?" I asked, as the policeman made signs to us for the fourth time to retreat. "Yes, your honour, it is," replied the driver; "the little father is a little timid."

Marvellous personal courage is not the most striking characteristic of the dynasty of the Romanoffs as it was of the English Tudors. But between this and positive cowardice the gradations are endless. The Emperor Nicholas, who was absolutely ignorant of fear, could

face a band of insurgents with the calm self-possession of a shepherd surveying his bleating sheep. Alexander III. may well be a contrast to his grandfather without deserving the epithet craven-hearted. His nerves have been undoubtedly shaken by the terrible events in which he has been a spectator or an actor; and one's nerves do not implicitly obey one's will. Any man who saw, as he did, his own father mutilated and bleeding to death; who himself, more than once, narrowly escaped a similar fate; whose train and carriage were blown to shreds; whose wife stood trembling in the desolate steppe among fragments and corpses; and whose bright little daughter threw her hands round his neck and exclaimed amid sobs: "O papa, now they'll come and murder us all"—a man who has had such experiences as these may surely be acquitted of cowardice, even if his nerves be no longer of iron. The Emperor's aversion to ride on horseback, and his dread of a horse even when the animal is harnessed to a carriage, are phenomena which need not the hypothesis of cowardice to render them intelligible.

Of moral courage, the Tsar possesses enough for a hero or a martyr. With unreasoning faith in his religious mission he has neither fear nor misgivings for the consequences of his policy, and the absolute certainty of torture or death contingent upon some step which he believed called for by his religion or his country would no more affect his action than the buzzing of a fly. As confirmed a fatalist as the least instructed of his subjects, he would reply to a disembodied voice from the skies warning him of his approaching doom what Homer tells us Achilles answered to his immortal horses. Whatever his views about fatalism in the abstract, he entertains not the slightest doubt that in the literal sense of the word the hairs of his head have been numbered.

Respect for his word, whether that word assumes the form of a promise, a threat, or opinion, is one of the main virtues and faults of the Russian Emperor, whose dogged stubbornness often heightens, and sometimes wholly alters, the ethical colour of his actions. Sudden emotion, bias, suggestion, lead him to form an opinion without anything like sufficient grounds, which logic and eloquence cannot move him to give up; and that laudable inconsistency which a more complete knowledge of facts or a more mature judgment enjoins as a duty, he abhors as a moral weakness bordering upon crime.

Bluntness comes natural to such a man, and Alexander III. has a very awkward habit of giving reins and spur to his free speech, saying things which he honestly believes to be bitter but wholesome truths, the bitterness of which too frequently results from the poison-drops of calumny distilled by malicious courtiers. There is no trace of that fine irony in his talk which lent a charm to the conversation of his father, and in a still higher degree to that of his grandfather.

He cannot understand, and refuses to encourage, a genuine joke, while the witticisms of his jester, General Tsherevin, would often shock the limited sense of propriety of the Fiji islander.

He is very quick to show his displeasure, and, being unable to prick the offender with a needle, has no hesitation to use a sledge hammer or a hobnailed boot. M. Semevsky, the editor of his favourite historical Review, was granted an audience some two or three years ago to allow him to thank the Emperor for an order bestowed upon him for reasons which had nothing whatever to do with his scientific services or political peccadilloes—the former consisting in his researches in the domain of Russian history, and the latter in the tinge of Liberalism which he imparted to his periodical. Yielding to pardonable vanity, Semevsky alluded to his Review as a search-light revealing the ideals and strivings of the past; whereupon the Emperor replied with that brusqueness and harshness which require no conscious effort on his part: “Unfortunately, not only of the past but of the present too, and I would have you to know that I mean to put an end to this;” having said which he abruptly turned upon his heel. Turning upon his heel is another of those unlovely habits which have become second nature to him. Every person whose character or conduct he wishes to censure is made to feel whatever degree of chagrin this rude act is calculated to provoke. Even the character of ambassador is no protection against this undignified treatment, and two years and a half ago, when the Italian ambassador, Baron Marocchetti, made three several attempts to present his new Secretary of the Embassy to the Emperor at a Court ball, he witnessed three different gyrations of his Majesty, and deserved the success he obtained by braving a fourth.

The Emperor has been severely blamed for treating cleverness as if it were a crime, and for shunning those persons supposed to be endowed with it, as if they had been guilty of double-dealing. The cause of this, however, is not far to seek, and it is not merely a cause, but something very like a justification. No man has greater need of honest counsellors than the monarch who furthers or blights the well-being of millions of his people according as he has been told the truth or a falsehood; and few men have ever been lied to with greater effrontery or more disastrous effects than the present Emperor of Russia. Once a firm believer in the *Golos* newspaper, he afterwards allowed himself to be persuaded that all its facts, figures, and appreciations were utterly false, and that neither ebullient patriotism nor subjective veraciousness could be pleaded for those who propagated them; and it was without the faintest trace of compunction that he consented to the decree that gave its death-blow to that remarkable newspaper. Having put his trust in a Minister who was also a soldier, he had the chagrin to discover to his cost later on that

to that apparently frank soldier truth was stranger than fiction. He made a companion of another General, with whom during the late war he was wont to play interminable games of chess in the intervals of the battles, and scarcely had he placed the crown upon his head than he was called upon to sign the sentence banishing that same General to Siberia, for having, at the very time that he used to play chess with his future Sovereign, taken an active part in an infamous conspiracy to starve the wretched soldiers and put the money intended for their rations into his pocket. Eighteen months ago the Emperor quashed an administrative decree unfavourable to a literary man whose name is a household word in Europe, in consequence of representations made and solemn promises given personally to himself by a near relative of the gentleman; and six months later he discovered, under circumstances which exclude the possibility of error, that the statements were deliberate falsehoods and the promises made to be broken. Another time he ordered a nobleman's property to be administered by strangers, on the ground that the owner was mentally incapable of taking care of it, and had actually squandered a great part of it in mad freaks; and three weeks afterwards he convinced himself that his autocratic power had been made the catpaw for greedy relatives eager to enrich themselves at the expense of a wealthy, intelligent and honourable but inexperienced youth. He has seen a trusted Minister, whose solid reputation rested on his persevering efforts to spread Orthodoxy and root out Catholicism, convicted of robbing widows and orphans of the millions destined to alleviate their lot, and then commit suicide in order to escape from justice. He has had to sign the death-warrant of officers who, having solemnly sworn to spill their blood, if needs were, in defending him, risked their lives in a treacherous attempt to assassinate him. Nay, terrible as these experiences are, he has had still worse than any of them, if indeed it be true that a man's worst enemies are not mere strangers; and if he had begun his reign with the opinion of virtue with which Brutus ended his life, one could scarcely accuse him of exaggerated pessimism. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if in the presence of dangers against which the sting of the serpent is as powerless as the foot of the elephant, he imitates the tortoise, and retires within his shell of distrust and suspicion. He has absolute confidence in no man, and for the objects of his trust must look to God and the narrow circle of his own family. "Cleverness! ability!" he one day exclaimed scornfully to M. Vyschnegradsky, when that gentleman proposed X. for an important post in the Ministry and depreciated E. as an honest mediocrity, "we have too much cleverness and ability as it is. A little more honesty will stand us in good stead. I mean to appoint E." And he did appoint him, to the detriment of the administration.

The Tsar's responsibility for the acts of cruelty which disgrace his

reign is the crux of all those special pleaders who would fain set him up on a high pedestal by the side of Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius ; for it seems as hopeless, with any such end in view, to deny the facts as to justify them. His government is persecuting Christianity with a ruthless cruelty and unrelenting perseverance worthy of the worst of Roman emperors. He has pulled down or closed up Roman Catholic churches, Jewish synagogues, and Baptist meeting-houses. He has banished Catholic priests, Lutheran pastors, Stundist preachers. He has issued edicts which make it penal to practise Christianity or to worship God in spirit and in truth, the clauses of which, if fairly carried out, would banish to Siberia the Apostles themselves—nay, a Greater than the Apostles—were they to return to this earth and preach in the dominions of the Tsar. He has hounded down the Jews in a savage manner, to find a parallel to which we must hark back to Germany in the days of the Black Death. And to say that all this has been done unknown to him, by evil counsellors abusing his name, is an insult to the understanding of the most superficial reader. The Tsar is perfectly well aware of the treatment meted out to his Jewish and non-Jewish subjects. I have read letters—the original letters—which were written to him on the subject by men whom he professes to respect. I am personally acquainted with the Gentleman-of-the-Bedchamber who delivered these letters into his hands, and saw him peruse them, and I also read the reply *received through the police*. The fact is that the Tsar's *role* in their persecution is so far from being passive, that he is sometimes more zealous than his Ministers. A year ago an official was appointed to a responsible post in the Ministry of Justice, and was obliged, in consequence, to appear before his Majesty to thank him for the honour ; but his prominent nose and Semitic type of features provoked such brutal brusqueness on the part of the Emperor that the unfortunate *tshinovnik* trembled lest he had committed some heinous crime unawares. Shortly afterwards the Tsar, addressing his Minister, remarked : “ That man X. is a scurvy Jew.” “ May it please your Majesty, he is an Orthodox Christian.” “ By race he is a Jew, and that comes to the same thing, and I strongly object to appointing Jews to such posts,” insisted the Tsar sharply, and in a tone that convinced M. Manassein that he had made a grave mistake by appointing the official. That man's career is now definitely closed. He will never rise a step higher while he lives. The Emperor feels quite as strongly on the subject of Stundists. Representations have been made to him over and over again by persons whose intentions it was impossible for him to suspect ; but he is as deaf to their warnings as to their entreaties. The Queen of Denmark made repeated attempts to influence “ Uncle Sasha ” ; but she might have spent her time as profitably in reasoning with the Egyptian Sphinx. On one occasion, after her Majesty and her



Consort had exhausted their eloquence and their stock of facts, the Tsar replied dryly: "I, a born Russian, find it a most difficult task to govern my people from Gatchino, which, as you know, is in Russia; and now do you really fancy that you, who are foreigners, can rule them more successfully from Copenhagen?"

But if the Tsar willingly permits, and deliberately approves, the inhuman acts complained of, can he be anything but a monster in human shape? He can be, and in fact is, something else: he is a well-meaning man, whose ethical level is a little higher than that of the bulk of his countrymen, who is in possession of a false conscience, and under the influence of religious mania.

To understand a poet, Goethe tells us, one should visit his country; to judge of a man's conduct, one should put oneself in his place. In order to know and comprehend the Emperor of Russia we must do both, for his leaning and policy are the offspring of the union of the national psychology with the personal character as woven or warped by training and experience. The ethics of the Russian people bear the same relation to those of the Anglo-Saxon race that the city of Kharkoff bears to the city of Birmingham. The unveraciousness born of fear; the misery engendered by idleness and oppression; the endurance produced by chronic hardship; the listlessness that springs from fatalism, and the grotesque mixture of naturalism and supernaturalism which usurps the place of religion, assume shapes and bring forth results which have no parallels in other lands. The matter-of-fact modern smiles at the child-like credulity of his mediæval forefathers who discerned the finger of the Deity in the upshot of every petty squabble and parochial incident of the day, oftener than Homer beheld the gods and goddesses of Olympus mingling in the battles of Trojan and Greek. And in this respect modern Russians are to the contemporaries of Petrarch and Poggio what these are to the contemporaries of Professors Huxley and Haeckel. The Russian is a born idealist, and something more. As every genius is supposed to harbour the germs of insanity, which need but favourable conditions to blossom forth and bear fruit, so every Russian may be said to bear within him the leaven of religious mania. Their political history and their national literature swarm with interesting examples; and unmistakable traces of this characteristic are discoverable in the history and literature of the other Slavonian peoples. The national poet, Puschkin, had he lived would have become a mystic; Dostoieffsky, the Realist, rose or fell to the level of a street preacher. Count Leo Tolstoi, Nicholas Leskoff, Gogol, Vladimir Solovieff and Khomiakoff, like the Polish poets, Miczkiewicz and Krasinski, are all theologians and mystics as well as eminent men of letters. It runs in the blood, so to say, and breaks out from time to time in the strangest eruptions. Hundreds of Christs and Virgins are being continually born into the world in Russia, and find

thousands of worshippers and disciples. Simple rustics are caught up into the third heaven every week, and hear unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Mystic sects are being continually formed and dissolved like cloud pictures throughout the length and breadth of the land ; and no more striking instance could be given of the power and extent of that mystic element over the Russian mind than the recent remarkable transformation of the most rationalistic of Russian sects (Stundism) which has rapidly drifted from cold rationalism into the vortex of ecstasy, exaltation, and madness which distinguished the Dancers of Tarento.

Now, to this psychological characteristic of the race, which craves for the supernatural in every-day life, as the morphomaniac longs for his enervating drug, we should add, when seeking for the explanation of the Emperor's conduct and motives, the indelible impressions made upon the individual by the memorable events in which he was an actor or a spectator. The lightning which killed his comrade in the streets of the little German town changed the worldly minded Luther into a pious monk ; and the blood-curdling scenes by the Catherine Canal, which culminated in the tragic death of his father, produced a somewhat similar effect upon the mystically inclined Grand Duke Alexander Alexandrovitch. His frame of mind when he ascended the throne can scarcely be conceived. He was as bewildered and helpless as a man suddenly aroused from a profound slumber by a murderous onslaught of robbers. His advisers could afford him no help. They hopelessly contradicted each other and themselves. The one asked for a constitution ; another advocated the *status quo* ; his own brother pleaded for a speedy return to the iron rule of his grandfather Nicholas. The air was saturated with treason ; the very palace was believed to harbour an imperial protector of assassins. The Emperor found himself face to face with an awful invisible power of darkness, with no one to stand between him and it, or to stretch out a helping hand. To crown all, he had no motive power within himself, no stimulus to action, no goal, and no ideal. Not one of his advisers rose to the level of the occasion ; not one had faith in himself, much less in his methods. It was under these conditions that his old teacher, M. Pobedonostseff, who had been freely inveighing against the Ministers as a band of "idiots and fools," on being called to the imperial presence, came prepared with a complete system of policy, a soothing religion, an inspiring faith, and a glorious ideal. He played to perfection the part of a Samuel to the Russian monarch. He proclaimed that everything had taken place in accordance with the inscrutable will of God, who had chosen the Tsar as his anointed servant to lead his favourite people out of the wilderness of sin and misery. The halcyon days of Nicholas's reign were to be brought back under infinitely more favourable conditions ; religion was to be reinstated in her place, and the

Lord was to be ruler in the land. In a word, God was God, and the Tsar was His prophet.

Those who can realise the almost irresistible attractions which the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church offer to the suffering soul that has been drifting for years on the tempest-tossed ocean of sin and doubt, can gauge the effect produced upon the Emperor's mind by the fascinating perspective that was here opened out before him. Having eagerly accepted this speculative doctrine, he conscientiously drew the practical consequences, and his government assumed the form of a theocracy as nearly as was compatible with the firmly established conditions of life in Russia. Now, it is of the very essence of a theocracy to direct the consciences as well as to regulate the overt acts of its subjects, religion insensibly merging into politics and politics into religion, so that the doctrine that a subject's soul is his own, is not only rank treason but damnable heresy. The possession of absolute truth is alleged by historians to render people intolerant, and what the uninitiated would term cruel; but until the possessors thereof have confirmed the statement, philosophers will reasonably decline to discuss it. There can be no doubt, however, that the Tsar believes himself in possession of that absolute truth, and is, in consequence, both intolerant and cruel. He encouraged and rewarded a numerous community of Old Believers lately to abandon their church and do violence to their convictions *by way of offering him a birthday present*. He has compelled thousands of Catholics to embrace the State religion on the ground that their fathers or grandfathers once were members of that church, and could never have acquired a right to abandon it. He gave emphatic utterance to the wish, modified by a doubt as to its realisation, that the Jews, against whom he harbours a very strong personal prejudice, should be induced or compelled to emigrate from Russia till not one of the hated race remained behind. He is pursuing the Baptists and the Stundists with a degree of refined cruelty compared to which Louis XIV.'s treatment of the Huguenots was humane. And firmly convinced that all these acts are the embodiment of the will of the Almighty, his astonishment is extreme at the indignation they arouse in the very people who approve the severity of Saul and laud the obedience of Abraham.

These symptoms may be characteristic of religious mania or political folly; but those English apologists of the Tsar who warmly approve autocracy in a country where it is alleged to be inseparable from theocracy, are surely bound to accept the natural consequences, and are put out of court when they appear there to object or complain. What Moses and Joshua accomplished for the children of Israel, the Tsar is striving to effect for the people of Russia; and if

he be fully persuaded—and of the sincerity of his conviction there cannot be the shadow of a doubt—that he is but an instrument in the hands of God himself, then logic compels us either to approve the policy of the ruler, or to condemn the entire system of government in these respects. Alexander III. is not one whit less obedient to the voice of his conscience than was Archbishop Laud or Oliver Cromwell.

Having taken his religious rôle thus seriously, the Tsar has always consistently endeavoured, as far as possible, to hold the reins of power in his own hands, and to confine the activity of his Ministers to formulating his wishes in technical language, and to setting in motion the usual machinery for executing his commands. Although this, if feasible, would entail many serious inconveniences, it would confer an inestimable boon upon the bulk of his people, seeing that in Russia the abuse of delegated authority reaches beyond the Hercules' Pillars of the endurable. The sun itself never burns so terribly as the arid sand it heats, and the blind fury of a John the Terrible is more endurable and less pernicious to the people at large than the continual exactions and interested zeal of a million greedy officials. But the plan is absolutely impracticable, and some of the obstacles that hinder its accomplishment sorely try his temper. Thus, shortly after he had ascended the throne he summoned his Finance Minister, Bunge, and desired him to draw up a decree ordering the paper rouble to be treated in future as the exact equivalent of the gold rouble. M. Bunge replied that that was impossible. "Not if I expressly command it, and am prepared to abide by all the consequences," urged the Emperor. To this M. Bunge offered a respectful reply, followed by an explanation which bristled with technical terms that angered the monarch as O'Connell's hypotenuses and isosceles triangles roused the ire of the Dublin fishwoman. At last he could endure it no longer, and summarily dismissing his Minister, exclaimed, "Send me a man who can talk Russian." Whereupon M. Ostroffsky, the brother of the playwright, was deputed to give his Majesty a lesson in elementary finance. On another occasion, when a measure which he suggested was objected to by his Minister on the ground that it would depreciate the value of the rouble, he scornfully replied: "I am not a stockbroker; I care nothing for such mercantile considerations." In a thousand other cases this desire to exercise the power he possesses manifests itself in acts some of which appear overbearing or childish. In 1888 he made a trip from Batoum in a steamer commanded by Captain Radloff, whom he interrogated as to the rate of speed and the probable number of hours needed to complete the trip. "Now I want to reach my destination," said the Tsar authoritatively, "in so and so many hours. Do you translate that into steam and steering." "If the steamer were as obedient as I am,

your Majesty," returned the captain, "there would be no difficulty ; but the fact is the boilers——" Here the Emperor turned angrily on his heel and left the captain to finish the sentence to the waves.

The result of this direct interference of the Emperor in the conduct of affairs was especially visible during the early years of his reign, when contradictory measures followed each other in rapid succession, like the raindrops in a tropical downpour, bewildering and demoralising the people. In the Foreign Office, as the least technical department of the administration, his personal influence has been most direct, personal, and beneficial. The will of this one man, opposed by his courtiers, his officers, and his favourite journalists, is the only barrier that stands between Europe and a sanguinary war. But to him this war is a ghastly reality, all the horrors of which rise up before him at mere sound of the name ; and he feels a much stronger aversion to contribute, directly or indirectly, to provoke it than even to incur the danger involved in mounting a spirited young charger.

Too much should not, however, be hoped from his prejudice or his moderation. No barriers would hold out for a moment against the tide of conscientious conviction or the revealed commands of religion ; and the will of an individual so amenable to suggestion, and whose armed millions stand like greyhounds in the slips, straining upon the start, is not a rock to build castles on. No more striking instance of the ease with which he subordinates his will to that of Heaven could be desired than the suddenness with which, although favourably disposed to the Baltic provinces, and positively charmed with the Finns, he preferred the higher interests of patriotism and " religion " to the promptings of his heart and the dictates of common justice, and set about Russifying and converting these populations. Another equally instructive instance is afforded by the gradual drifting of his foreign policy into a direction diametrically opposed to his own most cherished wishes. While devoid of active sympathy for the German people, and keenly appreciative of all that is attractive in the character of the French, Alexander III. would infinitely rather see Russia a member of a Triple or a Quadruple Alliance composed of monarchs pledged to crush the hydra of democracy, infidelity, and socialism, than to afford the slightest support, military or moral, to a Government which has banished religion from the State, and smoothed the way for anarchy. This loathing for socialism, democracy, and anarchy is the true explanation of his friendship for Prince Bismarck, to which the German statesman now attributes a very different origin. Even in the present conjuncture of affairs, no one who knows the Emperor would credit him with the serious intention of entering into a formal alliance with France, detailed reports of which periodically fill the columns of the daily press. Circumstances may induce him, much against his will, to co-operate with the

Republic in the coming war, and everything points unmistakably in that direction at present; but he is firmly resolved not to enter into a political *mariage de convenance* which he abhors, and to avail himself, in order to remove the necessity for contracting such an alliance, of the first opportunity that offers.

The bane of the Emperor's character is his irresistible propepsity to judge by categories, which unfortunately does not bring with it a capacity for rising up to the level of noble universal ideas. These categories usurp the place of the concrete ideas of experience and warp his judgment of men and things. They remind one of the white circles chalked upon the floor which keep the foolish hen for a time imprisoned as effectually as an iron cage. A man to him is not so much Count X. or Mr. P. as a Liberal, a Nihilist, a "scurvy Jew," an honest man, a patriot, a zealous member of the Orthodox Church. To the Tsar most words are polarised, and that individual must be an utter stranger to his Majesty's character, or else a hopeless imbecile, who could not contrive to prejudice his mind against the Apostles themselves were they to be found preaching in his dominions or to inspire him with a spark of sympathy for Auld Nickie Ben.

But underneath all the idiosyncrasies of the individual lie the characteristics of the race which stamp the Emperor as a man of his time and country. And the knowledge of this fact should have moderated the zeal of his English apologists and deterred them from setting him up as a paragon of morality whom even Nonconformists could consistently honour. His ethics require to be gauged by a very different standard. His most intimate companion is General Tsherevin, a sour-visaged, red-faced officer, who represents his master at Church ceremonies, funerals, and other "functions," and against whose example the very cornet of the Line inveighs without even lowering his voice. Now it is impossible to pass over onions without smelling of them, says the Arabic proverb, and General Tsherevin's influence upon the Tsar cannot truthfully be termed beneficial. Less insuperable difficulties in the way of the Emperor's enthusiastic apologists are his vindictiveness and unforgiving temper which were manifested on many memorable occasions, but seldom more strikingly than in a needless aggravation of the condign punishment which he meted out to his intimate friend and comrade, Prince Baratinsky. And it should not be forgotten that the sandal-tree when rubbed or cut does not emit the odour of the skunk, nor is a vengeful disposition the outcome of any moral virtue.

In truth, his morality is emotional; and when his feelings have been worked upon by any strong impressions or impulses—fondness for his children, for instance—they are capable of swamping his ethics and leaving him stranded upon the quicksands of—moral laxity.

One may fancy to oneself with a smile, the Emperor modestly refusing the proffered and uncoveted title of Puritan, with the remark that to have deserved it one should at least have been a strict observer of the Ten Commandments, and his English apologists insisting with a respectful bow : " But your Majesty has demonstrated the contrary."

Whatever his faults and virtues, Alexander III. has made, and still continues to make, deep impressions in the sands of Russian history, and mountains of the displaced particles have covered up venerable monuments, buried honest pilgrims, and worked incalculable harm to the nation at large. In all this he is well-meaning and conscientious ; but, like the apothecary who should dispense strychnine for sulphonal, his conscientiousness will not avail to save his victims. And the Tsar's victims number over one hundred million human souls and bodies. The judgment of the historian who weighs motives as well as acts will be indulgent to the man ; but what must be the feelings of his people who, having analysed the principles and examined the conduct of the monarch, descry nothing in either calculated

" to dart  
A beam of hope athwart the future years " ?

E. B. LANIN.

## THE FINANCIAL ASPECT OF HOME RULE.

**A**MONGST the clauses of the coming Home Rule Bill, which will be most closely and jealously scanned in Ireland, will certainly be those dealing with the financial relations which, in the event of the Bill becoming law, are to subsist thenceforth between that country and the rest of the United Kingdom. It is of absolutely vital importance to Ireland that the financial part of the new arrangements should be equitable and, therefore, satisfactory. A financial breakdown might possibly involve a breakdown of the whole Home Rule settlement. Besides, Ireland has before it, in the revival of its ruined industries and commerce, and in the material improvements of which the country stands in need, and which only a national authority can ever execute, an unusually difficult task which might tax the pecuniary resources of a nation possessing many times the wealth of the Irish. It must somehow or other, and some time or another, accomplish this task, or be for ever discredited in its own estimation, as well as in that of other nations. To be able to accomplish it, the elementary conditions clearly are that it shall have capable financiers, that it shall practise economy at home, and especially that it shall not have to bear, in respect of its obligations to the Empire, an unjust and oppressive burden. To show what that burden ought to be is the object of the following pages.

The necessity, from the Irish point of view, of discussing this subject is clear from the fact that the financial proposals of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 were such as, if they had been carried out, would undoubtedly have worked financial ruin to Ireland in a very brief space of time. The matter was not then discussed in or out of the House of Commons, because it was overshadowed by the principle on which the whole measure was based. But if the Bill had reached the



Committee stage, no doubt can be entertained that the financial clauses would, every one of them, have been contested by the Irish representatives as unjust in themselves, and calculated sooner or later to bring about the national bankruptcy of Ireland, and thus to imperil the very existence of the new Irish Constitution.

The proposals referred to may be briefly summarised. Mr. Gladstone fixed the proportion of Ireland's contribution to the Imperial expenditure at one-fifteenth, and, working on this proportion as a basis, he arrived at the following Irish budget :

RECEIPTS.	
1. <i>Imperial Taxes :</i>	
(1) Customs . . . . .	£1,880,000
(2) Excise . . . . .	4,300,000
	<hr/> £6,180,000
2. <i>Local Taxes ;</i>	
(1) Stamps . . . . .	£600,000
(2) Income Tax at 6 <i>d.</i> in the £ . . . . .	550,000
	<hr/> £1,150,000
3. <i>Non-Tax Revenue :</i>	
Post Office, Telegraph, &c. . . . .	1,020,000
Total Receipts . . . . .	<hr/> £8,350,000

EXPENDITURE.	
1. <i>Contribution to Imperial Exchequer on basis of 1/15th of Imperial Exchequer, viz. :</i>	
(1) Debt Charge . . . . .	£1,446,000
(2) Army and Navy . . . . .	1,666,000
(3) Civil Charges . . . . .	110,000
	<hr/> £3,242,000
2. Sinking Fund on 1/15th of Capital of Debt . . . . .	360,000
3. Charge for Constabulary . . . . .	1,000,000
4. Local Civil Charges other than Constabulary . . . . .	2,510,000
5. <i>Collection of Revenue :</i>	
(1) Imperial Taxes . . . . .	£170,000
(1) Local Taxes . . . . .	60,000
(3) Non-Tax Revenue . . . . .	604,000
	<hr/> £834,000
6. <i>Balance or Surplus . . . . .</i>	404,000
	<hr/> £8,350,000

The first remark which this balance-sheet suggests is that the surplus left in the hands of the first Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer was dangerously small, and that, unless some reduction could have been made in the charge for the police, and in respect of the other local civil charges, it would have been impossible for the Irish Government to sanction any considerable expenditure on any of the numerous objects which would have appealed to it for State aid. Whether any such reduction could have been immediately made is very doubtful. It is certain that, if any could have been made, it would have been infinitesimal. The result would have been wide-spread popular disappointment and discontent ; and, of course, if the actual receipts did not at least equal the estimates, or if they fell below them, that disappointment and that discontent would have been indefinitely in-

tensified. Finally, such a balance to its credit as £404,000, in the beginning of its career, would never have enabled an Irish Government to borrow, which, of course, it might, and probably would, be necessary for it to do, as in the case of all other Governments. On the very face of it, therefore, Mr. Gladstone's Irish Budget of 1886 would have been a most perilous one for Ireland to accept, even, if there were no other objection to it.

But this is the least of the objections to the financial proposals in the Home Rule Bill of 1886. The chief objection is that the proposed contribution of Ireland to the Imperial expenditure was entirely too large. Granting for a moment—what the present writer, at least for his part, does not admit—that Ireland is, at present, properly liable to pay a proportionately equal share of certain charges which are described as Imperial, let us see whether the proportion of one-fifteenth is fair. Mr. Gladstone took three tests of relative capacity to pay—the income tax, the property on which the death duties were assessed, and the valuation of property in Great Britain and Ireland respectively. Even according to two of those tests Mr. Gladstone over-estimated Ireland's capacity. The income-tax, as even he himself admitted, would give a proportion, not of one-fifteenth, but of one-twentieth, or, at the very highest, of one-eighteenth. The valuation of property gave a proportion of one-thirteenth, but, contrary to what Mr. Gladstone alleged, the valuation of Ireland is higher than that of England or Scotland. In Ireland the valuation of land was made more than thirty years ago, and it cannot be changed, though the value of Irish land has notoriously fallen. It is otherwise in England and Scotland, where the assessment of land diminished by nearly twelve millions between 1880 and 1890 alone, and where, of course, it had been diminishing also for many years before 1880. Under-assessment, in fact, is the rule in England, especially as regards country mansions and building sites, while in Ireland amongst the buildings valued are many houses and offices which have absolutely no letting value at all, and some of which, if it be not considered a "bull" to say so, actually no longer exist. The valuation of landed property in Ireland, if made on the same principle as in Great Britain, would probably be found to be, not one-thirteenth, but one-twenty-sixth, that of the rest of the United Kingdom. The proportion of one-fourteenth for the property subject to the death duties is nearer to the mark, but even on that point Mr. Gladstone's figures cannot stand in face of the most recent returns. According to his own three tests, we repeat, Mr. Gladstone grievously over-estimated Ireland's relative capacity to bear taxation.

But many other tests exist, and let us now see what they teach. Before we come to the most recent figures, it will be interesting and useful to recall certain official evidence given in this matter as to the

state of things thirty years ago. In 1864, General Dunne, member for the Queen's County, presided over a committee of investigation into the financial relations of England and Ireland, and, amongst the evidence which he obtained in that capacity, was a statement by Mr. Chisholm, Chief Clerk of the Exchequer, of the comparative wealth of Ireland and Great Britain as shown by no fewer than twelve tests, which include two of those selected by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Chisholm stated that, on an average of three years ending in 1863, the exports and imports of Great Britain were to those of Ireland as 52 to 1; the tonnage of foreign trade as 28 to 1; the total tonnage to and from all parts as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 1; the total coasting trade to and from all parts of the same country as 68 to 1; assessments to income tax as 13 to 1; deposits in banks as 19 to 1; total deposits in banks for 10 years  $14\frac{1}{2}$  to 1; interest on Government stocks 19 to 1; payments in respect of probate and legacy duty as 16 to 1. The mean of those twelve proportions is 25 to 1; and *a priori* one should say that it is not at all likely that the proportion for Ireland is more favourable now, or was more favourable in 1886. As a matter of fact, when we come to the latest figures available, we find that the proportion has grown more unfavourable for Ireland in the interval since 1863. Taking nine of the most important and fairest tests to hand, we find that the income tax assessments for Great Britain, even on the unfair basis already referred to, according to the Inland Revenue Report dated March 1891, are to those of Ireland as about 20 to 1; the income tax receipts as 25 to 1; the assessments to the death duties as 17 to 1; the amounts in Government and India stock, according to the Statistical Abstract for 1890, as 26 to 1; the amounts in the stocks of all registered companies as 44 to 1; the amounts for which money and postal orders were issued in 1891 as 20 to 1; the gross railway receipts for 1891 as 24 to 1; the deposits in Post Office and Trustees' Savings Banks as 18 to 1; the tonnage entered and cleared in 1891 at the three ports of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow to that entered and cleared in the same year at the three ports of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork as 125 to 1. Roughly speaking, the mean of those proportions is 35 to 1. As to the last test selected, lest any doubt may arise as to the representative character of the ports selected, the reader need only add up the figures given in the Statistical Abstract for the thirty-seven principal ports of the United Kingdom, and he will find that the result will not be substantially different. That this result, broadly speaking, does not err in the direction of undue depreciation of the relative wealth of Ireland is conclusively shown by the fact that so high an authority as Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for March 1891, estimated the whole taxable income of Ireland at £15,000,000, or one-fifty-third that of Great Britain, which is put down at £800,000,000. To avoid,

however, any possible imputation of exaggeration, let us say that the wealth of Great Britain is to that of Ireland as 30 to 1, and we thus come at once to see that Mr. Gladstone in 1886 over-estimated the relative wealth of Ireland, and, therefore, its relative taxable capacity, by at least 100 per cent.

The inevitable inference from all this is plain. Instead of fixing the contribution of Ireland to the expenditure of the Empire at £3,242,000, Mr. Gladstone ought to have fixed it at about half that sum.

But even the sum that would thus be left as properly chargeable to Ireland on the score of her obligations to the Empire is liable to deduction on other grounds not yet mentioned. The item of £110,000 for civil charges includes payments in respect of the maintenance of royal palaces, all of which are in England or Scotland, public parks in London, and such purely English institutions as the British Museum, the London National Gallery, and the South Kensington Museum, from which Ireland at present derives very little advantage, and from which probably she would derive no advantage at all under Home Rule. It would be a monstrous injustice to ask Ireland to pay anything at all towards this class of expenditure.

The next charge upon Ireland in Mr. Gladstone's Irish Budget of 1886 is a local one of £360,000 in respect of a Sinking Fund. The principle of a Sinking Fund is, no doubt, a sound one, and it is just that Ireland should provide for the gradual extinction by means of a Sinking Fund of its own proper share of the National Debt. But what is its proper share? Mr. Gladstone assumed it to be one-fifteenth, but on what principle he arrived at that proportion it is difficult to see. It looks as if he thought that, because in his opinion Ireland's wealth was one-fifteenth that of Great Britain, we ought to assume responsibility for a corresponding portion of the debt of the two countries. But manifestly such an arrangement might be grossly unfair. Ireland's wealth might be only one-fifteenth that of Great Britain, and yet her credit might have been pledged during the last ninety-two years, out of all proportion to her wealth, despite her wishes and against her interests. That this is what has actually happened will be shown later; but, meanwhile, it may be affirmed, as on the very face of it a fair proposal, that Ireland's contributions, both to the interest on the National Debt and to the creation of a Sinking Fund, ought to be determined either by its relative taxable capacity, or by the results of a strict inquiry into the financial accounts of the two countries since the Union. Whether determined by the one method or the other, they would, it is submitted, be, at the highest, one-half the amount estimated by Mr. Gladstone.

The next two local charges are £1,000,000 for the Constabulary

and £2,510,000. for "local civil charges other than Constabulary." First, as to the item for the Constabulary. Under the Home Rule scheme of 1886 that force was to be retained for an indefinite time under the control of the Imperial authority, and consequently any excess in the cost of the Irish Constabulary over £1,000,000 was to have been borne by the Imperial Exchequer. The Irish police were rightly regarded as, in part at least, an Imperial force, and the Empire accordingly was to assist in maintaining it. But why the proportion of the cost to be borne by the Empire should be merely the excess over £1,000,000 passes comprehension on any theory of justice or logic. Obviously, the only fair proposal to have made was that Ireland should be charged with only so much of the cost as would have sufficed to maintain a force of police equal to its needs in a normal state of things in a self-governed country, and that the Empire should be charged with the balance that would be required to make the police sufficiently numerous for Imperial requirements. Mr. Gladstone himself seemed, in his speech on the introduction of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, to point to £600,000 as about the sum for which an efficient local police might be organised for Ireland; and it is now submitted that, if the intolerable proposal should once more be made to keep the police within the control of the Imperial Ministry, every penny in respect of the charge for the Constabulary beyond £600,000 should come out of the Imperial Treasury. Of course, if, on the other hand, the Constabulary are to be handed over to the proposed Irish Parliament, no exception need be taken to the charge for that force, for the Irish Parliament will be able to reduce it, and will no doubt reduce it, to the proper dimensions.

Then, as to the other civil charges, it is to be observed that, under the head of Irish Services, are some at least which ought properly to be classed as British or Imperial. The viceroyalty, for example, is, like the monarchy, an Imperial institution, and ought, therefore, like the monarchy, to be maintained out of Imperial funds. Again, some Irish services are maintained on a scale much greater and more costly than Ireland could afford if it were managing its own affairs.. What the exact amount of the deduction on this head ought to be has been suggested by Mr. Gladstone himself. "The House would like to know," said he, in his speech on the introduction of his Home Rule Bill on April 8, 1886, "what an amount has been going on, and at this moment is going on, of what, I must call, not only a waste of public money, but a demoralising waste of public money—demoralising in its influence on both countries. The civil charges, *per capita*, at this moment, are, in Great Britain, 8s. 2d.; and, in Ireland, 16s. They have increased in Ireland in the last fifteen years by 63 per cent.; and," he suggestively added, "my belief is that, if the present legislative and

administrative systems be maintained, you must make up your minds to a continued, never-ending, and never-to-be-limited augmentation." Here is a pretty plain admission that the civil charges referred to are about double what they ought to be, and that the excess is due to Imperial misgovernment. Now, if those charges are to be maintained, for a time at least—as they must be, if injustice to individual members of the Civil Service in Ireland is to be avoided—and if, moreover, the proposal of 1886 for ante-dating the pensions of some members of the Civil Service in certain contingencies be repeated in the next Home Rule Bill, it is clear that the entire cost of the latter transaction, and the cost of the former beyond what it would be at the rate of 8s. 2d. *per capita*, ought to be defrayed by England or the Empire. In other words, Ireland ought not to be compelled—especially when it is about to start on a career of self-government—to pay for the effects of the misrule which will have been condemned as an unendurable evil. The items in Mr. Gladstone's Irish budget of 1886, therefore, for the constabulary and for other local civil charges, ought to be, respectively, £600,000 and £1,255,000, or, taken together, £1,855,000—that is, £2,655,000 less than the sum estimated by Mr. Gladstone.

The foregoing deductions from Mr. Gladstone's estimates at the debit side of the Irish budget and the suggested transfers of charges from the local to the Imperial account being made, the result will be what Ireland ought to pay on the theory that it is bound to make a contribution to the Imperial expenditure proportionate to its relative taxable capacity; and it is manifest that that sum will be a very much smaller sum indeed than that fixed by the Bill of 1886. But now the question arises whether Ireland, at present, *ought* to pay towards the expenditure of the Empire a sum proportionate to its relative taxable capacity. It is submitted that it ought not to be called upon to do so for the present, and for at least fifty years to come.

On this point the present writer is at variance with many persons whose opinions, no doubt, are entitled to greater weight than his own. Amongst other maxims quoted by those authorities is the following from Adam Smith:

"The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. The expense of government to the individuals of a great nation is like the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective interests in the State. *In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation* (Book V. chap ii.)."

The present writer does not intend to controvert this fundamental

principle of taxation ; and, in accordance with it, he admits that Ireland, under ordinary circumstances, ought to pay a sum proportionate to its relative taxable capacity towards all genuine Imperial expenditure ; and it is further clear that, in accordance with that maxim, the payment of Ireland in aid of the Imperial expenditure would be, as has been shown, at most, half that proposed by Mr. Gladstone in 1886. But the maxim does not apply to the case under consideration. The doctrine of Adam Smith is applicable to a country governed by a legitimate power ; it is wholly inapplicable to a country governed by an usurped power ; and the present government of Ireland is a mere usurpation and nothing else. Moreover, even if the applicability of this maxim to Ireland be admitted, its logical results may be qualified by the existence of special circumstances. Such special circumstances may be pleaded in favour of Ireland. They are that Ireland was guaranteed certain financial terms by the Act of Union, that those terms have been systematically violated to the serious detriment of Ireland, and that, consequently, Ireland is entitled to restitution in some shape or another if she is now to enter into another financial arrangement with Great Britain.

What was the financial settlement prescribed by the Act of Union ? The seventh article or section of that enactment provided (1) that Ireland was to be protected from any liability on account of the British National Debt contracted prior to the Union ; (2) that the separate debt of each country being first provided for by a separate charge on each, Ireland was then to contribute two-seventeenths towards the joint or common expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years, at the end of which period the Irish contribution was to be made proportionate to its relative ability as ascertained by certain tests, including a comparison of the exports and imports of the respective countries and of their incomes estimated by the produce of a general tax (such as the Income Tax) ; and (3) that the taxation of Ireland should not be raised to the standard of Great Britain till (a) the two debts should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland, and (b) that the circumstances of the two countries should admit of uniform taxation. The seventh article of the Act of Union contained also a clause which provided that, if any surplus Irish revenue remained after the proportional contribution to the Imperial expenditure and the separate national charges had been defrayed, taxes were to be taken off Ireland to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus was to be applied to Irish purposes exclusively. In other words, Ireland was guaranteed *inter alia* a lower rate of taxation than Great Britain on the score of its lighter indebtedness. Now, the question is whether these stipulations were all of them just, and whether they have been observed. The answer is that one of them—the most important

one,—was grossly unfair, and that they have all of them been systematically violated, against the interest of Ireland, from the time of the Union down to the present hour.

In fixing the contribution of Ireland to the Imperial expenditure at two-seventeenths of the whole, an overcharge similar to that proposed by the Home Rule Bill of 1886 was made, and was arrived at on a similarly fallacious assumption—namely, that the relative wealth of Ireland was greater than it was in fact. Ireland's wealth, as compared with the wealth of Great Britain, was estimated by Lord Castlereagh and the other authors of the Union to be as 1 to 7½; the opponents of the Union—including the anti-Union Irish Lords who drew up and signed a remarkable protest on the subject—contended that the true proportion was 1 to 13. Experience demonstrated this latter estimate to be the true one, or, at least, that the former was ruinously high. No sooner had the Union taken place than it was found that Ireland was absolutely unable to contribute its quota to the common expenses of the United Kingdom. When this fact had been made plain beyond all doubt, the course that, obviously, ought to have been adopted was to reduce the quota. Instead, however, of taking this course, the British authorities (who were now complete masters of Ireland) resorted to the plan of borrowing on Ireland's separate account every year the amount of the annual deficit; although, by the way, it had been expressly provided by the Act of Union that all loans raised after 1800 should be on *joint* account, and that the interest should be borne in the proportion already mentioned. The result was truly startling. At the time of the Union the debt of Ireland was £28,500,000; in four years it had risen to £53,000,000; and in 1817 it had mounted up to the astounding total of £112,500,000. In the fifteen years *before* the Union Ireland paid about £41,000,000 in taxes, or about £3,000,000 a year; in the fifteen years *after* the Union it paid (chiefly by borrowing) about £150,000,000, or about £10,000,000 a year. The following table shows the amount of the two debts as they stood on January 5, 1801, and January 5, 1817:

Year.		British Debt.			Irish Debt.
1801	. .	£150,504,984	. .		£28,545,134
1817	. .	731,522,104	. .		112,504,773

From these figures it will be observed, first, that not only had the Irish debt increased to a monstrous amount in 1817, but that it had between the Union and that date been quadrupled, while the British had been less than doubled in the same time; and, secondly, that while the comparative taxable capacity of Ireland had been fixed at 1 to 7½, the borrowings after the Union were in the much higher ratio of 1 to 3½. In a report prepared for the Dublin Corporation in 1863 by Alderman John B. Dillon (father of the present Mr. John



Dillon, M.P.) the matter is put more concisely as well as in a more striking way. "The entire liabilities of Ireland," says this document, "during the sixteen years after the Union may be stated in round numbers at £106,000,000. The Irish revenue during the sixteen years amounted to £94,238,828, leaving a deficit of something under £12,000,000, and to make up this deficit there was added to the Irish debt £80,538,939." Can any one pretend that it is now fair, or that it was ever fair, to saddle Ireland with responsibility for this post-Union addition to her debt, brought about in such ways and by such devices?

But this is not all. It will be remembered that the seventh article of the Union provided that whenever the Irish debt, which at the time of the Union was one-sixteenth part of the British, should have been swelled so as to bear to the British the ratio of 1 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , the fixed quotas of contribution might be abolished, the two exchequers might be consolidated, and the two countries might be taxed indiscriminately—in other words, that Ireland might be taxed on the high British level. This profligate arrangement, as the veteran Irish financier, Mr. O'Neill Daunt, justly describes it, was put in force in 1817, the requisite contingency having then happened. All which means that the debt of Ireland having been increased to the extent mentioned by the flagrantly dishonest device of over-estimating her relative taxable capacity, for that very reason two of the fundamental stipulations of the Union arrangement—viz., that Ireland should never be subject to the pre-Union debt of Great Britain, and that she should be taxed on a strict measure of her relative ability—were audaciously violated. And the violation of them was, at the time and long afterwards, actually represented as an act of benevolence to Ireland! It seems never to have struck English Statesmen that justice, not to talk of benevolence, was properly to be shown by reducing Ireland's contribution to the Imperial expenditure, and relieving her of at least a portion of the addition to her debt that had been caused by what was at last admitted to be an over-estimate of her relative taxable capacity. Mr. O'Neill Daunt, in a report which he drew up for the Home Government Association in 1872, puts the case forcibly, but, it is submitted, in terms not too strong for the occasion. "Suppose," he says, "a money transaction between two merchants, A. and B. On making up their accounts B. discovers that A. has overcharged him £1000. A. admits the error, and transfers the £1000 to his own debit. But he then says to B.: 'Well, my dear fellow, as I have generously taken the onus of that thousand on myself, you must really allow me to fleece you some other way.'" The practical consequence to Ireland of the benevolent arrangement of 1817 was that she was "fleeced" in a new way. She was now subject to a system of taxa-

tion which was "indiscriminate" and "uniform" throughout the United Kingdom, and the results are stated as follows in a report drawn up by the late Sir Stafford Northcote for General Dunne's Committee in 1864, to which reference has already been made :

"Since 1845, the share which Great Britain has had in the remission of Imperial taxation has been proportionally much larger than that which Ireland has had, and the additions made to the Imperial taxation of Ireland have been proportionally heavier than those made to the taxation of Great Britain ; while, at the same time, it can hardly be doubted that Great Britain has derived a larger measure of advantage than Ireland from the repeal of the Corn Laws, as a compensation for which the boon was originally given by Sir Robert Peel. It is not surprising that the large increase which your Committee have noticed in the general taxation since 1845 should have given rise to complaint. Nor is it surprising that louder complaints should have been made by Ireland than by other parts of the United Kingdom. The pressure of taxation will be felt most by the weakest part of the community ; and, as the average wealth of the Irish taxpayer is less than the average wealth of the English taxpayer, the ability of Ireland to bear heavy taxation is evidently less than the ability of England. Mr. Senior, whose evidence upon the position of Ireland will be found very suggestive, remarks that the taxation of England is both the heaviest and the lightest in Europe--the heaviest as regards the amount raised, the lightest as regards the ability to bear that amount—but that in the case of Ireland it is heavy, both as regards the amount and as regards the ability of the contributor ; *and he adds that England is the most lightly taxed and Ireland the most heavily taxed country in Europe, although both are nominally liable to equal taxation.*"

How all this came about is easily explained. Take, for example, Mr. Gladstone's increase of the spirit duties. That increase was, no doubt, a uniform one throughout the United Kingdom, to every part of which it applied ; but it chiefly affected Ireland because spirits were chiefly manufactured in Ireland, and because spirits were the popular alcoholic beverage of the Irish, as beer might be said to be the popular alcoholic beverage of the English ; and, accordingly, the broad result of the increase of the spirit duties, combined with that of the extension of the income tax to Ireland, was that in ten years from 1852 the taxation of Ireland was increased by fifty-two per cent., while that of Great Britain was increased by only seventeen per cent., though, at the same time, while the population of Ireland was steadily decreasing, the population of Great Britain was increasing, not only steadily, but by leaps and bounds. All those processes have gone on without interruption to the present, when we find, by Parliamentary Paper 329 of the Session of 1891, that, of the total revenue of the United Kingdom, Ireland contributes nearly one-twelfth part, although her relative wealth is, as we have seen, only one-thirtieth that of Great Britain, and though that wealth was, by the Act of Union, to be the basis on which her taxation for Imperial purposes was to be regulated. In other words, Ireland since at least 1852 has paid something between three and four millions sterling a year more

than was fair from any point of view. But, again, to avoid the imputation of exaggeration, let us put down the excess of taxation wrung out of Ireland in this way since 1817 at £2,000,000 a year on an average, and it will be seen that Ireland, at the very least, has been robbed under the law in the last seventy-five years of no less than £150,000,000.\* Is there to be no account taken of this fact now, when we are entering into a fresh international settlement?

Now, adding this sum of £150,000,000 of extra taxation, to the £80,000,000 odd fraudulently added to the Irish debt between 1800 and 1817, we get a sum of £230,000,000, on the very lowest calculation, wrung out of Ireland unjustly during the last ninety-two years. Is it an improper suggestion that some restitution should now be made by Great Britain in respect of this piece of robbery? or, that restitution should take the shape of allowing Ireland to retain for the next fifty years the sum of £2,000,000 a year which, according to the Parliamentary Return already referred to, seems, in the British Treasury view of the matter, to be the annual excess of Irish income over Imperial expenditure on Irish services? or, that Ireland should not pay for the next fifty years her annual contribution to the Imperial expenditure, which has been ascertained properly to amount to about £1,600,000? Let me add, that no account, as will be seen, has been taken of the additional injustice done to Ireland by the systematic violation of the promise made at the time of the Union that her surplus revenue, if there should be any such, would be spent on Irish purposes, or restored to Ireland in the shape of remission of taxes; but it is evident that on this score, too, some restitution is due to Ireland, though it may not be asked.

Finally, it is submitted that, in strict justice, it is the Irish Parliament of the future, and not the Imperial Parliament, even though it contained an Irish representation, that ought to be entrusted with the task of determining the contribution of Ireland to the expenditure of the Empire. The right to determine its quota to the war expenses of the Empire was possessed by the Irish Parliament before the Union, and it was always exercised by that body with great liberality to Great Britain. The Irish Parliament that is to be might act with similar liberality if Ireland were now treated by Great Britain in a spirit of trust and confidence.

J. J. CLANCY.

\* It may be mentioned that Sir Joseph McKenna, who has investigated this whole subject thoroughly, and has written upon it instructively and well, has arrived at the conclusion that Ireland has been overtaxed for many years to the extent of more than three millions annually, and has arrived at this conclusion without taking into account the Union arrangements at all.

## JOURNALISM AS A PROFESSION.

CAN a young man be taught to become a journalist? This is a question to which an elaborated theoretic reply would be out of place; yet it has been so often put to me that I wish to state in reference to it my own notion, illustrating my ideas by certain facts drawn from my own already long experience as a journalist. It is only by bringing to bear upon this question one's own observations, one's own experience, and even one's own disappointments and deceptions, that any real light can be obtained in seeking to determine the influences which should be utilised in the direction of a young man's faculties in the journalistic career. This is why I cannot justly be accused of presumption if I bring myself often to the fore, and why I shall be pardoned if, in the incidents which I shall relate, I try to say of myself the least possible ill.

This question as to whether journalism can ever become a normal career, like other recognised careers, has always haunted and even I may say besieged me. And indeed it would be strange if this were not the case. For the knowledge requisite to make a pair of boots, or a hat, or a pair of gloves may be taught according to established principles and fixed rules; the art of a gardener, whose activity is expended in conforming his knowledge to the mysterious laws of a flower's development, both under the soil and afterwards in its beautiful outward manifestation in the air, can be learned; by dissection of the dead human body may be discovered the laws of medicine, and the best methods of curing the living; a lawyer may learn in the schools the instruments and conditions of his profes-

sion, namely, civil laws and the methods of court procedure ; the art of the orator has its teachable maxims and principles ; the art of war its rules and precepts ; indeed, throughout the entire list of human professions, there is for each a special series of laws and conditions by knowledge of which he who enters as an apprentice may go out, by slow degrees of advancement, a master. But in journalism, alone among professions, this is not the case. In this career, there is no body of doctrine, no series of fixed rules, apparently no possible method of instruction.

Nowhere has there been an attempt to establish such laws, nowhere as yet has there been a school for journalist apprentices, where they might learn precise rules for their profession, or obtain a recognised basis of preliminary and indispensable knowledge ; and yet journalism governs the world, and this state within the State thrives continually more and more ; striking, punishing, recompensing, immortalising, or plunging into oblivion, all that exists, all which, because of its intrinsic interest, pushes to the light in the immense assemblage of human institutions which make up the social order. This is a remarkable and absorbing fact, and one which, I repeat, has always possessed me, often with a sense of pain.

For there is certainly a strange anomaly here, an effect tremendously out of proportion to its causes, a real danger for the future. I had wished once indeed, too optimistically perhaps, to seek to put order and system into this collection of ideas, to try the experiment as to whether it is not possible to map out a scheme of journalistic instruction ; for, in our present moment, when journalism is becoming daily a more and more influential power, the problem is really pressing, and, even because of its very difficulty, fascinating to the mind.

Moreover, as I say, this state of things is daily becoming more impressive. From moment to moment the ranks of journalism are being augmented by the arrival of those who, having knocked vainly at other doors, think to enter there as into a career in which Chance is the only master. Often those who have elsewhere seemed to fail come to journalism and succeed in it, as much to their own surprise as to that of others. By this I do not mean that these men were dried fruit, useless and incapable, who enter journalism only because they could do nothing else ; nothing of the sort. I mean that for the most part they are men who have a feeling that they are superior to every normal or established disciplinary system, whom, in fact, discipline chafes, to whom the hierarchic or bureaucratic idea is an intolerable bugbear, who cannot make up their minds to follow another's lead along a path to be traced slowly step by step. They leave the slower and more regular professions to enter journalism,

much as formerly mercenaries engaged themselves to this and that foreign army, quite willing to fight at random on the morrow against an enemy whose very existence, the night before, was unknown to them. Once become journalists, they change their newspaper, as formerly they changed their profession or career. They jump from grave to gay, from the political journal to the journal of satire; they become at will reporters, chroniclers, art critics, literary reviewers, not seeking in any way to study the course of events, the drift of the time, but, on the other hand, fitting all contemporary ideas and events to the measure of their own personal temperament, so that an event or problem, thus treated according to the fancy of a journalist, appears tragical or comic, without any sort of regard for its real character. Instead of describing it as it is, establishing the principle which it illustrates, they scatter abroad confusion and produce in the public mind a condition of uncertain kaleidoscopic eclecticism which is the negation of all really authoritative opinion, and the destroyer of all conviction. By the reciprocal action and reaction of journalist and reader, confusion of ideas becomes more and more marked, and so soon as this chance journalist creates a sort of special public, he becomes convinced of his own authority, elaborates into a doctrine the fancies at first only lightly thrown upon the paper, takes himself absolutely *au sérieux*, becomes at one and the same time his own temple, god and prophet, and thus adds a capricious and false note to the general discord of chance human opinions.

This is the evil which goes on increasing day by day. Yet what qualities are implied in the very extent of this power. To obtain this place in journalism an entire series of capacities are required, all to be summed up, but not defined, in the single word, talent. Yes, I recognise that the fools, the absolutely ignorant, men without imagination, without intelligence, without the gift of assimilation—without, let me add, audacity and gaiety—cannot obtain this place, cannot succeed in journalism. Take French journalism for instance. Where else in the world of journalism is “talent” so abundant, so universal? Wit, gaiety, imagination, gleam from every line, and in the variety of subjects treated the reader of a French newspaper catches as in miniature the whole life that circulates about him; he seems to be jauntily passing through an endless and charming panorama of the sights and sounds of a town constructed with all the special illusions of the stage. But do not examine too closely. This palace which you admire at a distance floats on a frame of fragile boards to which it is nailed, the colour scales off at the slightest touch, a breath of air overturns the rocks which simulate the pyramids and the venerable walls of the ancient cathedrals. Yes, perhaps nowhere so much as in France is journalism in need of being

better taught, nowhere is there so shifting and uncertain an experimental foundation.

How rarely, after having gone through a French paper, you rise from your reading with a new idea, or the sense of a new experience! And if, by chance, you find there such a fresh idea or experience, be careful how you accept it, for the author's fancy is his chief care, and under this dainty covering of ingenious reasoning lurks a snare for your credulity, an allurements banishing the weariness of thinking. I am analysing at the moment, be it understood, only the special capacity of the journalist.

His conscience and sincerity I have neither the wish nor the right to analyse, but let me affirm, immediately, that I believe in the absolute incorruptibility of any journalist whatever. A man capable of being corrupted has neither the temperament nor the pride of a journalist, for the special mark of the journalistic temperament is a horror of dependence—the sure result of having sold one's pen to another. The men whose pens are bought outside of the paper itself may be speculators, schemers, gamblers, who give their prose to the columns of a journal, but they are not journalists, and I need not, therefore, deal with them here. What I am trying to make clear are, the necessary conditions determining journalism, the element of chance taking the place of individual propensity, the desire for an immediate result which drives men not established into a profession the doors of which, always wide open, could at any time easily be entered except for the crowd that hangs about them. I wish to draw attention to the danger for civilised society involved in the existence of so powerful an instrument for the dissemination of destruction if it chance to be used by the first comer and wielded by an untrained hand in a random direction. And I refer naturally to French journalism as that which I see closest at hand, although I am obliged to keep a constant eye on the entire modern press.

The lack of knowledge and authority in French journalism is most strikingly seen in the matter of its treatment of foreign affairs. And this lack has already had the most unfortunate consequences. Men of a scarcely conceivable lightness of character and irresponsibility, altogether lacking in knowledge, caring only for their own ephemeral and personal success, have succeeded, by the merest accident and with a stupefying self-assurance, in becoming the mentors of the French public on international questions; and they find no contradictors, simply because their own inadequacy, if not surpassed, is equalled by all who have adopted the same speciality as they—that is, the instruction of the French public on international questions. They propagate thus with impunity the most dangerous errors, establish doctrines which are a real danger from the point of view of the

public interest, and, too ignorant to lead others, and too lacking in authority to aid in bringing about international *rapprochements*, sow discord and hatred and the seeds of inevitable future conflict. This is why France at the present moment suspects and hates all the Continental nations, Russia excepted, and even about the latter no one dares to tell the truth, because it would violate popular prejudice. But there is thus being prepared one of the most cruel and dangerous disillusionments ever yet experienced.

One consequence of this state of things is being cruelly felt even now. The crushing armaments now ruining Europe, the chronic outbreak of hostility between nation and nation, the immense difficulty in obtaining peaceful solutions because of the bitterness of reciprocal recrimination—all this is the primary result of just this ignorance and irresponsibility of which I speak, and a general conflict will be the ultimate result, if the Providence which watches over the safety of the world and intervenes when the hour has come, does not bring forth one of those events which, by their illuminating clearness, scatter the shadows where lurk the errors spread abroad by ignorance and malice. Of course, the European press, where journalism is marked by pride and passion which lead to irresponsible utterance, becomes the accomplice of this international bitterness, and, being without sufficient power to resist the stream, complicates and aggravates daily the accumulating dangers which hang as an incubus over the whole world.

Is there a remedy for this state of things? Can a body of journalists be created whose professional education, established training, and certified aptitudes will reassure the public conscience? Or must the remedy for this danger which I note, and which constitutes a growing menace for the whole of society, be sought in another direction? I wish to seek an answer to these questions.

Can such a body of journalists be created? I do not hesitate to reply, contrary to the general opinion, that not only can it be done, but that it must be, and that indeed this is a work of the utmost urgency. And first I define a journalist as any man who lives exclusively by regularly writing in a regularly appearing journal; one who is a part—not necessarily a fixture, but a normal part—of a regularly organised sheet, and who treats, in one or more such sheets, living questions whatever their nature. A man who writes exclusively in reviews is not a journalist, or he has ceased to be one, and the special education of which I dream as necessary to make a journalist does not apply to him. I must note also that the journalist who receives this special training and education will not be a journalist according to the ordinary acceptance of the term. When a law-student has received his diploma he may be inscribed as a barrister,



don the legal robe, and enter upon his practical career—if he can get a case! But there is no assurance that he may not be quite dumb when he would utter the very first word of his plea. It would hardly ever occur to a man who stammers or is deaf to take up the lawyer's profession, for the obvious reason that a stammerer could not conduct effectively a case in the courts, and whatever the real value of his eloquence, his natural disadvantages would destroy the main effect of his persuasiveness. What I am getting at is simply this, that the man who would enter a school of journalism should feel a positive "call" to this vocation, should have in him the unwearied vigilance which is an absolute condition of it; the love of danger, of civil danger that is, and a real peril; a boundless curiosity and love for truth, and a special and marked facility of rapid assimilation and comprehension. A man, for instance, who, after conversing with a specialist—having first, of course, familiarised himself with the elements, whether theoretical or practical, of the question in hand—does not understand the special explanations given him well enough to reproduce them in generally intelligible language, is a man whose vocation as an active journalist appears to me doubtful. But take a young man possessing the first scholarly diplomas in his country proving his acquirements in this order of ideas, and if he enjoys good health, if he has the free use of all his bodily faculties, if he sees and hears accurately, and knows how to express quickly what he hears and sees, then, if he wishes to be a journalist, take him in hand, undertake his education, give to him that general equipment fitted for the varied forms of battle which such a career implies, and if you do not make a great journalist of him, you will at all events make one who can easily stand comparison with any, even the most authoritative, product of the utterly disorganised journalism of to-day. But you will do more than this; you will have created a type, one of a special class, now isolated and rare, but soon to increase and multiply—the type of the journalist elect, standing head and shoulders above the common stream of contemporary journalists. In other professions those who issue from a special school, with a special training, are a model for others less favoured by fortune; they precede and guide the latter, and, with the rarest exceptions, always maintain their lead. So it must be in journalism whenever in any country a national school of journalism shall have been created.

One day I called together six of my friends belonging to different nationalities. I submitted to them my idea, and we elaborated together a scheme. I will not give our programme in detail, but I will say that we insisted, first, that the young aspirant to journalism should have finished his eighteenth year, and should possess the first regular degree according to the collegiate education of his country.

We required the physical capacities of which I have just spoken. We demanded that he should be seriously grounded in the elements of two languages other than his own. We insisted furthermore on having five years of his time, so that his career should not begin before he was twenty-three, or even later. A younger man cannot be expected to possess the maturity necessary to judge the causes and effects of events with security; for his judgment will be confined to the present horizon, and however little in this or that case general ideas may be necessary, if he has pride and has made an error of judgment, this judgment will have its baneful effect upon his mind for all the rest of his days. We would then place this young man in the hands of professors who for two years would teach him the history and literature of each of the great historic and literary divisions of Europe, running over remote periods very rapidly, and becoming more careful and detailed as one drew nearer to the present moment. He would be initiated into the origin and tendencies of spirit of his most remarkable contemporaries in every country. He would be given a general idea of the political constitutions, the ethnologic and climatic conditions, the products, the geographical situation, the means of communication, the armed forces, the budgets and the public debts of every nation. He would be given the documents necessary for consultation. He would be taught to draw both landscapes and the human face. He would learn to box, to ride on horseback, and to use a revolver; but the science of arms, so called, would be rigorously interdicted, because a man obliged to support his arguments by weapons, or who indulges in personalities which place, so to speak, arms in the hands of his foes, is neither a journalist nor worthy to be one.

Finally, such a pupil would undergo a graduating examination, and if he failed in any way to satisfy his instructors, he would remain another year; after which, for three years more, he would spend in succession some months at school or college in other lands, so that the remaining three years should be used up by his presence at foreign schools of journalism, and travel in countries where these schools are established, as well as in countries where they might not yet exist. All these schools of journalism should form a federation. Every exclusive political opinion should be banished from them. The instruction should be eclectic, without any possibility of pressure from without, and quite free from *parti-pris*; and the free judgment of the pupil, formed by experience and conviction, should be respected. The pupils of one school, by this scheme, would be received in any one of the other schools without any extra expense, the cost of the entire course having been fixed in advance, and no new item being introduced, either for removal or trips made at the professors' orders.

Appeal was to be made to the good wishes of any, to the resources, even of the world, in the name of social safety and the general good, to help in the foundation and endowment of these schools. Both resident and travelling scholarships would, of course, be established, as well as retreats for old age, or those temporarily ill from diseases contracted in the fulfilment of their duty.

Each school, moreover, would obtain from the serious leading journals in its neighbourhood the promise to employ, according to the special needs of the journal, a certain number of pupils, who are thus provided with their final diplomas. We came together, my friends and I, on several occasions to work out our programme, and when it was, as we thought, complete, we parted, each taking a copy, and agreeing to pursue in our several countries the realisation of our projected plan, promising, moreover, to come together again at the end of a year to report on what we had been able to accomplish, and then, if our plan seemed feasible, to follow it out; and, if not, to abandon it.

But by a happy coincidence, just as we were separating, even, indeed, while we were deliberating, I received a letter from Utrecht, in which a gentleman unknown to me asked me if I would not care to have with me his son, who was eighteen years old, and who, wanting to be a journalist, thought that he might develop his bent and come through to a successful end under my eye and direction. I showed the letter to my friends; we had the young man come to see us; he pleased us; we drew up for him a programme which he followed, and which he will continue to follow to the end; and with common consent we adjourned until the completion of the experiment thus begun. I must say that so far the result is completely satisfactory. The young man has begun his travels. He knows almost the whole of Europe. He has written to now one or another of us from almost every point, letters which are very curious and interesting, and he promises certainly to become a journalist, for his letters, the exact impression of the moment, with the fund of wider knowledge which he already has in his mind, betray a rapid and certain judgment, a concise and graphic style, and a true feeling for the important and interesting things of the moment.

But I hasten to add that this experiment can scarcely, whatever its success, be conclusive; it can only be encouraging. I am very tranquil myself as to the future of our common pupil. He will be able to choose and he will be received. But his natural aptitudes are more marked than would be usually the case in those who came to our schools; he has larger resources, and greater care has been expended upon him, whatever the zeal which the special professors might expend upon their pupils. So that it would be difficult to

say whether, even with this special education, all the pupils, even those who passed brilliantly through their studies, would become accomplished journalists. But what can be affirmed is, that these schools would create in each country a class of select journalists, against whose varied and complete acquirements any new comer for this career would meet with an inevitable check owing to his poverty of experience and attainments. Journalists not graduated from these schools would soon form an inferior class, and before long journalism established as a definite career would be quite purified, as it were, and include only authoritative workers.

At all events, it is only by some such method as this, as I am convinced—by recruiting, that is, the *personnel* of universal journalism only from among the competent—that the level of the profession can be raised, not only from the point of view of the work produced, but also in the intrinsic value and dignity of the producers; thus banishing for ever those who are the bane of the profession, the pirates and footpads of the highway, lured thither by misery or chance, who arm themselves with a pen as a revolver, and who, sheltered behind the columns of a paper as behind the trees of a forest, have made in certain countries the name of journalist synonymous with an insult or a calumny.

But the school would not of itself suffice. In every capital there would have to be, besides, a paper called *The Judge*, appearing every morning, and sustained by the entire public opinion in the name of the public safety; for it must not be forgotten that henceforth the happiness or the unhappiness of nations is to be largely dependent on their press, and according as the press is good or bad, honest or corrupt, will the nations increase or diminish, flourish or perish. For their own safety, therefore, the dignity of the press should be their first interest. This paper, *The Judge*, edited by the most competent and authoritative hands, sustained by all, and speaking in the name of all, written in a pure, clear, direct style, opening its columns, moreover, to outside communications, accepted by a competent committee above suspicion, would take up every morning the errors of allusion—historical, political, geographical, or what not—committed in the other newspapers, and put them in the pillory. It would call attention as well to the wilful errors which are lies, the mistakes of ignorance, and even of expression; yes, it would be the judge, the merciless judge of all that was false, lying, calumnious, or of evil report, presented to the impressible and credulous public. It would dissipate vagueness. It would in the end succeed in forming, with the help of *The Judge* in other countries, a universal justice, to redress all errors, to chastise bad faith, to make public opinion more wholesome and sane, and, by the high and impartial severity of its

judgments, it would force those who enjoy the terrible and responsible honour of holding the pen, to remember their duty as well as their interest, and to bow before an enlightened public opinion, at last protected against the poison which was formerly poured out for it.

If, as may be said, this hope is but a dream, I nevertheless treasure it in the depths of my soul, for there is no other hope for journalism, and if it does not follow this high road, the only alternative is its ruin ; and this ruin will be mingled with the universal ruin which it will have caused.

BLOWITZ.

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE ADVANCED TEMPERANCE PARTY.

**S**INCE the new Parliament was elected there have been evident signs that the public conscience has been thoroughly aroused throughout the United Kingdom with regard to the terrible evils produced by drink, and it is now certain that the Reform of the Liquor Laws has become a political question of the first magnitude which no politician can ignore and no Member of Parliament or aspiring candidate can hope to evade or escape.

As a slight contribution to the final solution, I propose to state in this article the position which the advanced Temperance party in this country will feel bound to take up in the coming controversy.

By the expression "Advanced Temperance Party" I wish to be understood and included all those organisations whose avowed objects are: Total abstinence for the individual; prohibition for the State; either or both. Foremost among these is the British Temperance League, the United Kingdom Alliance, the Independent Order of Good Templars, the National Temperance League, the Scottish Temperance League, the Scottish Permissive Bill Association, the Irish Temperance League, the British Women's Temperance Association, the great Temperance Benefit Societies of the Rechabites, Sons of Temperance, and the Phoenix, with a host of provincial, county, or denominational associations too numerous for mention.

I omit from this list one of the most active and useful temperance societies in the Kingdom, the Church of England Temperance Society. Its rules do not prescribe total abstinence for the individual, though most of its members are total abstainers, nor does it agitate for prohibition, though many of its members are among its most strenuous advocates.

I think it is no exaggeration to say that throughout the Kingdom

at least 700,000 parliamentary electors are to be found, in direct or remote connection with one or other of these societies, who are themselves personal abstainers, and who look to prohibition as the final goal of their political action.

For fifty years the Advanced Temperance Party has had a practical monopoly of the agitation against not only the drinking customs of society, but the public-house that ministers to them. No one doubts now that the use of intoxicating drink in this country is the most fruitful source of crime, immorality, vice, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death. The duty of dealing with so clearly recognised a social evil as drunkenness, and the manifold results of drunkenness, rests alike upon the shoulders of every good citizen, and not exclusively upon that section of society who, by their habits of life do not contribute in the smallest degree to the creation of the evil.

It is a mere truism to say that public-houses and all other drinking facilities do not exist for the teetotaller, but for the drinker; and the law is explicit enough in its intention that they should exist, not for the drunkard, but for the moderate drinker.

It is equally certain that the social products of the liquor traffic cannot be found in the ranks of the Total Abstinence movement. Among these products are a million paupers, another million drunkards, two hundred thousand jail-birds, and three hundred thousand prostitutes. None of these are teetotallers; practically, the whole are to be found among drinkers. We therefore claim, as an Advanced Temperance Party, that we have purged a population of at least six millions in this country from all this mass of human corruption; and that the universal acceptance of total abstinence would bring with it the practical extinction of poverty, drunkenness, crime, and vice, with such moral and material progress, that any country adopting our principles by habit, and confirming them by legislation, must, in consequence, step into the first place among the nations of the world.

We further contend that, while the Total Abstinence movement has accomplished direct and tangible results upon the mass of intemperance throughout the country, it is, practically, the only element in society that can claim to have done so, and that the licensing reformer has nothing else but that movement to build upon. Its leaders, therefore, justly insist upon taking the first position at that tribunal of public opinion which is about to decide upon the course to be taken by the State with regard to an evil which their efforts alone have been able to abate. They cannot consent to be set aside by men who have hitherto stood aloof, who only come crowding in on the edge of victory to share the glory and divide the spoil.

The problem which all licensing laws have tried to solve, and which every temperance reformer, from Sir Wilfrid Lawson to Mr. Ritchie, hopes to see solved, can be stated in a sentence—viz., How moderate

drinkers may obtain a reasonable supply of intoxicating liquor without demoralising the community.

Nobody can want more than this ; but the Advanced Temperance Party will not rest satisfied with anything less. We hold that the experience of a thousand years of licensing and control has so far failed to get this problem solved ; that the demoralisation of the community is always in exact proportion to the amount of liquor consumed ; and the amount consumed depends largely on the facilities for obtaining it which are called into existence.

While contending that nothing short of prohibition will extinguish the demoralisation, and that the first duty of a Christian Government is to get rid of all sources of national demoralisation, we have always advocated, initiated, and supported every attempt to limit the power of mischief possessed by the liquor trade. All legislative proposals for Sunday closing, shorter hours, prohibition of sale to children, and the closing of liquor shops on election days, as well as pressure on licensing authorities locally and schemes for providing counter attractions, have usually sprung from our ranks, rather than from the ranks of moderate drinkers.

The "new brooms" who are coming into the movement to make a clean sweep of this difficult and intricate social problem, are never weary of taunting the Advanced Temperance Party with having obstructed all wise and practical legislation in the past. They are easily silenced. We have only to demand a specific statement of the particular measures we have opposed. When they settle down to compose it they find that we alone and not the Moderate reformers have been mainly identified both with their introduction and their final accomplishment.

The commonest contention of these critics is, that we prevented Bruce's Bill of 1871 from becoming law, and this is so frequently insisted upon that I will deal with it explicitly as a sample of the whole. I have before me as I write a letter from a very distinguished licensing reformer, who is himself busy with a "scheme" likely to attract some notice, in which he says: "I would challenge any one to say that the United Kingdom Alliance supported Bruce's Bill ; they did not help the Government ; they viewed the Bill with suspicion, and evinced pleasure when it was withdrawn." The *Speaker* has taken the same view in recent articles. I do not think much good is done by all this raking up of the past, but it is as well to make it clear once for all that the United Kingdom Alliance did nothing of the sort. They accepted it as a bold and comprehensive measure, containing elements of possible finality ; they welcomed and approved those of its provisions which were calculated to limit or restrain the liquor traffic, especially its frank acceptance of the Direct Veto principle and those clauses



designed to effect material reduction in the number of houses, a diminution of the hours of sale on weekday and Sunday, heavy penalties for breaches of the law, and a system of efficient inspection. The opposition of the Alliance was entirely directed to those clauses of the Bill which created new vested interests, and exchanged a licence granted for one year only for a licence granted for ten years. In this the Alliance simply exercised their undoubted and special right of criticism. Had the ten years' clauses been dropped they would have accepted the Bill with enthusiasm. Had they been defeated in their efforts to amend the clauses in committee, their leader in Parliament, having voted for the second reading, would have voted for the third reading. This line of action was fully anticipated by the authors of the Bill. In a "confidential memorandum" addressed by Mr. Bruce to the Cabinet, dated March 16, 1871, he called special attention to three objections which he thought might be raised against his Bill. I quote one of them *verbatim* :

"Objection 2.--The second objection arises from advocates of the permissive prohibitory principle. Whilst the more intelligent and moderate of them would regard the proposal as a valuable compromise the majority would see in it an implied admission of the right of compensation and a Parliamentary assurance that the existing system should be continued for a long term. Not that they would on this account oppose the Bill as a whole, but they would certainly not support the proposition for a term, until all their efforts had failed to get rid of it."

This anticipation was fulfilled. On April 26 the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance adopted the following resolution, and sent it to the Home Secretary :

"The Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance having fully considered the Government Intoxicating Liquors Licensing Bill, resolve—That the friends of the Alliance be recommended *not to oppose* the second reading of the Bill, with the distinct intention of obtaining in Committee the insertion of an absolute veto for the majority of the ratepayers on the issue of all licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the equally absolute rejection of all compensation clauses."

The Alliance by this resolution frankly accepted the principle of the Bill as sound, objecting only to the compensation clauses, and honestly stating their intention to move a clause enacting the Direct Veto. It could take no other course, its aims and object being engrafted into its full title—The United Kingdom Alliance for the Total and Immediate Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.

But if, as the *Speaker* recently contended, the Advanced Temperance Party are to be held responsible for the abandonment of Bruce's Bill, we call into the witness-box for our defence the author of the Bill himself. A deputation from the Alliance met Mr. Bruce on May 16, prior to the debate on the Permissive Bill, and after the withdrawal

of the Government measure. In Mr. Bruce's speech to the deputation he said :

"What the country wanted was a strong measure for checking and regulating drink ; and it was for that the measure was brought forward which they were induced to withdraw. It was not true that the Bill was withdrawn in consequence of the opposition of the publican interest. Government never expected any measure to pass, especially if it were a good one, without opposition. *But it was on account of want of time to carry the measure that it was withdrawn.* He most earnestly trusted that some measure, improved by the experience which had been obtained, and the opinions which had been expressed on both sides, would be introduced at some future time. It would be a great satisfaction to him if he could carry this session what were termed the police clauses, which would have a wholesome effect. It would be still more satisfactory if they could carry a measure to diminish the number of public-houses, and which would at the same time secure the result that those remaining should be improved."

The few words I have italicised are explicit enough. If the violent opposition of the United Kingdom Alliance was the reason why the Bill was withdrawn, how is it that when the culprits had the audacity to come before Mr. Bruce in person, not only was there no word of reproach, but entirely other reasons were given for the action of the Government ?

It is almost childish to urge that objection to a single element in a great measure is fatal to the whole, especially when the objection is raised by a very small minority of the House to clauses which would have been supported by a large majority from both parties. But, if the United Kingdom Alliance had been guilty of factious obstruction, it is, after all, only a section of the Advanced Temperance Party, and the remainder is not to be judged by its action. I took a very active part myself in the agitation in favour of Bruce's Bill, and I speak with certain knowledge when I say that the majority of that party were sincerely desirous to see the Bill passed into law, and were the only portion of the electorate who agitated in its favour. I lived in Liverpool in 1871, and the only public meeting that was summoned in that city in favour of the Bill was convened by myself in the Concert Hall, at which a resolution was unanimously carried by a large and earnest audience of advanced temperance reformers. Every other meeting held in Liverpool was called by the trade in their own interests. The moderate temperance reformer of 1871 was only conspicuous by his indifference and his abstention from all agitation, not only in Liverpool, but all over the country. The Bill collapsed, because the Government of the day could not find time to go on with it in the face of the clamour of the liquor trade—practically, their only friends and supporters in the constituencies were the teetotallers. The Government will find now, as then, but more intensely, that the force they will get in the constituencies in favour

of temperance reform of any kind, moderate or extreme, will be organised and set in motion entirely by the great total abstaining organisations, and that the "Licensing Reformer" will not get out of his "armchair." We are ready to move these forces to some purpose, but it must be for the principles for which we have lived and fought for fifty years.

The position of the Advanced Temperance Party at the present crisis is unchanged from what it has been for the last thirty years. We know what we want, and we mean to get it. There is no difference of opinion among us, no hesitation with regard to policy. Our legislative demand can be stated in six words—Sunday Closing, Direct Veto, No Compensation.

The moment the practical politician leaves our anchorage he is tossed upon the sea of the licensing reformer; he is pulled hither by the Bishop of Chester, thither by the Church of England Temperance Society; bewildered by the Westminster Bill, the Manchester scheme, Lord Randolph Churchill's Bill, and a score of others; he only escapes the Scylla of compensation for the Charybdis of a time-limit. If he manages to steer clear of a Licensing Board *ad hoc*, he finds himself stranded on the County Council, or flung upon the quicksand of a philanthropic society. All his crew are captains, and every one shouts orders through his own private speaking-trumpet.

On one point only are all these multifarious licensing authorities agreed; that if the "extreme" Temperance Party would but be "moderate," and give up their extreme proposals, all would be right, and the ship would come to port.

But this is precisely what we will not do. We have given our lives to fifty years of agitation, and spent hundreds of thousands of pounds in convincing the country that our proposals are reasonable, practical, and possible, and we have succeeded. We have been led by men who have grown white in the cause, who know every detail of every licensing experiment that has been made in the civilised world, and whose knowledge is based upon deep study and ripe experience.

Our main proposal, the Direct Veto, has now been adopted by the Government of the day. Mr. Gladstone puts the Direct Veto into his election address; Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. Thomas Burt have successively presided over the great annual gathering of the members of the "United Kingdom Alliance." Mr. Morley, in a powerful speech which he delivered on March 18, 1891, in support of the second reading of the Welsh Direct Veto Bill, put the case for the Direct Veto, as compared with other measures for the suppression of the liquor traffic, in a nutshell. He said:

"All parties had agreed that it was necessary to place licensing powers under popular control, and those who supported the Bill added the supple-

mentary proposition that it was only effective control when a decisive majority in the community were given the power of saying 'Yes' or 'No' to the resolutions contained in the Bill. . . . It was exactly in the best interests of municipal government that he believed they would be wise in sparing them in their elections from a question so full of perturbing, passionate, and confusing elements as this, and he contended that they would be all the more likely to obtain desirable and capable representatives on their local bodies if they kept the elections free from all excitement of a licence or no licence ticket."

And in these words he undoubtedly expressed the convictions and pledges of the Government of which he is now so influential a member.

This attitude of the Government is the natural result of the progress of public opinion, as recorded in the most direct method of educated public opinion, the vote of the House of Commons. In 1864 the first vote was taken on the Direct Veto, then embodied in the Permissive Bill introduced by Sir Wilfrid Lawson; it was defeated by a majority of 257. In 1868 the majority against fell to 106; in 1871, the year of Bruce's Bill, to 72; in 1879, on resolution, it was 88. These defeats were turned into victory in 1880, when the same resolution was carried by a majority of 26. Fresh progress was made in 1883, when not only was the resolution carried by a majority of 87, but Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and other members of the Cabinet voted for it. In 1891, a Conservative Parliament carried the second reading of the Direct Veto Bill for Wales by a majority of seven. There is no question about the willingness of the present Parliament to vote for the Direct Veto by a very large majority.

We are not, therefore, likely to surrender our impregnable position with regard to the main plank of our platform at the call of licence reformers who cannot agree among themselves about a substitute; we shall insist upon the Direct Veto forming an integral part of any licensing scheme that may be brought forward as a final settlement.

At any rate, our friends the moderate reformers might in the meantime let us know what it really is that we are to accept in place of our extreme and more radical proposals. Is it to be the Bishop of Chester's scheme of an adaptation of Scandinavian law to British habits and customs? Is it to be the Church of England Temperance Society's Licensing Board *ad hoc*? or the "Manchester" Licensing Reform Bill, which revives Bruce's? or the "Westminster" Licensing Law Amendment Bill? When they are agreed upon a practical Bill, we will simply ask them to insert a clause giving the Direct Veto to districts; another, closing public-houses on Sundays; and to omit compensation, when we will fall into line with them quite amicably.

I should like to make it clear why the Advanced Temperance Party cannot consistently become the authors of *licensing* schemes. They do not believe in licensing at all. To them the trade in intoxicating liquors is immoral, its effect on society disastrous, and they believe that these conditions are very slightly affected by changes of licensing authorities, or the character of persons engaged in the trade itself; that a liquor shop is potent for mischief whether it is licensed by a bench of magistrates, a county council committee, or an elected board, and that intoxicating liquor will intoxicate, whether the seller is a philanthropist or a monopolist brewer.

But while few associations of advanced temperance men prepare or advocate licence reform schemes—being by conviction prohibitionists—our adoption of the principle of *permissive* prohibition compels us to a very keen interest in every proposed change in the licensing system applicable to districts which may not elect to adopt the Direct Veto. Every attempt to legislate in the direction of restriction of sale, limitation of hours, diminution of licences, or rigorous inspection, gets our prompt support, with a watchful eye that nothing is proposed which will render it in any way more difficult to get the Veto eventually adopted.

Many of us as individuals are avowed reformers, and, as I have already explained, most, if not all, of the restrictive alterations in the licensing system during the last fifty years have been the result of the action of individuals, and, in many cases, of associations identified with the Advanced Temperance Party. I am the president of the National Federation of Temperance Associations, federated mainly for the purpose of securing measures of temperance reform upon which the component associations, through their delegates, are able to agree. As a Federation, we are inflexible in our demand for Sunday closing and the power of the Direct Veto; but, at the same time, our separate and collective influence is always at the command of individual politicians or Governments who bring forward legislation in any way calculated to make it easier to do right, and more difficult to do wrong, in the administration of the licensing system where the Veto is not adopted. On the broad question of licensing reform we give up the initiative to those who believe it possible to devise methods by which the liquor trade may exist, without detriment to the public welfare. We know of no such method; if we did, we would produce it gladly. We simply support every proposal that tends to sobriety, and oppose everything that panders to monopoly and vested interest, or that obstructs the practice or traverses the principle of the Direct Veto.

I think I have now fairly laid down the attitude of the Advanced Temperance Party. Our views and our objects are, happily, the same as those professed by the Government of the day. We have no reason whatever to doubt their *bona fides*, or their good intentions. They

are pledged to give us the Direct Veto, and they will, as honest men, do their best to fulfil their pledge as quickly as possible. If they wish to travel beyond the simple application of the Veto power on the thorny road of licensing reform, they will meet with no obstacles laid down by us, but will receive all the assistance we can give in the task of removing those laid down by others. We know we can secure nothing without their help. We are equally sure they cannot carry the constituencies without ours. Our interests are, therefore, identical. We will support them in every proposal of licensing reform that involves no actual sacrifice of principle. Our faith in the eventual power of the Direct Veto to deal effectually with the evils of drink and intemperance will fully justify us, if that be honestly conceded, in joining heartily in any proposal to limit, restrain, or control the liquor traffic in the meanwhile.

In the short time that remains before the meeting of Parliament, our efforts will naturally be directed to making our own calling and election sure with those members of the Cabinet entrusted with the preparation of the Bill; leaving it to the advocates of the various licensing reform schemes, whose presence upon the battle-field we welcome as friends and allies, to influence them towards the best methods in that direction. I think it a fair distribution of labour and responsibility. It is for the Cabinet, not for the Advanced Temperance Party, to reconcile their various proposals, and weld them into a harmonious whole.

I will now lay aside for the moment my character of "Extremist," and consider what elements within these various schemes, upon which there may appear to be some semblance of agreement, are harmonious with the principles of the Advanced Temperance Party, and may reasonably claim their co-operation and support.

There are practically five schemes of licensing reform before the country, all of which meet with a certain measure of support, though I fail to find any real *electoral* strength behind them, and whatever propelling force they are eventually to receive will have to come as usual from the Advanced Temperance Party:

1. The Bishop of Chester's proposal for an adaptation to this country of the best elements of the Scandinavian systems.
2. The very able Bill introduced into the last Parliament by Lord Randolph Churchill.
3. The Bill of the Church of England Temperance Society.
4. The Manchester scheme, prepared by a committee of social reformers, of which the Bishop of Manchester is chairman, the late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster was vice-chairman, and Mr. Wm. O'Hanlon secretary.
5. The Bill of the Liberal Unionists, known as the "Westminster" scheme.

It is not very easy to discuss the Bishop of Chester's views until they are drafted into a Bill. It is not fair to construct a Bill for him out of his speeches and letters, as some hostile critics have done. It appears to me that three steps should be taken by the bishop before impartial criticism can be brought to bear upon him. He should first draft his Bill, then articles of association for a public company under his Bill to take over the Chester liquor trade, and thirdly a prospectus on which he proposes to raise the needful capital. These, printed in pamphlet form, would give the public a clearer insight into his scheme than they possess at present. The foundation principle of his Bill is, that licensed victualling has got into bad hands, and ought to be transferred to good men. To that the advanced temperance reformer is indifferent, failing to see that the nature of drink and its effect upon the human brain are in any way affected by its being sold by the Bishop of Chester instead of Sir Andrew Walker, Bart., who now owns most of the Chester public-houses, who is a notable philanthropist, the sheriff of his county, has been twice mayor of Liverpool, who has, with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Henry Tate, and Mr. William Rathbone, received the freedom of the city, and who obtained his title in recognition of his great benevolence and public spirit, from the same Prime Minister who appointed Dr. Jayne Bishop of Chester.

I am saved all necessity for criticism of the Chester scheme by the obvious fact that under any of the other four schemes it can be applied readily to any licensing district, without further legislation. They all alike contemplate a final condition of things, at the furthest within five years (the limit the Bishop of Chester himself prescribes), when existing licences shall absolutely determine. The licensing authority in Chester can then, at its own discretion, confer every licence they choose to grant upon a company of philanthropists, of which the bishop may be chairman. Of the abstract justice of depriving one philanthropist of 10 per cent. profit, with a view of conferring 5 per cent. profit on another, I have nothing to say. If the Advanced Party are asked to accept the bishop's scheme as a *substitute* for their demands, we flatly refuse even to consider such a proposal. If, however, such machinery for its application as may be required is included in any Bill dealing with licensing, for districts that may not apply the Direct Veto, most of us would accept it, and be glad to see a very interesting experiment tried. I will, therefore, pass on from the Bishop of Chester's scheme, which excites no hostility in my mind if it is to be experimental and not compulsory, or if it is to be collateral to ours, and not substitutionary, to a brief consideration of those points of agreement which are to be found in the other and more formulated proposals.

It is a striking justification of our inflexible insistence on the

Direct Veto that each of these four admit the principle, and that three of them provide distinct machinery for its application, though not such machinery as we can accept as satisfactory.

The Church of England Temperance Society practically provides for it by an *ad hoc* board popularly elected, whose powers run right up to prohibition. The "Manchester" Bill prohibits by a three-fourth majority and the "Westminster" by a two-third; Lord Randolph Churchill's Bill requiring two-thirds of all the voters on the register. Our demand is for a bare majority on the principle that if any difference is to be made at all, it should rather lean to the side of sobriety than of intemperance. We could not for a moment accept so farcical a vote as two-thirds of the entire register, or so one-sided an arrangement as that contained in the "Westminster" Bill, which requires a two-thirds majority for prohibition, but which permits repeal by a bare half majority.

We find the greatest possible encouragement to stand firmly by the Direct Veto in its integrity when we find the principle so frankly admitted and adopted by such Conservative forces as the authors of these various Bills, and the Bishop of Chester willing that it should be included in his own Bill, if the House of Commons chose to insert clauses enacting it.

We find equal encouragement to stand firm on our position of "No Compensation" when we find these same Conservative forces, with the exception of Lord Randolph Churchill, who makes no provision in his Bill, agreed on the absolute extinction of all supposed vested interest and monopoly by the concession of a "time limit" of five years. It appears to me but yesterday that the united forces of the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist members were standing fast for twenty-four years' purchase of the difference in value between premises with and without a licence, treating the licence itself as though it were an absolute freehold. The utmost time limit to which I could myself be a consenting party would be twelve months from the next Annual Brewster Sessions, believing that there is no stopping-place between it and the full recognition of a freehold value.

I venture to warn the Government against all dallying with such an unsound principle as is involved in compensation of any kind, and the danger which must beset an Act of Parliament, which would enact a time limit. An Act giving a Direct Veto power on licences by a vote of the ratepayers, accompanied by stringent reforms in administration, and great limitations of the trade in districts not adopting the Veto, *postponed in its operation for five years*, would involve a fierce agitation for its repeal by all Liquordom, backed by those persuasive arguments of which so much has been heard in recent election petitions. If a general election intervened between the passing of the Act and its operation five years after, every



Conservative candidate would be pledged to repeal, and if that party carried the country we should have all our work to do over again. As well propose the deferring of Home Rule after the passing of the Act for five years and expect Ulster to keep-quiet. The Liberal party have no more skilful or powerful enemy than the liquor trade. They are now speaking with that enemy in the gate. Let them arise, smite and spare not! If the licence reformer is ready for five years, I am sure the constituencies are ready for twelve months.

On the important question of reduction in the hours of sale, the advanced and moderate temperance reformers are agreed in demanding it. All the schemes, including Lord Randolph's, leave this to the discretion of the licensing authority, which in three cases is representative of the people, and that absolutely without limit. With regard to a reduction in the number of public-houses, the Manchester and Church of England Temperance Society's Bills reduce them at the end of the five years' time-limit to 1 per 1000 of the population in urban, and 1 to 600 in rural districts, the "Westminster" agreeing thereto, except that the proposal for rural districts is 1 to 500. We would welcome such a wholesale reduction with lively satisfaction.

With respect to Sunday closing, all four are agreed that at the option of the Licensing Board public-houses may be closed during the whole or any part of the day; the Advanced Temperance Party would, in the case of any such proposal being introduced in a Government measure, move an amendment making Sunday closing absolute throughout the entire kingdom, and I am pretty sure they could carry it in the present Parliament.

The licensing authority advocated by the Church of England Temperance Society and the "Westminster" Bills is a board elected *ad hoc* by the ratepayers; the "Manchester" Committee first advocated County Councils and municipalities, realised that this would have been a mistake, and has fallen back upon the justices; Lord Randolph Churchill sets the justices aside in favour of a committee of the County Councils. Of all the licensing authorities under discussion the Board *ad hoc* comes nearest to the principle of the Direct Veto, and is the one that should find most favour with a Liberal Government as the best and most direct form of local control.

All the four schemes make serious efforts to grapple with the "club" difficulty, compelling registration, and clear evidence of *bona fides* with regard to membership and joint interest in the club properties before registration is granted. There is no doubt in my own mind that legislation of a very unmistakable kind with regard to clubs is an absolute necessity of the Direct Veto, or, indeed, if any very wholesale reduction of drinking facilities is to succeed at all. The

various proposals all run on right lines, but do not run far enough. I am sure that when the House comes to face the club question, it will be found that the only practicable solution will be to treat every place where intoxicating liquor is sold on strictly equal terms, and that clubs obtain licences on the same footing as other liquor shops.

The more I examine the details of every formulated scheme of licence reform the more deeply I am impressed with the way in which the doctrines of the Advanced Temperance Party have permeated the political thought of the nation, and the more I am encouraged to say to that party in the great opportunity which has come upon them, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit ye like men, be strong," but "let all your things be done with charity."

Our doctrine is simple and easy to comprehend :

1. We demand a Veto for the United Kingdom to be applied wherever and whenever there is a community ready to free itself from the curse of the liquor traffic.

2. That the same advantage of a Sunday free from drink, enjoyed by Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, shall be enjoyed also by England.

3. That a licence to sell liquor limited to twelve months ceases to exist at the end of twelve months.

These conceded, then, "in all charity," let us, with the wider experience and deeper knowledge we possess, unite with our more moderate allies in an earnest attempt to devise the best methods of still further limiting and restricting the powers of mischief of the liquor trade, for those places and people who are not wise enough to do without it. There appears to me, in the various schemes to which I have briefly alluded, much that is valuable and practical, and with which we can heartily agree. But as an Advanced Temperance Party we do not and cannot *initiate* such schemes. We welcome them as evidences of an awakened public conscience, and, without opposing them, endeavour to supplement them by adding our own simple machinery, so that under no possible rearrangement of the licensing system, or its administration, it shall be possible for any licensing authority, however constituted, to thrust liquor shops upon any district against the will and protest of the people who live there, who have to bear the rated burdens and suffer the continual misery, poverty, and crime which inevitably accompany the liquor traffic, however it may be regulated.

I have much hesitation in suggesting any course of policy to the Government. I am well and justly convinced of their determination to fulfil the pledges to the country on this vital social question, and am content to wait the development of its consideration by the Cabinet. I think, however, that to a Government with such a programme as that to which the present Cabinet is pledged, the simplicity of the claims of the Advanced Temperance Party should make them very attractive.

The Direct Veto does not interfere with, but is entirely supplementary to, any licensing authority however constituted, and fits in with any and every change that may be made in the future. In the four Bills that have already been before Parliament for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, the Government will find the matured wishes of that Advanced Temperance Party which is now so powerful an integral part of the great Liberal Party. It will be a simple thing for Mr. Asquith to unite these into one comprehensive measure, and pass it into law during the ensuing session, leaving the manifold schemes of licence reform to develop themselves a little further in the furnace of public opinion. It will be the duty of those members in charge of these Local Veto Bills to ballot for Wednesdays as usual, and the Government need not look upon such a step as showing the smallest distrust of their own good intentions. No practical politician can reckon on much spare Government time next session, and if one of the local Bills, say the Scottish Bill introduced by Mr. McLagan, get a good place in the Wednesday ballot, the fact that fifty-five Scottish members would vote for its second reading and only seventeen against, would be ample justification to the Government for lifting the Bill on the orders of the day to a prominent place among the Government measures, and securing the Direct Veto for Scotland. The same argument will apply with equal force to Mr. Bowen Rowland's Bill for Wales.

The Government will be wise if they bring in a short Bill, closing every public-house and beer-house from 5 P.M. on the day preceding, to the morning of the day following, all parliamentary elections. This is rendered imperative in the interests of the free election of Members of Parliament, and is more than justified by the evidence given before the various Election Petition Judges.

W. S. CAINE.

## THE DEADLOCK IN TEMPERANCE REFORM.

PUFF. "There's situation for you ! --I have them all at a deadlock !

For every one of them is afraid to let go first.

SNEER. Why, then, they must stand there for ever !

PUFF. So they would, if I hadn't a very fine contrivance for't."

*The Critic.*

BY private example and public exhortation the pioneers of temperance, whose names we naturally connect with that movement, have done much, and will undoubtedly do more, for the welfare of their countrymen. Within the sphere of parliamentary action they have been less successful. In this connection it is indeed impossible, unless ironically, to speak of the temperance *movement* at all ; since for many years the condition of temperance legislation has been one not of movement, but rather of stable equilibrium, resulting from the divergence of aim and vigour of purpose brought by the various schools of reformers to their task. So lame a conclusion to much fervour and hard work is the more disappointing when we reflect that on many preliminary issues there is no longer any difference of opinion. The chances of successful temperance legislation would at first sight seem greater than those of any other contemplated reform. For not only the existence of the evil to be dealt with, but also its magnitude, and even the propriety of dealing with it by parliamentary enactment, are all universally conceded. The normal development of public opinion upon any social ill has in this matter reached and passed, the point at which the State is bound to interfere.

During the debates upon the late Government's licensing proposals, whether in 1888 or in 1890, and upon Lord Randolph Churchill's Licensing Law Amendment Bill of the latter year, no one was found to ask, " Why can't you leave it alone ? " And no wonder. The statistics of drunkenness set forth in a return made to Parliament in 1888, and the number of public-houses disclosed in another return of 1890, convinced men of all parties that something further must be done. Mr. Bartley, M.P., quoted the first to prove that one person in every 173 of the population is annually convicted of drunkenness, a ratio

which, by an odd coincidence, is shown in the second to be exactly that of licensed houses to the population in boroughs. Lord Randolph Churchill, referring to these figures in moving his resolution on April 29, 1890, argued that, though the number of licensed houses had been reduced in recent years, such a proportion was still too large; and Mr. Ritchie, in endorsing that sentiment, used the words "All my colleagues and I are also of that opinion." Needless to say, that the more advanced temperance reformers go much further, regarding the existence of even one public-house as an evil in itself. In thus deploring the existence, or the number, of public-houses, no one has omitted to deplore also the conduct and management of many among them, and especially of those situated in towns. There is, indeed, a causal connection between the two—the pressure of competition arising from the excessive number of licensed premises being the force which drives publicans to sell drink by illegitimate means rather than to turn any customer from their door. This connection, though sometimes denied, is to my mind, made clear in an admirable report presented to the Quarter Sessions of Cheshire by a committee appointed to examine into the state and effect of the law relating to licensing.\* In it the committee lay down (p. 25) "that no improvement in the character and conduct of licensed houses can be expected, and that it is, indeed, useless to strive for it, until their number is reduced," a conclusion which will hardly be disputed by those who advocate the total abolition of public-houses, nor, I think, by those who would be content to see their numbers curtailed. Nearly every one, then, is willing to admit that the number of public-houses, and consequently their character, leave much to be desired. Yet who shall be bold to announce any immediate prospect of largely reducing the one or of reforming the other? when a dispassionate review of the attempts made since 1871, whether by advanced or moderate reformers, serves only to overshadow all hope of substantial success along either of the lines in which the two parties have heretofore persisted.

For twenty years there has in all probability been a majority of voters in favour of imposing further limitations (1) on the number and disposition of public houses; and (2) on their character and management. Yet, for lack of agreement between moderate and extreme men on a method for giving effect to this desire, nothing has been done in the first direction, and little in the second. With such a failure behind us, the extent and cause of which are alike conspicuous, it is, unhappily, safe to predict that, in the continued absence of any agreement, the future will prove as barren as the past. The outlook is, indeed, blacker than it has been for years; for each of the two parties has recently pledged itself more deeply to principles

\* "The Quarter Sessions of Cheshire and the Law of Licensing." Chester: Philipson & Colder, Eastgate Row. 1891.

which the other is determined to reject. Unless, therefore, some new road can be discovered which both may follow with honour, at least for some little way, the present *impasse* is certain to endure. Before indicating the possibility of finding such a path, let me first make good the necessity for so doing by sketching the dimensions of the barriers which must otherwise be engineered.

What chances have moderate reformers along the lines they have hitherto pursued? The essence, broadly speaking, of the proposals put forward in 1888 by the late Government, and in 1890 by Lord Randolph Churchill, lay in the transference to a local authority, popularly elected, of all control over the liquor traffic. In deference to attacks repeatedly made upon the magistrates, who now exercise that control, for having allowed the number of public-houses to attain proportions so widely condemned, it was deemed expedient to shift the responsibility from their shoulders on to those of a body which, being elected, must of necessity conform to the wishes of its constituents. So far the policy met with a more or less friendly reception. The contingent provision, on the other hand—viz., that the non-renewal of licenses, not for misconduct on the part of their holders, but solely in the interest of the resident public, should be accompanied with compensation, provoked such a storm of opposition that the whole scheme had incontinently to be dropped. In the face of such defeat, inflicted on a powerful Government, flushed with a recent and signal victory at the polls, none but the most sanguine can believe that, within any near term of years, imperial or local funds will be devoted to extinguishing annual licenses. In 1890, however, the Unionist Government returned to the charge, actuated, as their opponents were ready to admit, by a sincere desire to solve a difficult problem. They proposed that, without any immediate change in the licensing authority, a portion of the money derived from fresh taxes laid upon alcoholic liquors should be placed at the disposal of county and municipal councils for buying up and suppressing the worst, and, therefore, the cheapest, public-houses in their several localities. But the second device fared no better than the first. In consequence of the well-known decision of the House of Lords in the case of *Sharpe v. Wakefield*, the advanced party resolutely refused to countenance any expenditure of public money which might hamper magistrates in the future exercise of their discretion to refuse a license without stating their reasons for refusal, a discretion declared to be theirs by Lord Bramwell in the House of Lords. In spite of these disheartening rebuffs, inflicted by one section of temperance reformers on the other, it was still possible for the latter to hope that the principle of Mr. Bruce's (Lord Aberdare's) original Bill of 1871 might be grafted on to their policy of transferring the control of licences from magistrates to local authorities; that, in fact, County or

District Councils, eager to reduce the number of licensed premises, yet loth to commit injustice, might indicate the number of such houses expedient in the interests of their constituents, and grant a term of grace during which the licensed victuallers of the district should reduce the number of applicants for licences within the limits prescribed. Such hopes can, I fear, no longer be entertained in face of the evidence published by Mr. Joseph Malins in a pamphlet entitled "The Temperance Party and the New Parliament; or, the Case against County Council Licensing." Mr. Malins brings forward an amazing number of resolutions adopted by advanced temperance societies, upon which, in the absence of a disclaimer, he seems justified in founding his proposition, "That no temperance organisation has ever proposed the transfer of licensing to County or Town Councils elected on other issues and receiving licensing fees; but nearly all, including the United Kingdom Alliance, the National Temperance Federation, and the Good Templars, have repeatedly pledged themselves to *strenuously oppose* any such transfer." Some prominent members of Parliament, Mr. Cowen in the past and Mr. Curzon in the present, unwilling to relinquish any last chance of compromise on these lines, have advocated the institution of Boards, specially elected to deal with the liquor traffic, as School Boards are elected to deal with education. Yet even for them Mr. Malins has no word of encouragement. "Thorough temperance men," according to him, and his statement appears to be borne out, at least negatively, by the resolutions he collates, "have never meant to 'control' or license, or elect men to control or license, the liquor traffic. They do not believe the traffic to be morally legitimate, and want no share in managing it. Their sole desire is not to control by election, but to prohibit by Direct Veto. They do not want the traffic brought nearer to the people, but to be put away from them. If licensing be remitted to *specially elected* persons, temperance men cannot stoop to compete with the liquor-sellers."

I am not at present concerned to justify or defend any of the moderate measures briefly indicated above. Had Lord Aberdare's original Bill been passed into law, it is calculated that the number of public-houses in 1889 would have stood at 37,718 instead of at 128,508, the alarming figure revealed by the return made to Parliament in that year. Had Mr. Goschen's measure of 1890 found acceptance a slower, but still appreciable, rate of reduction would have been in operation for more than two years among houses of the worst description. It is sufficient to note that all these schemes have proved abortive for lack of support from men of advanced views, and reluctantly to infer that any proposals conceived on similar lines will in like manner fail for the same reason.

Are the prospects of advanced reformers more promising? A small

majority, no doubt, in the new House of Commons, stand pledged to the bare principle of a Direct Veto—to the principle, that is, of prohibiting the sale of intoxicants within a delimited area, in deference to the wish expressed by a certain proportion of the ratepaying inhabitants. Again, it is sufficient to note, without discussing the merits of this scheme, that it arouses the most stubborn resistance, not only of men indifferent to temperance reform, but also of the vast majority among moderate reformers. Resistance of such a character, based by those who offer it on grounds not alone of expediency, but, also, in their eyes, of reason and justice, can hardly fail to prove effectual in a House of Commons pledged to deal with many other measures of the gravest public concern. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that those adverse to a Direct Veto in any shape shall eventually be overborne, the further difficulty remains, that many who favour the principle either differ as to the proportions of the majority to be endowed with such power over the habits of their fellows, or decline to countenance the sweeping abolition of a lawful trade without compensation to the men engaged in it. Mr. Morley is an example of the first class. In the debate on the Welsh Liquor Traffic Local Veto Bill, 1891, he argued, in the first place, that the proportion must be one not only of the voters voting, but of all the ratepayers on the register; in the second place, that a larger majority than one of two-thirds, and, in fact, possibly one of three-fourths, might be required. It is doubtful whether a poll of three-fourths would anywhere be secured, and, if secured, inconceivable that all the votes should be cast in one way. Mr. Gladstone is an example of the second class. When, in 1880, a resolution embodying the Direct Veto was passed by the House of Commons, he complained that in it the question of equitable compensation found no place. Nor is there any reason to believe that he is now of a different mind. For in the debate of May 15, 1890, whilst condemning the scheme of the late Government, and reserving his own discretion upon any plan for softening “the transition in the event of a certain and sweeping extinction of public-houses,” he stated that he could understand a man saying, “If you bring upon a publican a set of new conditions which he could never have anticipated, then you are bound to consider some modification of the effects of a sharp and sudden rule which totally alters the practice of a district” (*Hansard*, cccxlv. 1002 and 1003).

In view of these opinions, widely and stoutly entertained, it can hardly be argued that advanced reformers are in better case than their more moderate opponents. For “opponents,” unhappily, and not “allies,” is the only word which accurately designates the relation which has hitherto subsisted between the two parties. The question then arises whether the time has not come for a change in that relation. The advanced party may, let us concede, claim with justice that the late Government



failed to gauge the possible effect of their proposals on the price of public-houses. It would be easy to retort, were not mutual recrimination the worst prelude to concerted action. Whether the Extremists have erred through excess of zeal, or the Moderates through defect of insight, it skills not to devise. The net result of their diverse action remains;—amounting to a certainty that no Bill of an effective character has a chance of passing which does not avoid State compensation on the one hand, and the Direct Veto without it on the other. There the matter, literally, stands, and is likely to stand, until some shifting in the lines of suggested reform from those of diametrical opposition yields a resultant from the various forces at work.

If Moderates still insist on a transference of licensing to local authorities, accompanied by compensation, and Extremists still insist on a local veto without it, the present deadlock must indefinitely endure—a situation of some dramatic interest to the curious, but infinitely discouraging to those who keenly desire to see the number of public-houses reduced. Each party has firmly laid hold of a principle, and there is no reason to believe that either will consent to let go first. Here, then, must they stand for ever, should no one come forward with a “fine contrivance.” Fortunately, the Bishop of Chester has one at his command, and one which each party may honourably accept, if only they will listen when, in the name of common-sense, he charges “all to drop their swords and daggers.”

In August last, the Bishop of Chester addressed a letter to the *Times*, suggesting some modification of the “Gothenburg” licensing system as a common ground for the united action of both parties. Unfortunately for the readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, and, as I think, also for the cause of temperance, the bishop found himself unable to accept the Editor’s invitation to contribute an article, showing, from the Moderate standpoint, the facilities for compromise afforded by his scheme, and begged me to write one in his place. For such a task I have no qualification but that of having heard him expound his views more than once, both in public and private. They have, at the outset, this advantage over any hitherto put forward by the Moderate party. The most ardent advocate of the Direct Veto can, at any rate, consider them as an acceptable auxiliary to the more drastic plan of prohibition by majorities. The Moderate reformer, on the other hand, can dilate on their merits without so much as discussing whether the Direct Veto is just, expedient, or likely to prevail. For assuming that such an Act is passed, it cannot conceivably cover the whole ground. In many, as some think, in most places, it will never come into operation, owing to the limited nature of the terms of reference it necessarily provides. The rate-payers are to be asked, among other things, “Will you prohibit—Yes or No?” If they reply in the negative—and in a number of districts,

especially urban districts, that is certain to be the nature of their reply—the evil to be combated will there be left undiminished. Or, rather, the last state will be worse than the first. For the knowledge that the people have the power to protect themselves cannot fail to weaken the sense of responsibility in the present or any substituted licensing authority. Over a great part of the country, therefore, and more particularly in large towns where reform is most needed, the Direct Veto, even if passed, will remain a dead letter. Any advanced reformer can accordingly turn to the bishop's scheme as a palliative in those districts, without derogation to the policy he prefers for such as may be found willing to accept it. And on this wide field any moderate reformer can meet him without reference to the merits or prospects of the measure he condemns. But a wide field for action is nothing to the purpose in the absence of agreement on the strategy to be followed within it. And here, again, the Bishop of Chester's scheme has a distinct advantage over all previous attempts at compromise.

Efforts in the past, first to dilute, and then to fuse, principles which each party has cherished and fought for, have only resulted in noxious compounds, sipped at by the Moderates and upset by men of bolder opinion. Experience has shown that any Bill, say, for combining the Direct Veto with the transference of licensing to County Councils, serves rather to brigade opposition than to enlist support. But the "Gothenburg" system has the novel and singular merit of attempting, not so much a compromise between known and conflicting views, as a new departure unhampered by any memory of past dissension. It breaks fresh ground which no controversy has foiled. Nor does this seeming neglect at the hands of practical politicians, Mr. Chamberlain alone excepted, spring from any deficiency in the scope or character of the results it is calculated to attain. On the contrary, it strikes more directly than any scheme of the Moderates, more universally than any scheme of the Extremists, not only at the number of public-houses, but at the very note of evil in the character of the licensed trade. There is an inherent vice in our present system of licensing which every other reform suggested would leave absolutely untouched—a vice laid bare by Mr. Gladstone in the following memorable words. Speaking in the debate on the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Duties Bill, on May 15, 1890, he said :

"At the present, as I understand it, the case of the Government is that the number of public-houses is enormous. Yes, sir; but something else ought to be taken into consideration. Why is it that the position of the public-houses in this country of ours is lower than it is in any country in Europe? That is the result of the management we have followed, and the number does not in the slightest degree tend to mitigate that statement. I

am one of those who see the utmost, incurable, radical, and profound mischief from what is called the publican's monopoly, and not through any fault of the publican, or, indeed, of any one. My firm belief is that as long as *the monopoly connected with private interests* belongs to the trade you will never have true and efficient police supervision exercised over the public-houses, and without that they must continue to hold the disparaged and unsatisfactory position which they do hold now and have held for many generations."

The granting of a *monopoly* to a trade conducted for *private profit* instead of for the public advantage is, indeed, the source of all the mischief justly described as "incurable" so long as it remains unattacked at the fountain-head. The chief and immediate aim of every scheme hitherto advocated by both parties has been a simple reduction in the number of public-houses. Such a reduction, whilst fixing and affirming the evil principle of monopoly for private profit, would, by relaxing the stress of competition, possibly do much indirectly to raise the character of the picked houses left undisturbed. But none of these schemes have directly attacked the monopoly *accidentally* conferred, in order to limit competition in an article the free sale of which has rightly been thought prejudicial to the public weal.

Freedom of sale, except during four years at Liverpool, has been universally condemned, as entailing a risk which no one, save perhaps Mr. Auberon Herbert, would be willing to run. Yet have we halted halfway at a most illogical resting-place. Instead of limiting competition, we have only limited the number of competitors, leaving to each the right, and the necessity, of selling as much alcohol as he can. If in competition for private profit lies the root of the evil, our object should have been to eradicate it. And this, under the Bishop of Chester's scheme, may still be done, with immense and immediate consequences, hitherto pursued in vain by piling up illusory measures of police supervision.

The scheme, commonly known as the Gothenburg system, is no new one. It was considered and recommended in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance, printed March 17, 1879. Under it, as it exists in Norway, with some modifications which the bishop proposes to follow—

"The Municipal or County Council fixes the number of licences required to meet the reasonable convenience of the public, and grants a monopoly of them to a society formed for the purpose of undertaking the trade, generally for a term of five years at a time. The statutes, bye-laws and regulations, and the appointments in the society's service, are all subject to the approval of the Council, and, excepting the appointments of servants, must also obtain the Royal sanction and seal. . . . But the great feature in the Norwegian system, and in which it differs from the Gothenburg system, is the destination of the annual surplus after paying the shareholders their preferential interest. The surplus, instead of going into the local treasury in reduction of public burdens, is applied each year in making pecuniary grants to the funds of deserving charities, benevolent societies, philanthropic institutions,

or other objects of public utility and benefit, which are dependent for their existence *on the voluntary support of the public alone.*" \*

It can hardly be doubted that a company enjoying the absolute monopoly of the liquor trade in a town or district could easily secure a return of, say, 5 per cent. on their capital. Nor, since they would be debarred from making any further profit, can it be denied that the inducement either unduly to multiply the number of public-houses, or to debase their character, would completely disappear, and with it the degradation of the most poverty-stricken and densely populated quarters of our large towns and manufacturing districts. Except the shareholders, whose modest claim would assuredly be satisfied by the legitimate business of a few well-built and well-conducted houses, no single person directly concerned in the trade would have the slightest interest in forcing the sale of alcoholic liquors. For the managers and servants of the company, whilst receiving a regular salary and a percentage on the sale of food and non-intoxicants, would receive nothing on that of spirits and beer. The advantages of such a system are well set forth in the Report of the Lords' Committee, 1879, p. 44 :

" 1. The control of the local authority over the issue of licences.

" 2. A great diminution in the number of public-houses, and an improvement in their convenience, healthiness, and management.

" 3. By the provisos that no individual should derive any profit from the sale of intoxicating drinks, and that the managers should keep a supply of good tea, coffee, and other refreshments, it is hoped that the present drinking-houses might gradually assume the character of eating-houses and workmen's clubs—places of harmless resort."

The system as it exists in Norway, although under it local authorities derive no pecuniary advantage from the profits on sale, would in England still be open to the objection that such bodies draw a portion of their income from licensing fees. This difficulty can, however, easily be met, and in the scheme of the Bishop of Chester is met, by leaving the discretion as to the number of licences, at all events for the present, in the hands of the magistrates. The immediate results following upon the adoption of the scheme in any town can hardly be over-estimated. The number of public-houses might be reduced by 50 or 70 per cent. in a day, and the character of those remaining completely changed in the course of a few weeks. The substitution of large *cafés* on prominent sites for gin-shops in slums would of itself alter the whole tone of those public resorts to which, upon any reasonable forecast of the future, the jaded workers of large towns will continue to repair for change and refreshment

\* "Local Option in Norway, with an Account of the Establishment and Working of the Society for Retailing Ardent Spirits in Bergen." By Thomas M. Wilson, C.E.

after a day of sameness and fatigue. The craving for alcohol, largely due to an exhausted and vitiated atmosphere, is rather stimulated than appeased by adulterated and inferior drink. It follows that two of the minor incentives to excess would be avoided by dispensing wholesome beverages in sweet and airy rooms. But any change, however welcome, in the physical, would be as nothing to the change in the moral atmosphere of the "public," until now not nearly public enough. The privacy and seclusion in which a knot of *habitués* have drunk to the "good of the house," has, indeed, contributed as much as anything else to the swollen receipts of the publican and the degradation of his customers. In spacious rooms, and before strangers, the law would not be broken with the cynical connivance of all concerned; whilst in the concourse of all sorts and conditions of men, the better feelings which ever predominate in such gatherings would raise and maintain the standard of self-respect.

Such a reform would effect nothing less than a revolution in the least lovely aspects of England's industrial centres, in those cheerless and shameful abodes where "dire poverty and the frequency of public-houses act and react upon one another, poverty increasing public-houses, and public-houses increasing poverty" \*—that poverty of the poor which, according to an eminent economist, "is the chief cause of the weakness and inefficiency which are the causes of their poverty."† Life in these dark places revolves in a vicious circle of debility, poverty, and excess. What, then, can be done to break this endless chain of action and reaction turning the mills that grind down the manhood of the poor? Can public-houses be abolished? The authors of the report I have already quoted answer, No. "We cannot but recognise the need felt by the working poor, whose houses are too often small and cheerless, for sociable and cheerful meeting-places. For want of a better they resort to public-houses."

Short of abolition, there are now two agencies at work—one public and the other private. In the first place, a slow diminution in the number of public-houses is being gradually effected by a refusal on the part of magistrates to grant fresh licences, and, more rarely, to renew old ones. In the second, private philanthropy has in many towns led to the institution of coffee-houses, and also of workingmen's clubs, where liquor is indeed sold, but only under the strictest supervision, amidst decent and pleasant surroundings—an enterprise, the first branch of which, at any rate, was warmly commended by Mr. Gladstone during his recent visit to Liverpool. The Prime Minister on that occasion, in the most eloquent passage of an interesting speech, made a moving appeal to the munificence of his audience on behalf of such places of "innocent amusement and refresh-

\* "The Quarter Sessions of Cheshire and the Law of Licensing," p. 25.

† "Economics of Industry," p. 30. By Professor A. Marshall.

ment." Each of these agencies, the refusal of licences and the institution of coffee-houses, must ultimately effect some good, albeit the competition of the latter, superadded to that already existing in excess between public-houses, may conceivably increase the evils resulting from excessive competition. But the Bishop of Chester's scheme more than combines the benefits of both. Not only does it quicken the operation and enlarge the scope of each, it immediately integrates the two—achieving at a stroke the substitution of harmless resorts for public-houses, instead of merely promoting competition between them. It meets the admitted necessity of leaving men, weary with work, some places for shelter and recreation in which to spend the leisure many hope to see enlarged, and, at the same time, transforms such centres of assembly, making them more innocent and less dull.

How is all this to be done? An Act must be passed enabling any licensing authority to hand over all the licences of a town or district to a company formed for the purpose of reducing the number of public-houses and bettering their condition, under articles of association approved, let us say, by the Local Government Board. Some have objected that such companies might develop into societies of brewers employing managers on whom they could rely to inflate the demand for beer. Such snap-shot criticism hardly deserves a moment's attention. The Trinity House has not in process of years developed into a corporation of wreckers, granting a pilot's certificate to none but bravos ready to run their ships ashore. Turning, then, at once, to the nature and effect of the Act suggested by the Bishop of Chester, it is, I think, admitted that magistrates are now bound to grant a licence really needed in any district to the most desirable applicant as occasion may arise. The operation of such an Act would merely be to concentrate these occasions, enabling magistrates by the exercise of forethought to deal on similar lines with the whole licensing question at one time. We may illustrate the nature of the change from finance. The obvious duty of any public body is to raise new loans on the best terms offered as old loans are repaid. It is a further step, but one never omitted when possible, to consolidate all out-standing loans and make one stock, at a rate of interest more favourable than the average interest on all the loans prior to consolidation. So the licensing authority, finding that a philanthropic company of the kind contemplated are prepared to apply for all the licences in a town, will take such steps as may be thought expedient for granting every licence to them instead of to less desirable applicants. There is authority for holding that, under the law as it stands, magistrates must come into court "without any concerted plan and with no foregone conclusion."\* The suggested reform

\* "The Quarter Sessions of Cheshire and the Law of Licensing," p. 22.

could not, therefore, fail in a measure to prejudice the position of existing licence-holders, and the old difficulty of compensation at once arises. It must, of course, be faced. But in an attempt to discover a common path for the united advance of Extremists and Moderates, nothing could well be more injudicious than at the outset to crystallise the sentiment of one party into definite demands made upon the other. It is well known that Moderate men are by no means reconciled to the prospect of seeing individual publicans, who have sunk money into their premises, suddenly deprived both of interest and capital. The question of compensation or of "equitable consideration," remains a hard one. Yet under this scheme the chances of an honourable compromise appear brighter than under any other. The number of persons concerned is not, in the first place, nearly so large as is sometimes supposed. Out of 1629 licensed houses in 14 divisions of Cheshire, 868, or more than one-half, are "Tied Houses," in which the present licence-holder is no more than a manager or servant, liable to instant dismissal at the hands of his landlord; holding his premises, in fact, under an agreement far less favourable than any which would obtain between the manager and company in a licensed house under the bishop's scheme. The company will, in the second place, be able to offer employment and a fixed salary to many of those publicans who now fail to make a living under the stress of excessive competition; and in some cases will naturally purchase existing premises and fixtures. In dealing further with the question of compensation at this critical juncture, it would hardly be prudent to do more than point out that magistrates have now the power of refusing any licence not required for the legitimate needs of the population, and yet, that they rarely exercise it, through motives which, perhaps, most people respect, and which are likely to find a place in the breasts of any licensing body substituted for magistrates in the future. Whether, then, not only on grounds of equity, but also to ensure a willing and speedy adoption of the scheme, the law had not best insist on some compensation being paid by the company in return for their monopoly, is a question which may well be thrown out, but one also which for the moment had better remain unanswered. Such a condition of transfer would at any rate dispose for ever of "State Compensation." Should the Extremist party see their way to a favourable consideration of some such provision, or of the kindred provision of a term of grace, or of some combination of the two, the barriers across the path of temperance reform would have at last been overthrown.

It remains only to meet the objection that the scheme is, for some obscure reason or another, unsuited to the character and conditions of this country. The formation of such philanthropic companies is

sometimes scouted as foreign to our nature. It may generally be replied that increasing examples of collective action, both for selfish and unselfish ends, are among the most noticeable features of recent social development. And in particular upon this scheme appeal may be made both to authority and experience. In the debate of May 15, 1890, Mr. Gladstone adverted to the adoption of such a system as a contingency at any rate possible in this country. In 1879 Mr. Chamberlain brought forward a mass of evidence in support of it before the Lords' Committee. And of twenty recommendations made by that Committee, the first, and the only one of so wide a scope, was, "That legislative facilities should be afforded for the local adoption of the Gothenburg and of Mr. Chamberlain's schemes, or of some modification of them." In the opinion, therefore, of competent judges the system which has proved so unqualified a success in Sweden and Norway may be transported to England with a reasonable prospect that similar advantages will accrue. But the actual experience of its working in Scandinavia must, of course, be the chief argument of those who wish to see it also tried upon this side of the North Sea. The general results of its adoption in Sweden may be studied in a report made by Sir F. R. Plunkett to the Foreign Office in 1890 (No. 184). We there read (p. 2) that in Gothenburg "the last fourteen years have been marked by a steady diminution :

" 1. In the consumption of spirits per head of the population.

" 2. In the convictions for drunkenness (proportionate to the population).

" 3. In the number of cases of delirium tremens."

Nor have these benefits been confined to Gothenburg. Reports received on the statistics of these categories from her Majesty's consul at Stockholm, where the number of public-houses fell from two hundred to eighty-seven in one day, and from twenty-two vice-consuls throughout Sweden, are all equally favourable to the system. But apart from the direct evidence of figures, there remains the cumulative effect of the gradual adoption of this scheme or its derivatives, first throughout Sweden, and then throughout Norway, a country which must be allowed to occupy a better position than England for close observation and judgment upon it. Even at a distance, however, its merits have been recognised, for the recent temperance legislation of Switzerland is also based on the principle of eliminating private interest from the sale of alcoholic liquors. In Sweden the Gothenburg system had, so soon as in 1879, been accepted by every town with a population of over five thousand, and by nineteen towns with fewer inhabitants. In Norway out of a total of fifty-nine towns, five have adopted the Direct Veto, three have elected to remain under the old system of retail by private licensees, and fifty-one have followed the example of Gothenburg. We have, therefore, to



guide us the successive acceptance of this policy in the course of some twenty years by nearly one hundred towns, every one of which testifies to a decrease in the consumption of alcohol, and in the number of convictions for drunkenness.

Here, then, is a plan which will at once reduce the number of public-houses, and reform their character; which goes far to solve the difficulty of compensation, and avoids that of paying fees to licensing authorities; which, as a crowning recommendation, can be tried to-morrow, without change in the present machinery of control, and without prejudice to future changes.

GEORGE WYNDHAM.

#### NOTE.

Mr. Wyndham has been good enough to show me the proof-sheets of his articles on "The Deadlock in Temperance Reform." As I anticipated from the tenour of our previous conversation, we are in substantial agreement, and I welcome so just an exposition of the proposals which stand in my name.

F. J. CESTR.

THE PALACE, CHESTER,  
*December 13, 1892.*

## PESSIMISM AND PROGRESS.

THE failure of modern pessimism to be permanently attractive, either in its emotional or in its rational form, to more than a small section of civilised society, has left us free to inquire, without much partiality, what has been its contribution to the spiritual development of the race. Because a phase of thought is, or is commonly held to be, essentially misleading and untrue to fact, as well as fatal to all vigorous and responsible action, it does not therefore follow that its influence will be wholly mischievous. There are few things so evil that they do not enclose a soul of good. On the grave in which humanity has buried, perhaps without regret, a false theory or a surrendered belief, it may one day find springing up an unexpected growth of life-giving herbs, or at least a handful of flowers splendid in colour and rich in perfume. The nineteenth century is burying its worn-out pessimism, and for a fair span of years to come the world may get on well without it. But, that the good may not be interred with its bones, it ought to be not unprofitable to ask what part it has played in the direction of modern progress. That there is an element in pessimism which is likely to be permanent—and ought to be permanent—in human nature, cannot be doubted; yet it seems equally unquestionable that the pessimism which we know and accept as typical—the tendency to find out and dwell exclusively upon the darker side of all phenomena, whether in the natural world or in human life—has been long doomed to extinction, and is rapidly passing away.

I. A twofold cord is not quickly broken. The strength of modern pessimism has been due to the fact that it is not only philosophical, but also poetical; it has found expression in the tempestuous verse of Byron as well as in the elaborated system of Schopenhauer. To this

diversity of forms of utterance and of channels for making itself felt, it owes the width and penetration of its influence. By assuming a philosophic and systematic shape, it has appealed to thoughtful minds; by finding an outlet in poetry, romance, and emotional literature, it has left its traces on the popular temper. Few persons have not responded to its influence, at one period or another of their existence; fewer still have not at least affected to feel it. As a *system*, it may have reached a small minority; as a *mood*, giving a special colour to thought and knowledge, it has permeated a great part of modern life and literature.

But the very same things which have been to it a source of strength have been also a source of weakness. Because it has been able to express itself both in philosophy and in poetry, therefore it has been strong; but therefore, also, it has been weak, for the simple reason that neither on the side of poetry nor on that of philosophy has it been *practical*. Practical in one sense it *has* been: capable of systematic and rational exposition, and capable of adding to the riches of art by its gifts of pathos or grace, of tragic solemnity or even of grim irony or humour. Practical in another sense it has not been. It is not, and never has been, a thing to live and work by—the stuff and substance of the man who lives and of the author who reproduces life. Both to life and to art it has given at times a hue and fragrance not unpleasing; but in neither (if we take them in their truest forms) has it ever gone so deep as to touch the vital springs or regulate the rhythm of the blood and the beatings of the heart.

Such a fact is not surprising to those who have made a sufficiently careful diagnosis of the symptoms of pessimism to discover the truth that it is not a sign of life and growth, but of death and decay. The final question of all mature pessimism—*Is life worth living?*—is, in itself, the proof of a diseased mind. The healthy mind never asks it. Indeed, we have not penetrated very deeply into the spirit of pessimism if we have not discovered that, in its intense form, it is invariably accompanied by ill-health, or bodily weakness, or abnormal sensitiveness to physical influences. Of Leopardi we read, in the pages of his latest biographer, that “he was wont to turn night into day and day into night. . . . He breakfasted between three and five o’clock in the afternoon and dined about midnight. . . . The mere names of wind, cold, and snow were enough to pale him. He could not bear fire, and formerly used to pass the winters three parts submerged in a sack of feathers, reading and writing thus the greater part of the day.” Of such unhealthy habits and of the constant physical misery which ensued, partly from them and partly from other causes, the “Dialogues” are in no sense a surprising result. And Leopardi is only one among the great and decrepit army of

pessimists. A pitiable multitude, we see them driven, or dragged, or tottering across the arena of thought, in various stages of bodily suffering or decay; some the submissive captives of pain, and others his defiant conquests; some giving vent to muttered whispers, others to loud remonstrance, but all seeing the world as coloured by their own weakness: Byron with his club-foot, Carlyle\* stormy and dyspeptic, Schopenhauer with his inherited susceptibility to pain, and other leaders in the outcry of pessimism; together with a throng of minor apes and imitators distinguished, for the most part, by the same unfortunate characteristic of physical deficiency. If these men had been sound of limb and robust of constitution, we should not have heard from them so much wailing about the evil of the world, the disappointment of human hopes, the illusiveness of human life, and the cruelty of destiny.

II. Regarded broadly, the tendency of pessimism has been to retard the progress of the race as well as that of the individual. It has implied, when it has not asserted, first, that, supposing that the course of things is not rather stationary or retrograde, progress is very slow and uncertain; next, that, such as it is, it depends for the most part on circumstances which lie beyond our control; and finally, that the world is so vast, mankind so puny, and the existence even of the race so brief, that it is a piece of stupidity to be inquisitive about progress and of well-meant folly to be laborious in good works. We do not therefore expect from the pessimist any of that fine ardour which has been the spring of all great endeavours. If we look for inspiration we must look towards some one whose soul has been fired by that enthusiasm, not conventionally calculative and yet not easily overcome, which the pessimist is apt to measure with his scientific rule and to analyse into wasted energy. It is a matter of experience that the truest thoughts and most finished works of men come to them spontaneously, without any laboured process of reasoning. Reasoning, no doubt, has formed the background throughout, and has fed the root from which the perfect flower has sprung; and the infinite patience of long training and habit has been somewhere at work. But the intuitive element, from which pessimism naturally shrinks, still remains the chief element in progress, and the immediate source of the best results of art or life. For most of the best results of art we find here an infallible test. Have they this sacred mark—the mark of complete inspiration, of childlike spontaneity? Do we feel of them, instinctively, that they have risen, a perfect whole, from the mind of the artist, like the sea-born goddess from the drifted foam? If not, they will never appeal to us with the same unique force as the Dresden

\* Carlyle was no true pessimist, but he deserves notice because the close connection of pessimism and ill-health is so perceptible in him.

Madonna of Raphaël, or the Venus of Milo, or Keats's "Ode to the Nightingale," or Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind." And of life and action this truth is truer still. Always those have had the largest influence on the history of man who have relied on this power of enthusiasm, rather than those who have worked, with anxious prudence, by the certain methods of logic. The high and noble acts which stand out like stars for the redemption and transfiguration of the human race, and hide its naked poverty with their own irresistible charm, have always been the work, not of the skilful reasoner who can weigh and balance and count the cost, but of the man who, careless alike of cost and balance, is, in some moment of superb irrationality, carried out of himself, instantly and completely, by the power of an indomitable inspiration. It is a grave charge that the labourer in the fields of progress—political, social, or religious—has to bring against the pessimist—that he puts out the fire of enthusiasm, and blunts the keenness of enterprise. Whether cynical or no, he has forgotten that it is only as a little child that a man can enter the kingdom of life or of art, passing through the gates which are for ever closed except to hopefulness and belief.

III. From physical science modern pessimism has borrowed certain views of life and Nature; theories of heredity and determinism, of the infinity of time and the immensity of space; and a dominant conception of our earth as a whirling atom—"a star of smallest magnitude"—revolving at incredible speed in an unimportant system of heavenly bodies. This discovery of the real position of man in the universe, though probably not so serious as it seems at present to many of us, has not failed, and cannot fail in the future, to modify considerably various departments of our belief and practice. Ultimate principles of philosophy or religion remain, no doubt, untouched by any conclusions obtained by purely experimental methods of inquiry; and the scientist ceases to be scientific when he draws inferences that pass any way whatever beyond the facts under investigation. But, while we cannot, in our present state of knowledge, make an immediate transition from the things of mind to the things of matter, or from the things of matter to the things of mind, we see at least that there is some very close connection between the two sides; and we perceive some interchange of influences without being able as yet to determine what the exact extent and character of those influences are—without, indeed, being able to foresee a time at which they could ever become intelligible to us. For our present purpose it will, perhaps, be enough to observe that the chief and gravest tendency of all this set of facts and theories, suggested by science and exaggerated by pessimism, is towards the depreciation of the value and importance of individual work and the gradual limitation of the influence of the individual worker. The

work of society as a whole, or of any large fraction of society, is not of course excluded from this tendency; but it is on the individual that it tells with its most practical force.

The philosophy of pessimism has probably done but little in making popular these scientific conceptions. Very powerful, on the other hand, has been its literature. From the great modern mass of pessimistic literature, especially in poetry and fiction, a peculiar mood or temper, taking a different tinge according to the different individualities which it has touched, has spread abroad over society, reaching and colouring many minds which are unconscious of the meaning of it, and even of its presence. By inculcating this temper, pessimism has done a certain service to the cause of progress. Two lessons have been taught us by the favourite picture, now growing somewhat wearisome by its continued reproduction in various forms, of the individual man and woman beating their wings in vain against the bars of fate and reduced at last to listless inactivity, to defiant despair, or to a crushed heap of feathers. Either we have learned, like Amiel, to sit still with folded hands, in the miserable little circle of our own idleness; or we have learned to work on, not with less enthusiasm, but with more humility. Pessimism saves us, if we are wise, from much useless labour by pointing out the necessary limitations under which we work. There is no reason in the nature of things why a man should not be at once enthusiastic and humble; why he should not "still suspect and still revere himself." The knowledge that he can do little in the service of men need not hinder him from doing what he can. It ought rather to inspire him with the resolution that his little shall be done as perfectly as possible. No doubt the logical outcome of true pessimism is; *Do nothing*. But mankind at large will certainly continue to do what they see themselves actually doing. Even the hardened pessimist, selfishly absorbed in thoughts of his own nothingness, and lounging in the easy-chair of self-contempt, enjoys what he finds pleasurable, and does certain things which he likes; and pessimists of another class are, perhaps, rendered even more nobly active than they might otherwise be by the vividness with which they realise how much is waiting to be done and how slight are the results of each man's contribution. Of mere poutings and hysterics we are long ago tired to death; and the vulgar and shallow pessimism which seeks excuses for a vacant and dilettante life has been discovered to be one of the most contemptible of things.

A very practical result of the discovery of individual weakness is the search for the co-operation of others. Many causes have been long working together for the introduction of co-operation as a great factor in the growth and improvement of modern society; and we are not able as yet to assign to it definitely its true place and work,

side by side with the other great factor of competition. How to adjust these two, and how to satisfy the rightful claims of each, is the chief problem of modern politics. The *ideal* tendency would be the gradual transference of competition from the lower things to the higher, so that there should be everywhere an honourable struggle, not as now for the dust of the earth, but for excellence in things moral, scientific, artistic, political—the possession of all noble qualities, the discovery of all truth, the creation of all works that are beautiful and good. The *actual* tendency seems likely to be towards the over-exaggeration, for many years to come, of co-operative and socialistic principles; and the consequent drifting of the individual, under the hands of the police, into the great standing army of mediocrities. Like other reactions, the reaction against the principles of the Revolution will almost certainly be carried too far; but for the present at least there is plenty of work for it to do. The other side has had its say; possibly it has said too much, or what it has said has been said too wildly; and there seems growing reason to believe that the socialist might find as much biological ground for his faith as Darwin did for his. To the genuine pessimist, no doubt, the labour of men co-operating with one another is as inane as that of men working singly and alone; the hopes and ambitions in either case are, to him, equally futile and frivolous. But, though he has helped us to feel how little we can expect to accomplish as individuals, we have not been so ready to take the other step with him. Instead of being filled with disgust at the whole affair, we have, under his influence (and certain other influences), been fired with a new *esprit de corps*; and are now rushing together from all sides, to lend a hand in the social mill.

It is true that some few among us are so constituted that they cannot see how much the insignificance of the individual has been exaggerated by the unquiet eye of pessimism. Of course, in these days, any one with the slightest tincture of history or science knows within how narrow a sphere each of us is cabined and confined. We cannot but be aware how often great influence has been broken on small obstacles; how often great plans have defeated themselves, or violent reactions have swept away, and brought to nothing, even the magic power of a Savonarola. But that it is possible to go all the way with the pessimist, history itself, if not personal experience, forbids us to believe. Can we suppose that the fortunes of ancient Rome, and of modern civilisation, would have been exactly what they were, and are, if some mad freak of Cæsar's in his youthful days had recoiled fatally on himself? Or that Luther, by almost a single act, has not left a mark on the pages of religious history, which seems unlikely to be ever quite obliterated? Or that the stream of literature would have run precisely the course it has run, if Shakespeare had

been knocked on the head some dark night in Sir Thomas Lucy's preserves? I do not forget, as I write, that a modern essayist has told us that if Shakespeare *had* been "knocked on the head some dark night in Sir Thomas Lucy's preserves, the world would have wagged on better or worse, the pitcher gone to the well, the scythe to the corn, and the student to his book, and no one been any the wiser of the loss"; and that the same author questions us, in the same passage, "When Nature is 'so careless of the single life,' why should we coddle ourselves into the fancy that our own is of exceptional importance?" But this, after all, is a cheerful optimist, who is simply preaching to us a very just and much-needed apology for idleness of the true sort; and forcing upon our attention the "sobering reflection" that we are none of us "indispensable" to the world. And it is, by good fortune, true that even Shakespeare is not indispensable to the world. Society could have gone on existing without Shakespeare, just as it came into existence without him; and not being wholly dependent upon literature, it would have survived for "better or worse," if it had never known a "Hamlet," an "Othello," or a "Macbeth," and the mind that conceived them. But that literature, and society through literature, have been wonderfully moved and profoundly influenced by Shakespeare, who will have the audacity to deny?

If any individual believes himself to be indispensable to the world, the sooner he ceases to believe it the better. But the pity of it is that some, who might work in a cautious and humble and tolerant, yet enthusiastic, spirit, and be of real service to mankind, cease to work, or fail to work, because they catch up the ultra-pessimistic mood, and are convinced of their own nothingness. If their sense of the vanity of the world drove them, like the Preacher, to proclaim the need of doing with one's might whatsoever one's hand finds to do, it might be well with them; but instead of that, missing the truth that there is a golden mean between being nothing and being everything, they wander aimlessly through life, devoting themselves, as a general rule, to the pursuit of pleasure or to a somewhat amateurish interest in the fine arts. There have been few sadder figures in recent times than that of the critic of Geneva, to whom I referred just now. Gifted with one of the most singular personalities which have come to light in modern letters, Amiel started his career with fair prospects of being, if not a great, at least a distinguished writer. He had many gifts for literature, visible enough, even through the morbid self-dissection of the "Journal:" a style picturesque and full of grace; an aspiring and thoughtful mind; a quick sympathy with human joys and sorrows; a ready feeling for what is suggestive in thought or noble in character; and that personal love of Nature which is alive to her quietest hints of beauty, to her most subtle moods and tricks



and changes. From a writer with such qualities as these, the world might naturally have expected much. But, early in his life, the sense of the emptiness of mortal things came upon him with terrible power, and found him too weak in will and temperament to throw it off; and hence, though the faculty of sympathy was strong enough in him to save him from the extreme of pessimism, the spirit of it crept over him so far as to freeze for ever the fountains of literary and social activity. The sum of his production was the diary written for his own eye, and saved to the world by certain passages noteworthy for truthfulness of insight and for felicity of expression. How many Amiels there may be, who stand idle in the market-place, we cannot tell; who, stepping aside from the path of human progress, take no part in the great artistic or social movements of the day, but remain as "mute inglorious Miltons" in the march of life. These are the unemployed for whom, more than for any others, it is desirable that some work should speedily be found.

Of the morality of pessimism, as exemplified in the deterioration of Amiel, and of its power in undermining the sense of responsibility, it is not possible to speak a favourable word; yet it has another moral aspect not unworthy of commendation. By laying its finger on some unnoticed sores, by pointing out failures and weaknesses to which a too jubilant optimism is very ready to be blind, it has done good service towards the spread of a wise and judicious temper in social work; and the main result of it, on this line, will be found, we hope, to be an increase of charity and an increase of tolerance. The shallow and thoughtless optimist is as dangerous a person as the shallow and thoughtless pessimist: to find the world wholly good, and to find it wholly evil, are equal signs of a want somewhere—be it in knowledge, or judgment, or humanity, or common sense. A little unprejudiced meditation or a little unbiassed experience will help us to secure a foothold safer and truer than that which is found for us by the indiscriminating blindness of these creeds. Perhaps we may even succeed in reaching a point of view totally different from that of either of them. A German philosopher has warned us that men are now beginning to feel that "nothing is more foolish, or wanting in all genuine knowledge of mankind, than this sort of debit-and-credit account of pleasure and pain, of joy and sorrow, as if they could be added and subtracted like money, and the sum of life figured out by such a childish example": and this witness is true. Let us look for a deeper appreciation of life and the end of life. And in the meantime, as we thank the thoughtless optimist for his comfortable presence, his courage and his cheerfulness, so let us thank the thoughtless pessimist for the gloomy skill with which, discovering much-needed reforms, he helps us to see their necessity and to carry them out.

IV. Against the main current of pessimism the tide has long since turned. In practical life, spurred on by the great problems calling for immediate solution, and absorbed in a multitude of social and political schemes for the amelioration of the world, we find our hands so full of pressing claims that we have no time for meditation ; and, though there may be still a deep undertone of sadness in our work, the activity on all sides is too keen, and often too provocative of contrary opinions even among fellow-workers, to admit of our looking away from it for long. We have neither opportunity nor wish to listen to the querulous complaints of those whose mood, in its excesses, is apt to drive them into selfish culture or an idle acquiescence in things as they are. We are, in fact, fearfully serious and terribly in earnest ; and nothing pleases us so much as to head a forlorn hope against the powers of darkness. In poetry, again, the force of Byronism has almost spent itself ; and a poet not less strong, and radiant, and full of the joy of living, than Browning has become the prophet of the rising generation—a prophet, how enthusiastically followed, Oxford herself can perhaps best tell us. And yet again, in philosophy, Schopenhauer has given place to Hegel—the hope of cosmic suicide to the thought of a spiritual society, the vision of that City of God to which the race of men is slowly climbing nearer. Pessimism has had its day. Thought and emotion are taking a brighter colour under the morning light of the coming century.

SIDNEY A. ALEXANDER.

## THE MEDIÆVAL COUNTRY-HOUSE.

### I.

ONE of my friends, by race a Persian, a native of the Russian Caucasus, calls on me sometimes on his home-sick days, and talks about the castle he has left at home. It is a great, strong castle, with stone towers and wooden balconies, and a vast hall within where the lord sits in state by the cavernous hearth and listens to the wandering minstrels, who sing long ballads to their instruments. Not only singers come there, but itinerant pedlars, the acrobats of the fair, pilgrims to some distant shrine, travellers of many sorts who bring to the high-perched castle views of the outer world. If the lord should wish to see that world at closer quarters, in the nearest city he has his "hostel" in some wealthy burgher's house, and thither sometimes he repairs during the dead weeks of the winter. But with the first bud or sprout on the topmost sprig, he is back in the castle. For now the real life of the noble begins—the season of the chase! My lord is more or less of a scholar, and in the wintertime he fingers amorously his rare collection of illuminated manuscripts (we possess one, for which his nephew offers us a village in Karabag!), brought together at an infinite expense and trouble. But how far he prefers the summer morning, when, hawk in hand, the noble hunters troop forth on their gay-caparisoned horses to chase eagle or heron on the mountain heights! Deep down in the dungeon underground perchance some penitent wonders if the spring will ever come—for there are dungeons still in the castles of Karabag, though the lords have no longer right of life and death. Here the nobles live a merry life, united among themselves and seeing few who are not of their order, save the Emperor's hated tax-collector or the Jew doctor who comes upon his rounds, an infinite number of little powders sewn into the sash about his waist. Who knows, if we

could be spirited to Karabag, but we should find there the Middle Ages in flesh and blood, alive!

Who knows? Yet we who wish to visit the mediæval country-house, we will take a humbler way. We will mount pillion behind some solid, clerky person: Maître Jehan Froissart or Maître Eustache Deschamps, sure of his road and garrulous about his masters. Thus we will jog along, gossiping, from place to place, alighting here and there at some stately castle, where the lord, like that Count of Foix who sent for Froissart from his inn—"est le seigneur du monde qui plus volontiers voit estrangers pour onyr nouvelles"; or we will turn in at some pleasant manor, such as that Manor of Cachant, dear to Master Eustace, where there are gardens sweet with rose, gladiolus, and mint--where there are meadows, vineyards, and "a noble willow wood," with baths of all kinds to refresh the weary traveller: "bains et estuves et le ruissel courant."

If the countryside afford a good granite rock surmounting a hill or mound of any height, that situation has generally been chosen for the castle, encircled by its protecting precipice. But in Central France at all events, such sites are few; and, contrasted with the German or Italian fortress on the hill, we find more frequently the manor "emmy estangs," so often sung of old poets—the castle built like Rochester, or Melun on the brink or island of a river, isolated by moats and defended by encircling towers. Such was, for example, the Castle of Bièvre, commended by Deschamps in his 454th Ballad.

"La place est forte et de noble cloison.  
Emmy l'estang où le donjon se lance  
Trois tours y a de pierre et de meillon."

Each tower is three storeys high, and each stands well in advance of the castle wall, the entry defended by a "puissant pont-levis." By the fourteenth century, the castles were no longer built with a sole view to refuge and defence; the nobles no longer dwelt there as a last resort in war time, living in the guard-room with their garrison, and directing the defence amid the treasure. The castles of that time of transition were very habitable palaces; and Master Eustace passes from the military architecture to belaud the "noble aqueduct," which carried water into the interior of the castle, the rich device of the halls and chambers, the excellent *vivarium*, the well-stocked preserves of game, the baths, the gardens, the rowing-boats, the shady park. "'Tis," he finishes, "the pleasantest house I know—*pour demourer la nouvelle saison*."

This is not the strain in which a thirteenth-century minstrel would have sung the praise of Coucy—the castle has become a country-house. The great square tower, flanked with turrets at the angles, which has succeeded to the round tower of defence, is spacious enough for luxurious habitation. Every storey contains a large hall,

a moderate-sized room and a smaller one, beside the four cabinets in the corner turrets. Generally, the gallery, the chapel, the dining-hall, and the lord's private room or "retrait" occupied the first storey; above came my lady's chamber, her tiring-room, her oratory, and the "garde-robe," where her dresses lay folded in spice and lavender, and where her maidens sewed by day and slept by night. The upper storeys were occupied by the children and by the guests; and the castle was crowned by several tiers of "machicoulis," or crenellated battlements, pierced by loopholes and communicating by a "chemin de ronde."

The ground floor was still dark and difficult of access, lighted only by a few rare lancet-windows, and given over to store-rooms, bath-rooms, ice-houses, and suchlike uses. It communicated, by means of trap-doors, with the cellars and dungeons underneath. Philippe de Vigneulles, in his chronicle, has left us an unforgettable account of his imprisonment, well on in the fifteenth century, in a dungeon of this kind. There were no kitchens within the house, for the cooking was done in a round high-roofed building, like a baptistry, in an outer court, near the servants' quarters; but sometimes the sick-chambers were situate on this dark, quiet, unfrequented ground floor, which preserved the tradition of its inaccessibility by the absence of any entrance on a level with the ground. A broad double flight of marble steps led from the court to the portal on the first floor. In any London suburb we still see modest villas thus entered by a flight of steps raised above a high basement, all unconscious of their direct descent from the keep of the twelfth century, entered only by a ladder reared against the front, or by knotted ropes let down from the first-floor window! By the 14th century the *Perron* of the country-house was, however, an object of great architectural dignity. It generally opened into a long gallery or *loggia*, occupying all one side of the keep: a sort of first-floor cloister, with clustered ogival windows looking on the court below. Here the squires and dames used to loiter, "regardant bas en la cour les joueurs de paume jouer." Half the action of the novel of John of Saintr  passes " s galleries;" and no portion of the castle is more frequently cited by early poets. The Count of Foix received Master Jehan Froissart as he was walking after dinner in his gallery. In fact, the chief use of these *loggia*, *loges*, or *laube*, appears to have been as a promenade or loitering-place when it was too hot or too wet to meet in the orchard just beyond the walls. A very beautiful gallery of the Middle Ages is still preserved in the castle of Wartburg.

In the larger castles this gallery or *loggia* was sometimes distinct from the keep. Together with the great dining-hall (" singer saal" or "mandement") where the lord sat in justice and received his guests, it formed a lower church-like building, in style much like an Oxford

chapel, placed beside the keep and less strongly fortified. These separate halls were only used in time of peace. They were already well known in the thirteenth century, for in the palace of Percival—

“La sale fu devant la tour  
Et les loges devant la sale.”

and we read in the *Lai de Laustic*—

“Prochaines curent leurs maisons  
Et leurs sales et leurs donjons.”

But for all that the sole square tower with its corner turrets remains, even in the fourteenth century, the type of the castle keep. The château of Vincennes, built by Charles V., is an admirable example of the kind.

## II.

It was not easy to enter the castle keep, encircled by a strongly fortified enclosure, isolated by moat or precipice, and defended by outworks of palisading, protected by a barbican and several smaller towers. Having run the gauntlet of all this, having passed down the narrow winding path between the palisades, the visitor arrived at the moat, and blew a horn hung there for the purpose. After parley with porter and watchman, the drawbridge was let down; and after further parley, perchance, the great gate swung back on its hinges, and the stranger found himself in a long hollow archway, defended by a series of portcullises, with a perforated roof, through which boiling pitch, molten lead, Greek fire, or simple scalding water could be poured down from an upper chamber. In time of peace, however, he passes easily through the gate into a vast courtyard enclosed by huge battlemented walls or towers; a courtyard that is almost a village, and contains the church, the knights' quarters, the squires' house, the lodgings for pages and servants, the barracks, the cottages of the artisans and labourers on the estate, the bakehouse, the kitchen, the walled and gated fish-pond, the fountain, the washing-place, the stables, the barns, etc. A second gate, a second portcullis, leads to a second smaller court, where—huge, swart, and sombre—towers the keep. It is immense, it is impregnable, and always opposite the weakest point of the defence, with a postern of its own leading to the orchard, and a subterranean way into the open country. Those who have admired the black majesty of Loches will admit the grandeur of the mediæval keep.

Built against the castle's outer wall, looking from its upper windows across the open country, the keep sometimes has pleasant views. An island castle, defended by a wide expanse of water, or lifted high above the plain upon a granite needle, could afford the luxury of light and air, could indulge in large windows, grouped

three or four together in a space of dead wall, on which they make a lacework of pointed arch and separating columns. But the huge moated castle of the plain was less fortunate. The windows were rare, narrow, far apart. The walls, ten feet thick, made a deep and dark recess for the long lancet holes, more often closed with oiled and painted linen than with glass, and placed very high for the sake of safety. Sometimes they were as much as five feet above the floor. A few years ago in Florence, at the Palazzo Alessandri, I remember seeing windows of this sort, high-perched recesses, the size and shape of an opera-box, reached by a staircase cut in the stone of the wall. On the granite window-benches heap embroidered cushions, lay a Saracen carpet on the floor; and set in this narrow shrine some fair young woman, lily-slender in her tight brocaded gown. She is playing chess with a squire still younger than herself. Or perhaps she is alone, singing to her lute some ballad of the Round Table:

"La reine chante doucement,  
La voix accorde à l'instrument,  
Les mains sont belles, li laiz bons,  
Douce la voix et bas li tons."

### III.

Even nobles of some pretensions used in their daily life little more than the great hall of justice, where the movable trestle-tables were brought in at dinner-time, the gallery which answers to our modern drawing-room, the chapel, the chamber, and the garde-robe, where the young maids-of-honour learned to embroider amid their waiting-women.

These halls and chambers were furnished with some splendour. The walls were no longer ornamented with the mere stencil pattern in white and yellow ochre, which sufficed for the princely keep of Coucy. There is a frieze painted with knights and goddesses, with "Vénus la Dieuesse d'Amour," or else adorned in fresco or mosaic by "generations of Christians and Saracens painted in battle," such as the Seigneur de Caumont admired on the walls of Mazières.\* Lower down the walls were often wainscotted like that—

"Rice sale à lambres  
Et d'or musique painturée  
Et de fin or tout listée."

where Percival found the Damozel. If the walls were left bare, they were furnished just below the frieze with an iron rod, whence depended tapestry hangings. Every castle possessed several sets for each apartment, and the noble on his travels had at least one set of chamber-hangings strapped among his baggage. Nothing was easier than

\* "Voyage du Seigneur de Caumont," quoted by Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.* t. v. p. 83.

to suspend these stuffs, already provided with their hooks, to the rod prepared to hold them. "One thousand hooks for tapestry" is a common item in fourteenth-century accounts.\*

The hangings were of plain serge, of worked silk, cloth of gold, or "tapisserie de haute lisse," according to the wealth of the noble or the splendour of the occasion they adorned. In times of mourning the hangings were all black. Such a "chamber," consisting of wall-hangings, bed-furniture, chair-coverings, cushions, &c., in striped serge, with cord and fringe to match, was supplied to the Lady de la Trémoille in 1396, at a cost of fifty-nine livres. As the appearance of the hall could be changed at an hour's notice in preparation for mourning or festivities, even the greatest castles had plainer hangings for common use. King Charles V. possessed no less than sixty-four "chambers," or complete sets of hangings, in silk, velvet, cloth of silver, leather, embroidery, &c.† When Valentine Visconti, Duchess of Orleans, prepared to leave Paris in 1408, a few months before her death, a few months after her husband's murder, she caused her chamberlain to draw up a list of her furniture, which still exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This document (pathetically marked by faded crosses against the names of those objects which Valentine desired to carry with her to Touraine) enumerates more than sixty sets of hangings. Some of the designs appear astonishingly modern, and indicate a complete mastery of the human figure on the part of the designers. As few persons, we believe, have had the privilege of reading this unpublished manuscript, communicated to us by Comte Albert de Circourt, we proceed to quote a few of the more interesting descriptions :

"2. Bed-furniture of green; the baldaquin is worked with a design of angels; the long curtain depending from the tester behind the pillows represents shepherds and shepherdesses feasting on cherries and walnuts; the counterpane, a shepherd and a shepherdess within a park; the whole embroidered with gold thread and with coloured wools. Item, wall hangings to match. Item, curtains for the walls, without gold, and three smaller curtains of green serge.

"3. Item, a 'chamber'‡ in gold, silk, and wool, with a device of little children on a river bank, with birds flying overhead. There are three hangings to match, bed-furniture and sofa-cover. The counterpane is embroidered with a group of children, their heads meeting in the middle. Item, three other hangings, with a cherry-tree, and a dame and a squire gathering cherries in a basket—which go with the aforesaid chamber-hangings to make up (*pour fournir*).

"4. Item, another 'chamber,' of a brownish green, *sans* gold, with a lady holding a harp; and there are six hangings to match, with bed-furniture, and a quilt for the couch.

\* See, for instance, Douët d'Arcq, "Comptes de l'Hôtel des Rois de France."

† Labarte, "Mobiliier de Charles V."

‡ The "chamber" generally consisted of bed-curtains, a baldaquin, counterpane and covering for the couch or sofa, hangings for the wall, doors, and windows, cushions for the benches and chairs.



"17. Item, a great tapestry, with the history of the destruction of Troy the Great.

"Item, two wall hangings, with the victories of Theseus.

"Item, a green velvet cover for a couch, and a long cushion covered with green velvet, and two chair cushions, also of green velvet.

"19. Item, a white 'chamber,' sown with gladiolus; bed-furniture, quilt for couch, and four rugs.

"20. Item, a set of green tapestries de haute lisse, with the Fountain of Youth and several personages; with bed-hangings, counterpanes, sofa-covers, and six wall-hangings, all worked with gold, without guards (linen coverings).

"Item, a 'chamber,' representing a lady playing with a knight at the game of chess.

"Item, a set of hangings of cloth of gold, including bed-curtains, counterpane, and two large cushions."

These tapestries must have been as marvellous as those exquisite rose-grey hangings which still adorn the upper gallery of the Musée Cluny. The smaller curtains were stretched over screens of wicker, or served to drape the great roofed and cushioned settle near the fire, while cloths of gold and silver curtained the throne-like *fauteuil* reserved for the master of the house. Mats of plaited rushes were laid in winter on the floors under the delicate rugs of wool, imitated from the industry of the East; but in summer a strew of fresh rushes, mint, and gladiolus, that flower so dear to mediæval eyes, covered the pavement with cool fragrance, while a bough of some green tree or flowering bush filled the hearth.\* Great soft cushions, "*carreaux*" or "*couettes*," were placed, sometimes on the chairs and benches, sometimes on the floor itself, according to their size. They served, like the *tabourets* of Saint Simon, for people of lesser dignity, seated on occasions of ceremony, in presence of their lord. There were also *bankers*, or stuffed backless benches placed against the wall; *dossiers*, a sort of short sofa with a back and cushions; and armchairs provided with *pavillons*, or tester and curtains to keep off the draughts. There were always carpets in rich halls or chambers; long, narrow ones in front of the bankers and the settle, and larger thicker "*tapis velus*" in the middle of the room. Rugs of embroidered Hungarian leather, and skins of leopard or tiger were laid upon the hearth.†

#### IV.

All these cushions, curtains, carpets, did not suffice to keep the cold from the great deep halls of our forerunners. A shiver runs through the literature of the age.

"Telz froid y fait en yver que c'est raige!"

\* The Knight of La Tour makes a mock of certain eccentric "Gallois" who strew their floors and deck their hearths, in winter, "*comme en été*," with herbs and holly.—  
p. 242.

† Labarte, "*Mobilier de Charles V.*"

says Eustache Deschamps in his 805th Ballad, describing the Castle of Compiègne. Even in the house one must arm oneself with good furry hose, furred pourpoints, warm fur-lined cloaks and hoods. In winter, men and women alike wore a long tunic of fur, sewn between two pieces of stuff, underneath their outer garments. But to be slender was the ideal, the supreme elegance of the later Middle Ages. In vain the Knight of La Tour warns his daughters of the fate of sundry very comely maidens, who, wishing to appear in their true slimness before their lovers, discarded their furred tunics despite the blast of winter, and turned the young men's hearts against them by the chicken-flesh of their cheeks and the blueness of their noses! In vain he draws a salutary picture of lovers, at last united, dying of cold in the arms of one another, victims of the too chilly elegance of their figures! The furred tunic was all very well for gouty Master Eustace and the elderly knight: young beauties and trim gallants often preferred the risk of mortal illness, and let them grumble.

"Sy est cy bon exemple comment l'en ne se doit mie si lingement ne sy joliettement vestir, pour soy greslir et faire le beau corps en temps d'yver, que l'on en perde sa manière et sa couleur." \*

"Do not be shaved," goes on Master Eustace, who must decidedly have been an ill-dressed, slovenly old poet, "neither have your hair cut, nor take a bath this bitter weather." The young people might reply that the "Roman de la Rose" prescribes the hot bath as a sovereign remedy against winter. The bath-room, with its warm pipes, its great wooden tubs with the carved gilt garlands round them, its lounges for cooling, its little tables spread with a dainty supper, still preserved a *souvenir* of Roman luxury. People used to bathe in company, sometimes men and women together (as we still do at the sea-side), their heads beautifully dressed and adorned with flowers, their bodies hidden up to the neck in their great cask-like baths, where the water was often thickened with scented bran or strewn with a dust of salutary herbs.

"Quand viendrait la froide saison,"

sings Maistre Jehan de Meung—

"Quand l'air verroient forcenez  
Et jeter pierres et tempestes  
Que tuassent es champs les bestes  
Et grands fleuves prendre et glacer. . . .

"On feroient chaudes estuves  
S'y pourroient tuit nuz demourer  
Se baignant entr'eux es cuves."

In a German poem, "Der nakte Bote," quoted by Herr Alwin Schulz, a messenger arrives at a distant castle, and proceeds, as was the custom, to strip and take a bath after his dusty journey before presenting himself before the lord of the castle. What was his sur-

\* "Le Livre du Chevalier de La Tour Landry."

prise on opening the door of the bath-room to behold my lord, my lady, and all their olive-branches disporting themselves in steaming tubs! It was, they explained, the only way they could keep themselves from freezing.

Master Eustace prefers a warm chamber, "*nattée sus et jus*," with all the windows shut, a fur-lined dressing-gown, a bowl of old Beaune :

"*Le chaud civet et bonne espicerie.*"

Contest of youth and age! But which, Master Eustace, would be better for your gout?

V.

The hearth none the less was deep and ample. Sometimes several fireplaces, grouped together on a raised dais, occupied all the upper end of the hall with their blazing hearths and shadowy overmantels. A magnificent example still exists at Bourges. In houses of less pretension the hall could boast but one chimney, but that at least was vast. A whole tree could be laid across the gigantic fire-dogs, whence the great blaze radiated warmth and light into the church-like frigidty of the hall. Those who know the *Salle de Garde* at Langeais, with its beautiful chimney-piece representing the crenellated *chemin-de-ronde*, carved with mimic soldiers and watchers stooping over the battlements to look at the blaze below, will agree that few objects are more stately than the monumental fourteenth-century fireplace. If the heat did not penetrate very far, if the humbler fry in the lower hall were grateful for their furs—under the huge overmantel, where the curtained settles stood, there was a cosy ingle-nook for the master of the house, his wife, his children, his guests, his chief retainers.

In houses that could not boast a resident physician, a master of requests, a staff of notaries and secretaries, there was, at least, invariably, a chaplain. Immediately below the reverend clerk came the seneschal, who was constable, governor, or simple steward, according to the standing of the castle. When no separate dispenser was employed the seneschal was dispenser, master of the household, and governor of the pages. Next to him came the butler; the chamberlain, to whom were entrusted the jewels, art treasures, and furniture of the castle; the marshal, or master of the horse, and the head falconer. All these were persons of importance, to be treated with a certain ceremony; they were frequently of noble blood; they accompanied their master on many of his journeys, and were rather his ministers than his servants. Next to them in order of rank stood the housekeeper or governess, often a *beguiné* or Tertiary nun, who supervised the ordering of the house, engaged and controlled the

servants, and governed the young girls of noble family serving in the castle as maids of honour. Under her came a swarm of chamber-maids and housemaids, cooks and tailors, page-boys and varlets. Let us not forget from the list of our retainers that person of consideration, the fool: the ancestor of the modern diner-out. Fools and dwarfs were not to be found under every noble roof. The smaller country-houses were sometimes condemned to a distressing sanity, and depended for their amusement on wandering minstrels and the acrobats of the fair.

We have not counted in our list the knights and squires of the castle, nor yet the garrison with its captain, nor the artisans and labourers on the estate. For the moment we are occupied merely with the interior of the keep. And the chief thing that strikes us in it is the abundance of young people—the troops of boys and girls.

## VI.

Every castle was in fact a school—a seminary of polite education. From the king to the pettiest baron every noble received at his court the children of his principal vassals; and thus every noble child was educated to the standard of the sphere immediately above his own. In their homes, from the age of seven, boys and girls alike had learned to spell, to ride, to know that they were Christians. At twelve they were generally sent to court. Here they learned, above all, the duties and behaviour of gentlepeople.

Great care was taken that they should be well-bred, chivalrous, courteous, neatly clad, and clean. Along with this, the boys learned to fence, shoot, fight with sword and shield, joust, play quintaine, tennis, palm-play, chess, draughts, and tric-trac. They were taught to ride, climb, leap, swim, and to perform all these feats in heavy armour and handicapped by difficult conditions. In a word, they were trained to amuse themselves, to exert themselves, and to endure. The "*Livre des Faiz de Jean Bouciquaut*" shows the great stress laid upon physical education; but it also shows that physical education was not all. Boys who would grow into knights, and pass through many courts and countries, had to learn several languages. French of a sort was taught in all European countries—often, no doubt, it was of the kind of Stratford-atte-Bowe—for French then, as now, was the Volapük of the polite. And some lads then, as now, acquired a little Greek and Latin; but so much learning was rarely encouraged save in the future Churchmen. All noble children, boys and girls, learned to read and write, though frequently in after-life the warrior's remembrance of these arts was no more precise than the knowledge our average squire possesses of the Homer he used to parse at school. The women kept up their accomplishments: most noble women of all countries could read, play some musical instrument, embroider, speak

a little French, bind a wound and tend a fever, if comparatively few could wield the pen.

At twelve years old the page was sent to court. Here he was to finish his education, to win, if possible, his suzerain's favour, and to lay the beginnings of his fortune. But at first he saw little of his lord. He was entirely under the control of the *seneschal*, the chamberlain, and the first equerry, for, as the name denotes, the young squire's quarters were situate in the *écuries*. After a few years' apprenticeship his opportunity might come. A chance might make him page-messenger, and so he might earn the confidence of his master. He might, by his good manners and courtesy, awaken the attention of some noble dame. He might even accompany his suzerain to some superior court, attract the notice of the over-lord, and be adopted to that higher sphere. \* Thus the little Jehan de Saintré, a young lad in the household of his father's suzerain in Touraine, was taken by that gallant knight to Paris, where the king took a fancy to the child—"tellement que il le voulut avoir en sa cour à estre son paige pour après lui chevaucher et au sourplus servir en salle comme ses aultres paiges et enfans d'honneur." But the natural course of things was for the lad to remain a page among his fellow-pages till the age of fifteen or sixteen, when he was ripe for the office of messenger or carver at the lord's table. These offices entailed squireship. In this state he remained until about the age of twenty, when, generally on the occasion of some princely wedding, some outbreak of war, some tournament or other great occasion, he was dubbed knight, and set out on his adventures.

While all these lads from twelve to twenty were fencing, riding, or playing palm-play in the court, their sisters were employed in my lady's company. They seldom came together with the men of the castle save on holidays and feast-days. Other whiles they spent their time in my lady's chamber or tiring-room, or walked with her in the country, for it was held unseemly that ladies of noble birth should be met walking alone. They were, in fact, much in the position of "girls still in the schoolroom" in a modern country-house. They learned their lessons with their governess, practised their lute, went to church every morning, embroidered chasubles and altar-cloths, and worked wonderful hangings for the cold stone walls. And there were from seventy to a hundred yards of needlework in a set of hangings! They could also spin fine silk and linen, and ornament with needlework their feast-day veils and dresses. (The less interesting forms of sewing were left to the army of tire-women and waiting-women who attended on the noble maidens and their lady.) They all knew how to ride and fly a hawk, to make wreaths and posies, to sing, to play, to beguile the long hours with chess, tric-trac, draughts, and the youngest of them began

to deal and shuffle the new-invented "naypes," or "naibi": the first playing-cards. They could pluck or brew virtuous simples, bind a broken limb, or nurse a fever. They could amuse the convalescent with endless tales of the Round Table, with the legends of Charlemagne, and with lives of the saints no less interesting and romantic. Most of them could read aloud some novel of Cleomades or Mélusine. They must, I think, have been blithe, charming, capable companions in the long winter of a lonely country-house. On the whole, with its constant undercurrent of chivalry and religion, theirs was an education which left its women delightful, tender of heart, and generous, if, alas! with little moral strength to resist the more seductive errors of the heart.

## VII.

From December till the end of March, life in the castle was perforce an idle one. War was rarely made in winter; there were no tournaments in the bitter weather, too cold for combatant or spectator; and in heavy snow time there was perforce a truce to hunting of the more vigorous kind. It would have been extravagant to rise before candlelight, so that it was after seven when knights and ladies left their curtained beds, washed their hands and face in rose-water, heard the Mass, and took their morning broth. Dinner, which in the summer was sometimes as early as nine, was sometimes put as late as noon. And after dinner there was the siesta—the apparently inevitable siesta, sensible enough in summer heats after a morning already seven or eight hours old, but inexplicable during the best part of a winter's day. Still, in all the novels and chronicles of the fourteenth century I am bound to admit that, at all seasons of the year, after the principal meal, both men and women retire to sleep for at least a couple of hours. It is true the meal was long and heavy, highly spiced, and not conducive to post-prandial energy. Still, in our visions of mediæval heroes we cannot, without an effort, imagine Charlemagne Homerically nodding every day after dinner, despite the assurance of Philippe Mouskes "that he always undressed himself and slept for two hours after the midday meal, holding the practice for a very wholesome one."\* We do not conjure up Knight Percival and his companions sleeping all the afternoon. Yet†

"après le disner  
Se couchièrent . . . à dormir  
Jusqu'al vespre sans nul espir.  
\* \* \*  
Endroit vespre sont reveillé  
Le souper ont appareillié."†

Joinville mentions, as the most natural thing in the world, that

\* "Après mengier al miédi, et lors tout nuz il se couçoit. dormir deux heures, puis levoit." Philippe Mouskes: *Chronique*.

† Quoted by Herr Alwin Schultz, *op. cit.* i. 362.

St. Louis went to bed every day after the midday dinner until vespers; while the child Jehan de Saintré, Damp Abbez, the Dame des Belles Cousines, Pero Niño, the Dame de Sérifontaines, the Lady of Fayel, the Chastelain de Coucy, all the brood of fourteenth-century heroes and heroines, follow, in this respect, the example of their elders.

Between three and four o'clock our dames and knights aroused themselves, took a slender meal of bread dipped in wine, or hypocras and preserved fruits, and then set out to vespers. We still are faithful to the afternoon-tea, but we have dropped the daily church service. After vespers the winter evening had closed in, the fourteenth-century evening ill-lit by flaring torches. It was fortunate if pedlar or pilgrim, minstrel or acrobat, knocked at the castle gate and demanded hospitality. Otherwise, despite the well-worn *facétie* of Master Hausselicoq, the fool, the evening was apt to prove a trifle long.

The accounts of fourteenth-century barons abound in mention of minstrels, acrobats, "jouers d'espertise," "jouers de la corde," "chanteurs et chanteresses," and all the motley crew.\* Every castle was glad to extend its hospitality to wayfarers of every kind, for they brought news and amusement, and renewed the worn-out stock of gossip. Two little pictures of people of this sort occur to me as I am writing. One is a sketch of the Welsh or Breton harper, from the poem of Renart. When Renart, disguised as a jongleur, offered to sing to Isengrin his lays of the Round Table, he put on a strange jargon, and proceeded to tell his story in almost unintelligible French.

" 'Je fot sayer bon lai Breton  
Et di Merlin et di Foucon  
Del Roi Artu et de Tristan  
Del Chievrefoil, et Saint Brandan.' . . .  
'Et sais-tu le Lai Dan Iset?' . . .  
'Ya-ia!' dit il. 'Godistouët!'" (God is to wit?)

Wrapped in their weather-beaten mantle, shaggy, ridiculous, singing much as sings Hans Breitmann to-day, it is thus (according to M. Joseph Bédier†) that we must picture the minstrels who sang of Tristan and Yseult. Probably they used their strange, absurd prose merely as a medium to explain the story to their hearers in much such a *chante-fable* as "Aucassin et Nicolette," while they sang their lyrics in their Celtic tongue to the music of their harps. And if the voice is sweet, after all, the language is of little consequence.

Our other tiny idyl is drawn from the arrival of the pedlar at the castle of the Lady of Fayel. That hapless and guilty lady, desirous at all risks to meet her noble lover, bids the Chastelain de Coucy

\* See, for instance, the "Comptes de la Trémoille," and the "Comptes de l'Hotel des Rois."

† "Les Lais de France," par J. Bédier: *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Oct. 1891.

don the pedlar's garb in order to approach her. He puts on rough laced boots and a coat of coarse cloth, on his head a torn and battered hat, a stick in his hand, a pack upon his back. He comes to the castle and undoes his wares :

" car mercier  
Porte en tous lieux son panier  
Et en salles et en maisons  
S'ebate en toutes saisons."

The lady and her maidens stand round and pick and choose, praise this, bargain for that, choose and discard in true feminine fashion.

" Ont maintes choses barguigné  
Et li aucuns ont achete  
C'e que leur vint à volenté."

But when the pack is strapped again, the pedlar murmurs that it is late. " And it rains ! " cries the Dame de Fayel. So the packman stays all night at the castle, and my lady finds means to get speech with her lover.

In the summer, when there were tourneys and weddings and other festivities in the country-side, not only packmen passed and minstrels, but acrobats, conjurers who swallowed knives and lighted candles, keepers of learned pigs and clever dogs, owners of puppet shows, dancers and jongleurs in plenty. They travelled from place to place, lodging in the castle or the village inn, always welcome guests in the monotony of country life. But all these were rarer birds in winter. Then the long days were passed in chess-playing and tric-trac ; heavy bets were laid and taken, and in the cumber of their idleness many a knight was ruined out of sheer *ennui*.

Gambling was the curse of the noble, as it has always been the curse of every class trained to win and to desire, but with scant outlet for its energies. The knights in winter gambled pretty nearly all day long. We remember how the Servitor of Milun, entering a castle in the morning, finds in the great hall two knights playing chess, so absorbed that they do not see him. . . . " When Easter comes," say the knights to Milun, " we will recommence our tournaments," but until Easter there is no rival to their games of chance, except the eternal game of love. Chess was the *baccarat*, the poker of the Middle Ages. In vain the king forbade it in 1369, in 1393, and both before and after, with every game of hazard. But who was to enter the snowed-up country castle to tell tales of knights and ladies playing the forbidden game ? The women were almost as bad as the men. " Never play chess, save for love," says the Knight de la Tour to his daughters : " ne soyez jamais grant jouaresses de tables." And he proceeds to tell them melancholy tales of land, of money, and of women's honour spent over the too enticing board. But, alas, good knight, the days are ill to pass in winter time !



## VIII.

So there was great joy when the trees began to redden :

“Betweene Mersh and Averil  
When spray beginth to spring.”

The poets of the Middle Ages, all intoxicate with May-dew, did but express the hearts of their whole generation. The long dull months, shut in cold and ill-lit draughty houses, with, for nourishment, the same eternal salt meat and ship-board food, were now delightfully over-past. The voice of the stock-dove was heard in the land, and the almond-boughs began to blossom in the orchard. Spring meant a free life out of doors in the sunlight; spring meant the hunt, delicious days spent in the fresh green wood in healthy sport that made the pulses beat. Spring meant the game-bag full; a varied table spread in bower or garden. Spring meant a hundred little intimate festivities waking to mirth the numerous young people of every fourteenth-century castle. Sometimes the whole company go out to hunt for several days in the forest, knights and ladies, pages, maidens, carrying with them tents, provisions. The girls wash their hands and faces in the dew of flowers to get a good complexion, as they still used to do in Warwickshire when I was a little child. Every hunter has a horn to sound if he gets lost in the forest. How they laugh over all the little hardships and adventures of the picnic! In one old poem—old even in the days of Valentine Visconti—the knights have forgotten their towels and have to dry their faces on the ladies' skirts.\*

Generally these great hunts were made with bounds, and the game was deer or bear, wild boar, hare, or otter. But the most fashionable sport was hawking. Every castle had its knight-falconer, a great person with onerous duties. The royal falconer was paid as much as twenty-four sols a day—three times the daily due of the physician; and a valet falconer was given three sols *per diem*—a very respectable salary.† But he was not paid for doing nothing; the hawk was hard to catch, and when caught difficult to train. Night and day the falconer, with the bird, hooded and fasting, on his hand, must pace up and down, up and down, like a mother with her teething child. When at last the bird was fit for use, perched lightly on his lady's wrist, or soaring after swan, pheasant, or wild duck through the upper air, he was one of the most precious and beautiful possessions of a noble. The best esteemed was the Irish or Norwegian ger-falcon. What pet name was more endearing than that of the “Gay Goshawk”? His clear eye, a pure grey, neither greenish

\* Guillaume de Dole. Quoted by Herr Alwin Schultz, t. i. p. 470.

† Douët d'Arc, “Comptes de l'Hotel du Roy Charles V.”

nor bluish, is the inevitable standard to which the mediæval lover compares his lady's glance—falcon-keen, falcon-swift, falcon-bright, and grey as the hawk's eye. In the evening, invigorated rather than fatigued by the long day in the forest, knights and ladies would fall to dancing. The country neighbours would come for miles; even the burghers of the richest sort were now and then invited. "Il est accoustumé en esté de veiller à dances jusqu'au jour," writes the Knight of La Tour, but he condemns the practice, being past his youth, and asserts that strange things happen when some band of practical jokers contrives to extinguish all the lights. Let us hope that such accidents did not frequently occur, and that the knight's three daughters were not kept at home too often "pour le péril de mauvaises langues."

## IX.

It would be pleasant to spend a day or two in some fourteenth-century country-house during the early summer. Let us attach ourselves to the suite of a certain Spanish hidalgo, Don Pero Niño, a noble adventurer, who, landing at Harfleur in 1405, went to visit Renaud de Trie, Admiral of France, at his country seat of Sérifontaines. Don Pero Niño, fresh as we to France, sets forth, by means of his gifted secretary and chronicler, all the details of that memorable visit. We remember no page in Froissart at once so fresh and so precise.

The Admiral de Trie was an aged knight, ill in health. In his day he had been a famous fighter, but in 1405, broken down by many battles, he lived retired on his estate in Normandy.\*

"There dwelt he in great comfort in a castle, strong, although situate in a plain, and furnished as well as it had been in Paris. He had about him young gentlemen in pageship, and all kind of servitors, as befits so great a lord.

"In his house there was a great chapel, where Mass was said every morning to the sound of trumpets and divers instruments played by his minstrels in a way that was a marvel. Before the house a river flowed; orchards and gracious gardens bordered it. On the other side of the castle was a pond for fish, enclosed by walls, and guarded by gates well-locked; whence, every day, the steward might furnish food for three hundred persons. . . . There was a pack of fifty hounds and twenty horses kept for the service of the lord of the castle. There were plenty of falcons-gentle. There was all that heart can wish for hunting—the otter, the roe, the wild boar, small game, or water-fowl."

The old knight had a young wife, "the fairest lady that was at

\* Le Victorial, "Chronique de Don Pedro Niño, Comte de Buelna," par Gutierrez Diaz de Gomez, son Alferéz, 1379-1449. Traduit de l'Espagnol d'après le manuscrit, avec une introduction et des notes, par Comte Albert de Circourt et le Comte de Puymaigre.

that time in France." She was a woman of great sense and order, and, as was in those days the custom, she was almost entirely responsible for the management of her husband's estates.

"All things were arranged or decided by my lady. She alone governed everything both within and without. My lord the Admiral was a rich man, lord of many lands; but he had to take thought for none of these things, my lady being sufficient unto all."

My lady had her noble lodging apart from the mansion of her lord. They dwelt within the selfsame moat, but divided the one from the other by a drawbridge. It would be long to set forth the number and the magnificence of the furniture that there was in this lodging. Here lived my lady, surrounded by ten maids of honour, very richly clad and accoutred all of them, who had nought to do save keep their lady company, for beneath them there were many waiting-women.

"Now will I tell you the rule and order of my lady's life. Of a morning, so soon as she was dressed, forth she went with her damsels to a spring hard by, where each one told her rosary, and read her book of *Hours* in silent prayer, sitting a little apart from her fellows. Next, plucking flowers and violets upon their way, they hied them home to the palace, and gathered in the chapel, where they heard a low Mass. As they came out of church their servants handed them a silver tray, furnished with larks, chickens, and other roast fowl, of which they took or left what they would, and drank a little wine. My lady ate but rarely of a morning, or trifled with some morsel to humour those about her. Their fast broken, lady and damsels mounted their noble hackneys, and then, met in company with such knights and squires as were of their party, they went riding through the lanes and open country for some while, weaving garlands of flowers as they went. Then might you hear such singing, by voices well-tuned and timed together, of virelays, lays, rondeaux, songs, complaints, ballads, and other verses, such as the French know feathily how to finish, that, I declare you, could it last for ever, you would have thought yourself in Paradise."

With this company rode the Captain Pero Niño, the origin of all this festival. With them at dinner-time he rode home to the castle, dismounted, and strode into the hall where the portable trestle-tables had been already spread. The Admiral could no longer ride afield, but he welcomed home his guests with a marvellous good grace. My lady and Pero Niño were placed at the Admiral's table, while the seneschal presided over the other, and saw that every damsel sat between a squire and a knight. There were meats of all manner in great number and marvellous well cooked. During the meal whosoever knew how to speak with courtesy and measure of arms and love was sure to find a hearing and an answer. Meanwhile the jongleurs made low music on divers instruments. Dinner over, grace was said, the tables removed, and then the minstrels came; my lady danced with Pero Niño and every damsel with her squire. This dance lasted an hour; when it was over, my lady gave the kiss of

peace to Pero Niño, and every lady to her cavalier. Then wine and spices were handed round, and all alike dispersed to their siesta. Pero Niño, happy knight, had his lodging in my lady's tower.

Later in the afternoon the horses were brought round, and the pages stood ready bearing falcons: a huntsman had already tracked the heron's course:

"Then would you have seen a noble sport and fair amusement, with swimming of hounds, beating of drums, whirring and wheeling of falcons, with knights and ladies riding along the river bank as many as you can imagine them. That sport ended, my lady and her company would seat themselves to rest in some green meadow, while the pages unpacked cold fowl and game, and divers fruit. All eat and drank, twining garlands. Then, singing glees and songs, they returned to the castle."

Supper came at nightfall if it were winter-time. In summer the meal was earlier, and afterwards my lady would set off on foot to wander up and down the country-side till dark, while some would accompany her, and some would stay to play at bowls. Then the torches flared in the great hall, the minstrels gathered in, and there was dancing until far into the night. And this is the order which was followed every day, according to the seasons and the quality of the guests, whenever there was holiday at Sérifontaines. But now, 'tis late! Hand round the wine and spices, and to bed!

# X.

During these long days, when my lady danced, sang, and rode with Pero Niño, she and he discovered that the Admiral was old. "En tout honneur," they fell in love with one another. Like the woman of order that she was, instead of keeping Pero Niño as her lover, Madame de Trie sent him to her father, to see if he would do for her second husband, while she stayed at Sérifontaines and nursed the Admiral. The father apparently consented, for we hear that they "se tinrent pour amoureux." Meanwhile the Admiral died. My lady and Don Pero exchanged keepsakes, and he promised to return to France and marry her at the expiry of her mourning. But having met in Spain a certain Doña Beátriz, he married her instead; and perhaps in later years, Madame de Trie thought kindlier of the good old Admiral.

Neither the knights nor the ladies of these old chronicles surprise us by the delicacy of their heart. With the *Roman de la Rose*, the still unpurified passions of those ages held that—

"Nous sommes faiz, beau filz, sans doutes,  
Toutes pour tous et tous pour toutes."

Adultery is as common in their chronicles as it has always been in fiction—and perhaps in fact. And when the lovers are tired of each

other, it is difficult to veil the case less kindly than the Dame des Belles-Cousines, in her behaviour to Jehan de Saintr , or the Chastelain de Coucy when he punishes the Lady of Vermandois. Moreover, the very first beginnings of love were contaminate by a thought of utility, of "subsidy," as one of our authors does not fear to state. Even in that pure and charming chronicle, the *Livre des Faiz de Jehan Bouciquant*, we read that on account of her influence and her prestige, "it is much better to love a lady of a station superior to one's own." Listen to the counsels which a lady of great position, the Dame des Belles-Cousines, gives to Jehan de Saintr ! The lad, a child of thirteen, has refused to tell her the name of his sweetheart:

"The tears came into the lad's eyes, for never in his days had he given thought to such a thing as love or lady-loves. His heart fell, his face turned pale. . . . He sat a long while in silence, twirling the loose end of his girdle round his thumbs. . . . At last he cried out in his despair, for all the maids of honour fell to questioning him together and at once: 'What can I tell her? I have no lady-love! If I had one, I would tell you soon enough!'

"Well, whom do you love the best of all in the world?' asked the maidens.

"My mother,' said little Saintr , 'and after her my sister Jacqueline.'

"Then said my lady:

"But of them that are nothing to ye, which love ye the best?'

"I love none of them,' said Saintr .

"What! none of them?' quoth my lady. 'Ha! false gentleman! You love none of them? Then by that token I prophesy that you will come to nothing. Faint heart that ye are! whence sprang all noble enterprises, all great achievements and valorous deeds of Launcelot, of Gawain, of Tristan, of the courteous Giron, and the other knights of the Round Table? Also of Ponthus,\* and innumerable other heroes? What else but love-service? What else but the desire to keep the favour of their much-desired dame? And I myself have known many men who, through their love affairs, have reached the highest possible honours, of whom, but for these, no more talk had been made than of so many simple soldiers.'"

Little Saintr  left the lady's presence shamefaced, and when the door was shut, "he ran down the gallery as fast as if he had fifty wolves behind him." But one day as he waited at table on the maids of honour, these ladies made him vow to give the promised answer that afternoon. Therefore, when the king and queen retired for their noonday siesta, my lady sought young Saintr  in the gallery, and took him to her chamber with her; and there, surrounded by her ladies, she seated him at the foot of her couch and summoned him for a reply.

"At last the poor lad bethought him of one of the noble maidens sent to court, who was ten years of age.

"My lady,' quoth he, 'tis Matheline de Courcy!'

"Ah, coward!' cried my lady, 'to choose a child like Matheline. Not

\* "Les Amours de Ponthus et de la belle Sidonie" is the name of a once famous romance of chivalry.

that she be not a very fair maiden, and of an excellent house, better than thine. But what good, what profit, what honour, what comfort, what advantage, *what subsidy*, what aid and counsel can you find in the love of Matheline? She is but a lassie yet. Nay, you should choose a lady of high and noble birth, wise, and *with the wherewithal to help your fortunes*, and set you above necessity; and her should you love with perfect service, loyally and well, and in all honour. Be sure that in the end she will have mercy upon you, "et par ainsy deviondrez homme de bien." \* \*

When we think that this harangue (and especially all that follows it) was penned by an ecclesiastic for the education of a prince, we perceive that our code of morals has changed. Young Saintré receives large sums of money from his mistress, with no loss of honour, and the lady herself enters on her mission as on a *sacerrdoce*. "Although so young, she had, in her virtue, formed a Roman resolution never to remarry; but often she wished that her work in the world might be to train some young knight or squire and make him, a pattern of chivalry." It is with this high intention that she becomes the mistress of young Saintré; that she bestows her wealth upon him, and keeps him in due splendour of steed and apparel; that she preaches to him, with a sublime lack of logic, "how to flee the seven mortal sins"; that she finds him books to read, and stuffs him with quotations from Thales of Miletus, Chilon of Lacedemonia, Avicenna, Valerius Maximus, and Pitacus of Mitylene. To this end she persuades herself to a cruel separation, and sends him on his travels as knight-errant. She is, in fact, his mundane Beatrice. Her love for him is in truth a liberal education, and one that seems delightful and legitimate to her contemporaries. But our eyes see in her an ugly likeness to Madame de Warens, and we should say, in downright English, that she corrupts the lad.

# XI.

Virtuous or frail, the ladies of the Trecento, as of the two preceding centuries, were all alike as sisters in their loveliness. Or rather, we may say that only one type of beauty was recognised as such, all mediæval heroines being required to conform to that absolute standard.

In our eyes the dark-eyed beauties of Murillo, the warm blondes of Titian and Palma, the slender angels of Perugino, the powdered *espigle* ladies of Gainsborough and Reynolds; the majestic form of the Venus of Milo, and the somewhat mannered elegance of Tanagra, are all, in their kind, types of accomplished beauty. Many different ideals have enlarged and exercised our taste. But, of all the candidates on our list, the Middle Ages would have admitted only the Perugino angel and the Tanagra statuette.

\* "Le Petit Jehan de Saintré," édition Guichard.

This lessens, at any rate, the difficulty of description. The mediæval beauty was *always* golden-haired, either naturally or by the aid of art. Her hair was very fine, rippling in long curves above a fair, broad forehead. One of her distinctive charms was the large space between the brows, the "plaisant entr'euil" so often sung of early poets; very few things seemed more hideous to our forefathers, than shaggy eyebrows meeting in the middle. It was also a great disadvantage for the eyebrows to be fair. They should be several shades darker than the hair, narrow, pencilled, delicately arched; Burns's—

"Eyebrows of a darker hue  
Bewitchingly o'erarching."

Eyes, not blue, but "grey as glass," "plus vairs que cristal," not over-large, somewhat deeply set, and always bright, keen, and shining as a falcon's.

Below these brilliant eyes, a small straight nose, rather long than short, but above all "traitis"—that is to say, neat and straight—divided two oval cheeks, with dimples that appear at the bidding of a smile. A fresh, faint pink-and-white colour, like the first apple-blossom, must flourish in these little cheeks. The lips are much redder, slightly pursed over the tiny pearly teeth; "la bouche petite et grossette" says the prosaic *Roman de la Rose*; but Ulrich von Lichstenstein expressed his meaning better in his "kleinvelhitze-rôter munt," his "little, very fire-red mouth"; or the author of "Guillaume le Faucon," who likens his heroine's lips to a scarlet poppy-bud:

"Tant estoit vermeille et close."

Sometimes the small mouth was only half shut, as if about to speak:

"Les lèvres joint on itel guise  
C'un poi i lessa ouverture  
Selonc réon et par mesure,"

says the author of "Narcisse."\*

The cleft chin and the ears must be small and round and white, above a long neck, with a full white throat. The fairness of this throat, its delicacy and transparency, was the *sine quâ non* of feminine loveliness. "When she drank red wine, one saw the rosy fluid through her throat," say the poets.

The beauty of the Middle Ages was invariably slender, slim, and round as a willow-wand. The shoulders are small; the whole figure "greslette et alignie"; long-drawn out in slenderness, with slim, round, long limbs, and slim, round, long fingers, that show no joints, and terminate in trim, shining nails, cut very close. The

\* Quoted from Herr Alwin Schultz, *op. cit.* t. i. p. 215.

bust is high, with neat, round, well-divided breasts, and a slim round waist. When Eustache Deschamps, in his 960th Ballad, sings the charms of a lady quite correctly like this portrait, he ends with saying :

“ Mais sur toutes portez bien vos habiz  
Plus que nulle dame ne damoiselle  
Qui soit vivante en terre n'en pays.” \*

Poets in every century have laid great store by that

“ something i' the gait  
Gars ony dress look weel.”

The *Roman de la Rose*, that manual of the fourteenth century, devotes a score or so of verses to this doctrine of deportment.

“ ‘ Marche joliettement,’ walk prettily, mincingly, showing your pretty little shoes, so well made they are without a wrinkle. . . . And if your dress trail behind on the pavement, yet take thought to lift it a little towards the front, as if the wind had caught it, so that every one who passes you may notice the dainty well-shod slimness of your feet.

“ And if you have a long mantle—one of those long, full cloaks that almost entirely hide your charming figure—with your two hands and your two arms manage to open it wide in front, whether the day be fair or foul, even as a peacock spreads his tail.”

## XII.

Let us not think that the fourteenth century castle was entirely peopled by men and women in the bloom of idle youth. There were charitable widows whose conversation was in heaven; there were knights strong and resolute in their absolute religion. In spite of all its mediocrity, alongside of its frivolity, its often criminal looseness of the marriage tie, the fourteenth century was an age of piety and honour. Every gentleman had two religions, for either of which he would have died; and the briefest record of life in the castle must find a place for the observances of the Church and the duties of chivalry. We cannot lay too great a stress upon the austerity, upon the charity, inherent in the ideal woman of a period whose great ladies were so often purely worldly and emotional. We should leave our readers under a false conception if we let them suppose that the women of a fourteenth-century castle were invariably after the pattern of the Dame des Belles-Cousines, or even of the sweeter Lady of Fayel. “Even in a palace life can be lived well.” No saint in her cloister was purer than Madame Olive de Belleville, “la plus courtoise dame et la plus humble”; stern to herself, fasting daily, wearing the hair-shirt on her tender flesh, but to all others

\* “Ballades d'Eustache Deschamps,” in five volumes. Edited by the Marquis de Queux de St. Hilaire.



most pitiful and gentle, visiting the sick, helping poor women in childbirth, praying on the graves of poor or aged people who had few to mourn them. And, by a rare virtue, she was charitable not only to the unhappy; she knew how to welcome and honour the well-to-do, the honourable, the unpathetic; she knew how to deck with fair, white raiment the smiling daughters of ruined gentlefolk, who else would have gone to their bridegrooms without a jewel or a wedding garment. She was hospitable, and even lavish, to the careless minstrel folk, who made a "Ballad of Regret" when at last she left them. Above all, she would never hear ill of anybody. And when the ugly story went round in whispers, and the worldly and the sceptical smiled half-content, this good woman, who denied herself the simplest pleasures, would hasten to excuse the sinner, to doubt the tale were true; or, if proven, she would say that God would amend it, and that His judgments and His mercy alike were marvellous, and would one day astound us all. So that in her neighbourhood none went undefended in the hour of slander, unsaluted in prosperity, unvisited in sickness or sorrow, unholpen in poverty or unprayed for in the hour of death. Few sweeter eulogies could be given to any woman. "In truth," says the Knight of La Tour, "though I was only nine years old when I knew her, I still remember many a wise thing she said and did, that I would set down here had I the time and space."

Madame Olive de Belleville was as frequent a type as the Lady des Belles-Cousines and her kind. More frequent than either, and between the two extremes of saint and sinner, is the wise and prudent Lady of La Tour, the careful mother of growing daughters, "*très gentille et preude femme*," who, beautiful still, and often subject to temptation, is skilful as Portia or Beatrice in the witty answer, the brilliant, inviolable smile, which serves to turn aside the insinuation of evil. Nor let us forget that noble wife of a nobler husband, Madame Antoinette de Turenne, "who scarce lived in her husband's absence, with so great love did they love each other," who had refused the hand of a royal prince to marry Sir John Bouciquant. There were then, as now, in every class countless women of purest honour, of staunchest virtue, wise in counsel, true of heart. And, in the highest class, if the absence of daily cares produced many frail and thoughtless beauties, it added to the souls of its saints a singular aloofness, a dazzling lustre of unworldliness, and a penetrating grace of meditation. The long empty hours of the mediæval donjon, if they fostered the loves of a Tristan and an Yseult, also brought forth many a whiter spiritual flower.

## XIII.

In the castles of the fourteenth century, the men no less than the women were religious. The middle class, and especially the respectable bourgeois man of letters, affected a certain freedom of thought : he was already the father of Voltaire and the grandfather of the speech-making Jacobins of the French Revolution. But all that was changed among the nobility. There it was essential, even as it is in France to-day, however light of life, to be grave of thought. The education of every knight made him instinctively religious. Even the scapegrace Louis of Orleans would pass weeks together in the Convent of the Celestines, praying, fasting with the monks before the altar. And a perfect knight was habitually not only pious, but austere.

The *Livre des Faiz de Messire Jehan Bouciquant* gives us an admirable picture of the life of a pattern of chivalry. The great Governor of Genoa (whom the documents of the Florentine archives reveal to us as an insupportable martinet, dogmatic, obstinate, and tyrannical, for all his virtues) appears in these pages in the inner splendour of a noble soul. Every morning he rose at dawn, "that the first fruits of his day might be consecrate to God," and we learn with some surprise that this poet of courtly ballads, this soldier, this statesman, gave every morning of his life three consecutive hours to his "cœuvre d'oraison," as infallibly renewed at night. At table, when his household were served in gold and silver, he ate and drank from pewter, glass, or wood ; however rich the banquet, he partook but of one dish, the first served, with one glass of wine and water.

"He loves to read the fair books of God, the lives of the saints, the deeds of the Romans, and ancient history ; but he talks little and will listen to no slander. . . . Marvellously hateth he liars and flatterers, and driveth them from him. . . . Marvellously hateth he also all games of chance and fortune, and never consenteth to them. . . . Those virtues which be contrary to lubricity are steadfast in him. . . . He is stern and to the point in justice, yet faileth he not in mercy and compassion. . . . He is very piteous to the ancient men-at-arms who can no longer help themselves, who have been good blades in their time, but have laid by nothing, and so are sore distressed in their old age. . . . And with all his heart loveth he those who are of good life, fearing and serving our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . He oweth no debts. . . . He never lies ; and all that he promiseth, so much doth he perform."

We are content to end our study with the portrait of so true knight.

MARY DARMESTETER.

## THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.\*

JOHN BRIGHT expressed, in the closing sentence of one of his finest speeches, the hope that England, "the august mother of free peoples," might herself one day be free. Bright's practical idea of national freedom was a parliamentary form of government with a wide and popular franchise. At the time when he thus declared, at least indirectly, that England was not free, the franchise was still curiously limited. The working classes were almost altogether excluded from the opportunity of giving a vote at a parliamentary election. A representative Chamber elected on a broad popular basis was, according to Bright's idea, the one guarantee of national liberty. England has certainly been the august mother of parliaments in our more modern sense of the word; for, of course, in the art of representative and popular government, as in most other arts, Greece led the way for Europe. But the more modern idea of a parliament has grown up in England, and has spread from England all over the Continent of Europe—although the idea has not yet found methodical expression in Russia—and over America and Australasia. Even Russia, when she comes, as she most certainly will come, to have a system of government in conformity with the ways of modern civilisation, will have to adopt some modification of the English parliamentary system.

Mr. G. Barnett Smith has made it his task to write the history of the English Parliament, tracing with it also the story of the Scottish and the Irish Parliaments. The same task has not, so far as I know, been attempted by any other historian. Of course, every history of England must be in some sense the history of the English Parlia-

\* "History of the English Parliament, together with an account of the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland." By G. Barnett Smith. Ward, Lock, Bowden & Co.

ment; and a constitutional history, like that of Hallam, must follow the development of the English Parliament. But in the ordinary history of England the work of Parliament comes in only in its allotted place and proportion—the wars and the successions generally having the more prominent place and the larger proportion. Such a history as Hallam's is an account of the growth of certain great principles, but is not, and is not expected to be, a close record of the doings of each successive Parliament. Mr. Barnett Smith has set it out as his task to trace the history of the parliamentary principle in these countries, and to tell us what each Parliament did in its turn. His history of the English Parliament is a record rather than a philosophic study, although of course he could not make even a record worth the having if something of the spirit of the philosophical student did not happen to be in him. On the whole, the task of composing a complete history of the English Parliament seems to me to have been very satisfactorily accomplished in Mr. Barnett Smith's two solid volumes. It is a vast and a complex task, and there are no doubt imperfections, inaccuracies, and errors here and there in Mr. Smith's work. These, we may be sure, Mr. Barnett Smith is likely to hear of, and it is not my intention to indulge in any minute criticism. As a loving student of the parliamentary history of England, Ireland, and Scotland, I am grateful for having this task so well and, as far as I can see, so impartially executed, and I do not stop to search for or to point out small errors of date or of detail.

I have heard it said by one who was not an Englishman, that the two things an Englishman ought to be most proud of are Dover Castle and the British Parliament. The parliamentary idea has been for centuries percolating its way through English life and through English history. It has been struggling on like some stream which springs from a tiny source, which trickles its way slowly and with difficulty amid sand-beds and stones and grasses, which is sometimes lost sight of altogether, but breaks into light again, and at last gathers force and volume and becomes a mighty river, and bears the riches and the strength of a nation on its broad bosom. The Englishman has a good right certainly to be proud of his Parliament, but he can hardly be proud of some of the ways by which it has been developed. Bribery, corruption, violence, fraud, have at all past times gone to the making of Parliaments, and go to their making even now. But the parliamentary principle has always gone on growing clearer and purer. It may seem like an anomaly or a paradox, but it is perfectly true, to say that if English kings had been less bad and English Ministers been less corrupt and less corrupting, the English Parliament would never have become the great popular institution that it is to-day. It was trained and drilled and

hardened in a rough school. It had to fight for its very life against despotic Sovereigns. It contrived to keep its breath going, and to make its voice heard, even amid the poisonous atmosphere of corruption with which this or that Minister surrounded it. Out of these struggles grew its strength.

At one time the House of Lords was a better champion of the popular liberties than the House of Commons. The peers had more reason to fear the encroachment of the Sovereign than the members of the House of Commons had, and the peers, with the pervading idea of security for themselves, and for popular rights as well, made many a brave stand against infringement of constitutional principles. With a subservient and corrupting Minister, a Sovereign anxious to maintain himself in something like a place of despotism was able to make much better use of the House of Commons than he could of the House of Lords. Some of the protests of the House of Lords are models of good sense, constitutional wisdom, and patriotic spirit. But the ascendancy of the Commons was inevitable; and Walpole was one of the first great English statesmen who thoroughly recognised the fact, and was determined to profit by it. Under Walpole's management the sceptre of constitutional government passed over to the House of Commons. But the House of Commons was not then, in our sense, a really representative institution. It was only an institution which was struggling darkly, and almost altogether unconsciously, to become a really representative body. It is not a really representative institution even now, after all these generations of development since the days of Walpole. It is very far indeed from being a really representative institution. So long as the influence of wealth is allowed to interfere largely in elections, the House of Commons cannot be a really representative institution. I am not anxious to write a political article having to do with the present condition of parties in Great Britain and Ireland. I am only concerned to trace the development of the representative idea, and I feel compelled to point to the fact that the representative idea is very far even yet from its full and free development. We have almost altogether outgrown the retarding and perverting influence of the aristocratic idea. The local aristocrat is not half so dangerous a person as the local plutocrat. This is one of the dangers we have to pass through and to triumph over. The power of the House of Lords never recovered the damaging influence of Walpole. Since that time the House of Lords has counted for nothing in legislation, except as occasionally a delaying and an obstructive force. Nobody now thinks of proclaiming his thanks to Providence that we have a House of Lords. It is well settled in men's minds that, even supposing the worst revolution—socialistic or other—to be coming that the most pessimistic of Tories could look out for, the House of Lords could not save us from it. If we are to have a social

and democratic revolution, which is not in the least likely, it cannot be averted by the Contents or Non-contents of the House of Lords. We must trust to the representative principle to defend us against it. If that will not prevail to save us, then we shall be in the position of the hapless heroine of one of Voltaire's romances : " Nothing," she plaintively declares, " could then have saved me but the thunders of Heaven—and it did not thunder ! "

We may put the House of Lords then out of the question. I am not writing now as one hostile on principle to the maintenance of the House of Lords. I am endeavouring to put my own views on that subject wholly out of the question, and to regard the House of Lords merely as one of the forces which go to make up constitutional government in these islands. I cannot think that there is any reasonable person on either side of the political field who regards the House of Lords as anything but a spent force. Its influence and its vigour belonged to the times when the business of English patriotism and statesmanship was to resist and limit the power of the Sovereign. No such necessity any longer exists. No one living can conceive the idea of a time returning in England when it might become necessary to make a stand against the despotic encroachments of the Crown. To set up constitutional arrangement for the providing against such a danger would be like going about every day with a lightning-rod fastened to one's hat to defend oneself against the possible danger of a flash of lightning. The history of parliamentary government in England has absolutely outgrown the idea of peril from the Sovereign or protection from the House of Lords. We have now got into that stage of growth when it is settled, so far as human eye can see, that these kingdoms are to be governed according to the representative principle. Our business is therefore to drop political metaphysics and to make that representative principle as complete and genuine and pure in its working as we can possibly make it.

I think, too, we may put out of our consideration any such improvements in the representative principle as used to be fervently and philosophically written about twenty or thirty years ago, and which had the thorough approval undoubtedly of some of the most eminent and enlightened men outside the range of practical politics in that time. I am speaking of the various devices for the thorough and searching representation of minorities—such as that set out by Mr. Thomas Hare and supported by Mr. John Stuart Mill. I know that there are many able men who hold firmly to such devices to-day ; I was once present at a practical exhibition of such a scheme by Mr. Courtney in a committee-room of the House of Commons. But I cannot think that it would be reasonable now to take much account of such devices in our arrangements for making the best of

the representative principle. They had their day of trial, it seems to me, and nothing came of it. We are not clever enough, I fear, for all these complex arrangements. I know that we are assured by their votaries that they are not complex at all—that they are simple as truth itself—that it is only our stupidity which finds any trouble in understanding them. Very likely; but I am afraid we must not hope to be able to raise our governing system all at once up to the level of the intellect of sages and arithmeticians. At all events, my strong impression is that we need not look for much influence on the future development of our parliamentary and representative system from ingenuities and puzzles of that kind.

For there will be further development and change. One inevitable change, visible already in its coming to every eye, will be the relief of the Imperial Parliament from the distressing and almost intolerable burden of local affairs. I say “almost intolerable,” but I really need not qualify the word—it is an intolerable burden to put on the shoulders of the Imperial Parliament, if we want to have any Imperial work done, or to have the work of England properly done. I am not now talking of the Home Rule Bill, which we shall all be discussing in a very few weeks. Nothing which can happen to that Bill—nothing which its bitterest enemies could desire to happen to it—can in the least degree affect for any time that principle which affirms the necessity of relieving the Imperial Parliament from the incumbrance of purely local affairs. It will be observed, too, that the development of this principle will be not an innovation, but a renovation. There was a Parliament of Scotland—there was a Parliament of Ireland. No one will say that the abolition of either Parliament was due in the slightest degree to a belief in the mind of any statesman that the work of the Imperial Parliament and the business of English legislation would be better carried on if the affairs of Scotland and the affairs of Ireland were added to the work of the Legislature at Westminster. Nothing of the kind was ever said or thought of. According to the ideas of the statesmen who schemed each Union—and I am now giving them credit for the most pure and patriotic purposes—there was a terrible necessity, supreme over all other considerations at the time, for blending together the business of the three countries into one common system. I need not say that I have my own opinions as to the manner in which and the motives by which the Irish Act of Union was brought about; but I am now, for the moment, assuming the motives to have been the noblest, and the manner the fairest and purest. All the same, I would dwell upon the fact that the Union was in both cases proposed as an Imperial necessity which could not be avoided or postponed, and that nobody ever recommended Union as a convenient way for enabling the Imperial Parliament to get properly through the work which the

country expected at its hands. The occasion and the necessity, if they ever existed, have long since passed away. There is no fear of another Claverhouse starting another rising of the Highland clans to fight for a Stuart cause. There is no fear of another Wolfe Tone setting out for Paris to bring back with him a French army of invasion. We are free now to consider parliamentary development as it concerns the efficient and ready despatch of parliamentary business; and I think I am warranted in assuming that the principle of the division and delegation of work will be one of the accepted arrangements of the near future.

But then another question arises. George III. reminded the first William Pitt that "you have taught me to look for the opinion of the country outside the House of Commons." The reason why Pitt had done this is obvious enough. The House of Commons had not then a basis broad enough to make it a genuine and authentic expression of the opinion of the country. These were the days of pocket boroughs, of rotten boroughs, of constituencies bought and sold like cattle. In the best days of Sir Robert Peel we find that statesman already pointing out that it was no longer possible to frame a national policy by consulting the Marquis of This and the Earl of That. Peel did not object to the change, or complain of the change; he accepted it willingly, and was hopeful about it, even though he had himself fought against it as long as he could. But are we not already, although in quite a different sense, beginning to look for public opinion outside the House of Commons? What is the House of Commons? It is an assemblage of gentlemen who are above all things anxious not to make any movement of any kind until they are driven to it. The great ambition of the House of Commons is to be let alone to perform perfunctory duties. Of course I am speaking of the majority of the House, and I am speaking of both sides, and I think my observation will apply about equally to both sides. The majority of the House of Commons do not want to take any step in advance. They have not the faintest wish to be pioneers. Their darling desire is *not* to be pioneers. They want to be very sure about the wishes of their constituents before they make a move of any kind. Every great reform is now debated, disputed, urged, opposed, acclaimed, denounced in the press and at public meetings, long before it becomes a practical question in the House of Commons. If I were to judge by the present tendency of events and influences, I should be inclined to say that, as Walpole transferred the power of the Sovereign and the peers to the House of Commons, so the tendency of to-day is to hand over the power to the platform and the press, and to make the House of Commons only a court of registration for the decisions of the public out of doors. Now I confess that this would seem to me a very undesirable result to arrive at. I should like the House of Commons



to stand at the front of the national movement—to lead, and not to be driven—to guide according to its own lights, and not to be compelled to go on and show the way, as a peasant sometimes is in an invaded country, with his hand fastened to the stirrup-leather of some hostile commander. It seems clear to me that, after all the reforms, all the extensions of the suffrage we have had—extensions in later years sanctioned just as well by Conservatives as by Liberals—after all the redistribution of seats and reconstruction of constituencies,—after all the many and heroic efforts to make the House of Commons truly and fully representative, the House of Commons still remains sadly lacking in any manner of initiative force. I do not know of any instance in our modern times in which the House of Commons has anticipated in any measure the wants and wishes of the people in general. I know many men in the thick of politics who insist that this is exactly as it should be. The business of the House of Commons, they contend, is to follow and not to lead public opinion. Until the men who speak on the platform and the men who write in the press have demanded “urgency,” as the phrase goes in foreign parliaments, for some particular measure, the House of Commons ought to have nothing to do with the matter. I have heard it argued that the House of Commons ought to be like a judge in one of the law courts. The judge may have learnt something of a private grievance going on, but until a formal motion is made in his court by some interested and authorised party to a suit, the judge has nothing to do with it. I cannot take this idea of the business, the functions, and the duty of the House of Commons. As it is chosen to represent, so according to my view it is chosen to think, and chosen to lead. Just now, it appears to me, that we have come to another parliamentary crisis. The Sovereign, as a disturbing power, has been eliminated. The House of Lords has been, as Mr. Bright said long ago, not abolished, but shunted. I sincerely hope that no future historian of the English Parliament may have to describe a condition of things under which the House of Commons abdicated its position as leader of the nation, and simply confined itself to the task of putting into law what greater and more observant and more active minds outside Parliament had declared to be proper subjects for legislation. I am much mistaken if there is not a danger that something like this should come to pass; and I am earnest in the hope that it may not come to pass.

JUSTIN M'CARTHY.

## WHY DO MEN REMAIN CHRISTIANS?

**I** ENDEAVOUR in these pages to describe the ultimate reasons—or at any rate to push the analysis a step further back—which impel different sets of men, equal upon the whole in moral excellence and intellectual power, to accept or reject, in each case very positively, the Christian Revelation. The question is itself one of supreme interest, and the answer, should one be found, will greatly modify the conditions of the controversy and the methods of carrying it on.

The actual question to be decided is whether a certain historical Person was or was not what the history and his own recorded words claim for him, and the mere fact that this question, after being submitted to the judgment of mankind for nearly 2000 years, still remains an open one, invests the subject with a profound intellectual interest. And at the beginning we must make a separation between the mere arguments that are employed on both sides in the controversy, and the motives which determine the opposing parties to take their respective sides in it. The former, as, for example, the date and composition of the Gospels, the incredibility of “miracles” (so-called), the discrepancies of MSS., and the veracity of the “reporters,” are merely instruments of warfare adopted to defend a position taken up under the influence of far different motives, many of which are obvious enough, though the leading and decisive motive remains, we think, yet to be traced. Assuredly momentous questions like this are not decided by difficulties connected with the destruction of ever so many swine under circumstances not adequately explained, nor even because of a more or less ingenious theory, that St. Mark wrote the first Gospel, and that the rest copied his facts and his errors. The stream of human thought is not moved by chips and straws like these, which are carried away upon its surface, and do but mark the

strength and direction of the current. The causes which determine men's beliefs at any given time are partly those of circumstance—*i.e.*, historical events and movements, which belong to the domain of historical science, and can only be explained after the phase of opinion has become the subject of study and criticism; partly those of nature—*i.e.*, the original constitution of the human mind, which belong to philosophy, and can be examined and their influence traced at any time. In the case before us the recent discovery of Evolution is the chief historical event, and the certainty that the human mind is an outcome of the evolutionary process is the chief fact in nature with which we have to do. But first we must ask, as the combatants perhaps too rarely do, what we mean by the Christian religion. And this we answer, as is surely best, in the words of its Founder: "God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal (or spiritual) life." Those who believe that this is true are Christians; those who disbelieve it I will venture to call in this paper Rationalists—not, I need hardly say, by way of disparagement, but simply because the word describes the state of mind which examines the facts of the Universe in the light of science, and comes to a conclusion adverse to the Christian claims because of what by strict process of reasoning it finds to be true in nature.

Human reason, trained to regard Evolution as the law of the succession of things in time, is confronted with three great questions about God. First of all, is there anything in nature that shows traces of a rational source of things such as Deism believes and inculcates? To this we reply that Evolution upon the whole makes it more—we will not say probable, but—credible, that such a rational source exists, standing aloof from nature, and directing, not merely its creation, but its course and operations by settled principles of administration. So far as that small portion of the Christian religion which it possesses in common with Deism is concerned, there seems some reason for supposing that it may be strengthened by the discovery of Evolution, which reveals to us something bearing very strong resemblance to a "plan" or an "arrangement" or a "purpose." At any rate, there is no necessary antagonism between Rationalism and such a belief as this, which, even if it be unknowable, is not irrational, and is not contradicted by anything that experience makes us aware of.

Secondly, is the Author of nature, supposing Him to exist, a moral Being to whom the term "righteous" can be applied? Here again Rationalism, arguing from Evolution, is not of necessity driven into a hostile attitude, but suspends its judgment or is content to be neutral. It is true, of course, that "competition," "struggle," "survival," "fittest," are not words of morality, nor does the evolutionary pro-

cess lend itself very easily to moral conceptions. Still it is so evident that in the human stage of existence progress is conditioned and carried forward by moral conduct, so that by degrees "fitness" comes to mean "goodness," and there are besides so many plain signs of a survival of righteousness, that Rationalism is not constrained by any powerful motives to take up an adverse position. It merely points out that absolute proof is impossible, that there are other things to be taken into account, and that in any case the God thus believed in is to reason unknowable.

The third and last question about God is this: Is this righteous Being, supposing Him to exist, a Being of whom it can be said that He loves the world, especially with the Christian addition that He so loves it as to have wrought a transcendent act of mercy and power on its behalf? In an instant the whole scene is transformed into one of active and angry antagonism. Now why should this be? Is it possible to state the reason for it in some short decisive phrase which shall place us at the centre of the problem and enable us to see what direction the solution will take, even if we cannot all at once work it out? Let us try. Rationalism, being deeply offended by the proclamation of the love of God without evidence, answers curtly that Jesus Christ is much too good a man to be the son or representative of any being that reason can find traces of in a world which *ex hypothesi* he must have created.

To those who remember Mr. Mill's famous remark that Christians had done well to attach their worship to Jesus Christ, coupled with his denunciation of the crimes and cruelties of nature, there is nothing paradoxical in this—it is simply the very natural answer which Rationalism, thus challenged, returns to his suggestion. But then the mere existence of what Mr. Mill regards as crimes and cruelties does not of itself either cause or justify this pessimistic spirit; they are at worst only part of the ancient mystery of evil which existed in the consciousness of mankind long before it was appropriated by the rationalistic spirit. No, the case is far worse than this. For this demand to acknowledge the love of God is addressed to reason at the very moment when it has begun to recognise, as the central and dominant factor in the constitution of nature, that evil, in whatever form it appears, is not, so to speak, an *after-thing* in creation, not the result of a fall, not the rebellion of the human will against the law of God, but essentially part and parcel of the course and constitution of things, a necessary condition of progress, and not to be got rid of by any means that nature has placed at our disposal. Hence the Christian revelation presents itself in the guise of a mere vain Utopianism, impossible, insufficient, and profoundly irritating. Men who have accustomed themselves to the spectacle of the struggle for existence as nature's common law, and have sworn to themselves to

survey the facts of life as they are, and as competition has made them, refuse to be cheated by any sentimental glamour, and to believe things, not because they are probable, but because they are pleasant. And the case is rendered worse when they are asked to adopt a course of action and a theory of life founded upon these beliefs, which draw the mind, as they think, from the sober realities and stern duties of the world as we know it, from the necessity of securing such happiness as is attainable by natural means, from the task of finding remedies for human ills in a life the secret history of whose incurable sorrow science has but just laid bare. The human heart may confess, indeed, to the existence of an instinctive craving after Divine love, to which, however, no response that reason can approve has yet been given, and so may come to resent the Christian solution of the problem as a slight upon its wounded affections.

This, then, seems to me the essential reason why Rationalism sets itself against Religion, and so long as fidelity to convictions in spite of pleasant inducements to the contrary is held in honour among men, so long ought Rationalism of this kind to be accounted honourable, and not stigmatised as positively wicked, by those (even) who dissent most strongly from it. But I hasten to add that in all this I feel that I am speaking as an outsider, and may therefore be quite mistaken in judging of other persons. I have dwelt upon the subject chiefly because it seemed the most direct road towards settling that other question, "Why do men remain Christians?" for it is, at once more easy, more safe, and more important to learn why we ourselves believe than to speculate why others do not. And what we may call the reconciling tendency comes out more strongly than ever.

Not only is the Christian belief determined by natural causes as much as non-belief, but by one of those ironical and perplexing paradoxes, that in some minds arouse the spirit of negation and doubt more surely than do the terrors and pains of nature itself, the causes of both are ultimately traced to the same origin. I have said that the recognition of evil as a law of nature is a dominant and central fact from which human thinking can never escape. But being central it determines equally in the direction of faith or doubt. It is like some lonely lake lying high up among the hills, from which on either side, in opposite directions, through different scenery, two divergent streams take their appointed course. We have traced our way up to it by the stream of Rationalism, we shall leave it by the streamlet of Idealism.

The power to think about oneself and about things implies, or even necessitates, the power to think the best of them. Idealism is an innate tendency of the disposition of man, and also a necessary reaction from Rationalism, a positive to the negative pole. Optimism is an

ordinary and almost commonplace product of nature, which pours forth from her prolific bosom pleasant reminiscences of the past, spiritual enjoyments of the present, sanguine anticipations of the future, together with transcendent intuitions of the infinite that impel the mind to make the best and think the best of all the experiences of life, to insist on seeing the soul of goodness in things evil, to invest nature with the attributes of beneficence and kindness. Confronted with the central fact of evolutionary law, and in her turn invited to accept only what reason can deduce from admitted facts, Idealism breaks impatiently away from the thralldom of fact and law, and commits what seems to Rationalism the inexpiable fault of seeing things as other than they can be proved to be. It is as though the waters in the lake were driven by internal pressure to make for themselves another outlet away from that of experience and reason. Goaded, yet also guided, by its own imperious instincts, Idealism denies the sufficiency of reason to deal with all the facts of life and humanity, and claims reality for that which is incapable of proof. Life, it declares, is enjoyment (as Evolution suggests), and enjoyment is impossible unless we idealise the facts of nature, think well of them, get good out of them, or, in plain homely language, persist in hoping for the best.

And yet in face of the interpretation of nature by Evolution, the struggle sooner or later is felt to be unavailing: it is a kind of desperate uprising of unarmed citizens against the disciplined forces of law and order. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the attempts—so futile, and yet, as efforts of human thinking, often so splendid—to get rid of Evolution, to disparage its results, to circumscribe its efficiency, to doubt faintly, to deny with half a heart. Then comes the necessity of appealing for assistance from without, from powers that are not subject to reason's ken, from facts that are beyond the scope of the nature we know and try to understand. And so by strict natural order and necessity we arrive at Religion, which may be defined as Idealism, in its search after some justification for its own existence, finding what it wants ready fashioned to its hands, completely answering its expectations, in the Christian religion, or more correctly in the person of Jesus Christ. All that faith, which is merely spiritual optimism, requires is not that its object should be proved to be true, but that it should be incapable of being proved to be untrue, and this condition is fulfilled to perfection by the way in which the Christian Revelation is presented to the judgment of mankind. Arguments in self-defence and in self-justification Idealism no doubt employs, just as Patriotism compels good citizens under stress of peril to use the deadliest weapons they can lay hands on. In which field of warfare Christian advocacy commits many mistakes, and not infrequently gets much the worse of the encounter. But all

this matters comparatively but very little, for the real effective method of defence, philosophical rather than scientific, is to show that Jesus Christ has succeeded in so treating the world as to make the essence of His religion—God so loved the world—irresistible to the spirit of Idealism, which is itself a product of nature and a result of Evolution.

To this, then, as briefly as may be, we address ourselves. And first we say that Jesus Christ performed the task of idealising nature and life completely and to perfection. For proof of this we must appeal to every man's knowledge of the history, merely mentioning some of the most significant illustrations to put the reader on the right track. Thus in the Gospels the God who looms upon the sensitive soul so terribly as the Author of the Evolutionary process by which the world is conditioned, appears quite naturally as "My Father" or "Our Father," whose feeling towards his children is one of personal responsibility for their welfare, moral and physical. Again, the mass of men—those "common people" whose sad lot and inferior condition afflicts the same thinking soul with pessimism at once unselfish and unfeigned—were told by their divine friend, quite as a matter of course, to be "perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." Inequality of position he puts away by "Blessed are the poor," of treatment by "Blessed are the meek," and so on. Sickness one might say he brushed away out of his path as a thing that existed only to be got rid of. Concerning sin his most certain thought is that God is ready to forgive it. His parables, in which his views of life are most clearly discerned, are stories with a "good ending," full of glad and gracious symbolism. He claimed joy for himself as a permanent condition of his soul. He looked forward with certainty to the establishment upon earth of the heavenly kingdom built up out of nature's common materials, and curing all the ills that man is heir to. Of death itself—that tragedy by which in the eye of reason the drama of humanity is concluded, and by which, as in a cunningly constructed plot, the drama is seen to be a tragedy after all—he thinks as the merest transition and episode: "Weep not for me;" "I shall rise again;" "I go to prepare a place for you." Now, what was the experience and character of the man who had these thoughts about his fellow-men and the world in which their lot was cast? Mere empty optimism that basks at length on the sunny side of this best of all possible worlds is not unknown amongst us, nor is it difficult for easy-going sensuous natures to separate the world into two divisions, good and bad, and please themselves and others by saying pretty things about the former to the exclusion of the latter. Not so Jesus Christ, who drank the cup of human suffering to the dregs, and who appeared to those who had the best means of judging as a "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." Assuredly he ignored none of the realities that make up human life, and he faced

resolutely the fact of sin and the appalling punishment it was bringing on his country and his friends. The parables "end well," but in the sense that strict justice is dealt out to all offenders, even if the offence be nothing more than carelessness or sloth. Death as an explanation or consummation of life he repudiated altogether; but none the less was the act of dying supremely painful. In short, he entered into all the dread significance of sin and suffering, and yet the chief of sufferers is also the chief of idealisers. It was the rejected and crucified Saviour who, as a result of actual personal experience, definitely enforced upon the understanding of mankind that primary and necessary truth of all religion, "God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good."

Now in all this the religion of Jesus Christ stands quite alone, and bears upon the face of it that ineffable look of uniqueness by which its claim to be the predestined religion of mankind will have to be established. And if, as a matter of fact, Christianity continues to "survive" as the highest religion realisable by man, I venture to think that nothing will strike our successors more than the inanity of the comparisons we are so frequently instituting between it and other religions—of which, nevertheless, as noble and useful efforts of human inspiration, I desire to utter no word of disparagement. But it is (among other things) precisely this unique power of Idealisation which places Jesus Christ out of reach of comparison with other masters—for instance, Buddha and Mahomet. If indeed it be permissible to theorise on large subjects in few words, one might say that these two represent in religion the two different aspects or sides—the passive and active—of the Evolutionary process under which science conceives of nature, whereas Christianity stands aloof from both. Mahomet, for instance, devised that kind of religion which Evolution might make for itself, if it were compelled to have one, and were pervaded, as it well may be, with the consciousness of success in competition, with the instinct of exterminating the "unfit," with the energy of all-determining destiny, with the delight of material enjoyment prolonged by survival into a future stage of existence. Whereas Buddhism, at least in its original form, is the kind of religion that comes of the sense of defeat, of resignation to superior force, of the desire, so beautiful and touching, of becoming an instrument in forwarding the course of nature by self-effacement and getting rid of an existence not worth fighting for. But the Christian religion declines to recognise either the agent or the patient in the great cosmic struggle, and essays to master the world by making the best of it, or rather by making it out to be better than it seems to itself to be. It denies that natural law is everything, and asserts that it is only an instrument in the hands of a beneficent Power whom it persists in calling "Father," and for whose existence it tenders evidence



which may be rejected, but cannot be ignored. And it crowns its manifold offences against Rationalism by stigmatising the supreme law of nature as a "law of sin and death," under which "creation groans and travails," and from which it proposes with cheerful confidence to rescue all mankind, the very men included to whom the knowledge of law is the knowledge of everything worth knowing.

The true policy, then, of Christian advocacy is not to limit the sphere of positive law, or to interfere in the least degree with its operations, but simply to rise above it, and to insist on idealising nature, in spite of it, by viewing all creation in the light of the love of God exhibited and borne witness to in the life of Christ. We cannot, of course, wonder that the antagonism between the two should give rise to conflict, and yet, if it be the case that both Rationalism and Idealism issue from the same fountainhead, that they represent inevitable and also explicable tendencies of human thought, that the one is bound by its own laws to assert the solidarity of the whole race of man, and the other by its own beliefs to proclaim the love of God for all the world, it can hardly fail but that the sting will be taken out of the controversy and something of its unnecessary and unbecoming bitterness abated. Are the minds of men after all so much influenced as we are apt to think by criticism or the study of evidences? Christianity being, in respect of arguments, mainly on the defensive, hardly aspires to convert opinion by means of them, but does Rationalism, with all the resources of discovery and logic at its back, succeed much better? And but for the grievous mistakes of its opponents, would it succeed at all? It gains some ground, no doubt, but Christianity still exists and looks as if it were going to survive.

If what we have been saying be at all true, the reason for this lies in the very nature of the case. Idealism refuses to be argued out of existence; its protest against the spiritual dominion of natural law grows in strength in proportion as the reign of law, or rather of Evolution, is extended over all creation; like Socrates, it exclaims: "You must catch me before you can bury me." The case falls under the general rule that opposition, even in its final stage of persecution, can never destroy the new thoughts that are born into the world as revelations of some undiscovered or forgotten truth, and which, even when but very partially true, still maintain their existence because all the powers of Idealism are enlisted on their side. The history of any great movement will illustrate the truth of this—take, for instance, the Wesleyan in the last century, which I mention as being in England the one movement that kept apart from secular motives and associations. All such depend in the last resort upon the energy of men who think the best of the world and its capacities,

who believe that ideas are worth fighting for because God exists and can turn them into truths, who possess a positive internal assurance of soul which can always master persecution by being willing to die rather than submit. Is it not the case that science owes too much to faith of this sort to entitle it to resent the application of the same idealising spirit to other objects in a different sphere ?

However this may be, modern controversy fails, much as ancient persecution did, because it is of the same spirit and makes the same mistakes. The actors would seem to have exchanged parts, and Rationalism is seeking to press Religion out of existence by the application of a kind of intellectual duress, just as religion sought—and indeed at its lowest level seeks now—to get rid of Rationalism by persecution of a more material character. Mere evidences for and against, mere criticism of facts, remorseless logic, sarcastic contempt, insinuations of folly, accusations of ignorance, threats of future consequences, lead to no useful results either in rational knowledge or religious belief. The great law of competition reigns supreme in the region of religious controversy—only, alas ! there is so little of survival.

But here, perhaps, I am warned by a cry of outraged virtue from both camps, that to depreciate controversy is mere connivance in the perpetuation of error, for it is common ground to both that error, whether it arises as superstition from ignorance of natural truth, or as unbelief from ignorance of the will of God, is and must be pernicious *per se* and injurious to the real interests of mankind. Well, I admit this—of course. I agree that absolute truth must be always and everywhere the best, and, in particular, I regard so-called “illusions” as merely old fibs baptised for Christian use by a new and prettier name. I think too—at any rate, as an Evolutionist I hope—that some day or other the truth upon this very serious matter will be ascertained, though I cannot believe that dissertations upon the destruction of swine or even upon the priority of St. Mark and other similar subjects will give us much assistance. But meanwhile what is to be done till it is settled which is truth and which is illusion ? Certainly, in accepting the Christian creed, Idealism cannot be justly accused by Rationalism of doing any moral harm or of impairing the character of the human race, for the disciple of Jesus Christ is bound by his religious obligations to bend all his energies against the very evil that Rationalism denounces as a kind of original sin—namely, the inherited constitutional selfishness of the individual man. And if it be impossible to enter into alliance against this common enemy, there might at least be some recognition that this common enemy exists, and that they who effect the most in ridding the world of his presence and his power will establish themselves most firmly in the gratitude and good will of man.

Meanwhile, Idealists to whom Christianity appeals will have at least this consolation, that until everything is known about everything, probability is the appointed guide of conduct in this life, and that to believe rightly in things doubtful argues a higher stage of spiritual excellence than to know correctly in things certain. Somehow the formula of the new Religion—"Miracles do not occur"—does not strike one as very inspiring or helpful to poor people who have got to live their lives as best they can, and who find that the shortest cut to a good life is to believe the best of things. Perhaps, therefore, they will continue to accept the old assurance, "God so loved the world," even if they have to admit, in spite of the formula, that He showed His love by "giving His only begotten Son, that whosoever believed in Him should not perish, but have eternal life."

T. W. FOWLE.

## THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF LABOUR.

FOR many years there have been, so far as the general public is concerned, both in Europe and America, exaggerated ideas of the industrial conditions prevailing on the two continents. In the absence of reliable statistics, interested parties have been able to tell harrowing tales alike of the plutocratic American manufacturer and the European pauper labourer, and be believed.

Though thinking men have long been weary of exaggerated statements and private investigators have sought to learn the truth, the field of comparative industrial statistics is so vast as well as so difficult to exploit at first hand, that results have necessarily been few. The meagreness of exact knowledge, always recognised, was never, perhaps, more keenly felt than in 1888, when the Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives undertook the revision of the tariff. The effect of this was that Congress requested the Department of Labour, an organ of Government whose functions are solely scientific, to investigate comprehensively, and on a comparative basis, the salient facts of industrial competition. The commission given, to quote the text, was "to ascertain at as early a date as possible, and whenever industrial changes shall make it essential, the cost of producing articles at the time dutiable in the United States, in leading countries where such articles are produced, by fully specified units of production, and under a classification showing the different elements of cost, or approximate cost, of such articles of production, including the wages paid in such industries per day, week, month, or year, or by the piece, and the hours employed per day; and the comparative cost of living and kind of living." (One need hardly remark that no other Legislature has ever assigned to any agency the task of peering so deeply into the innermost recesses of industrial life.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the Commissioner of Labour, some years ago wrote a pamphlet upon the scientific bases of tariff legislation, in which he developed the thesis that, admitting the protective principle, a tariff to be fair and just to all parties must be based upon the comparative cost of production in competing countries. This idea was not foreign to the tastes of Mr. Mills and his associates on the Ways and Means Committee, and so it happily came about that the author of the plan was entrusted with its development.

As there has been so much misunderstanding in relation to the inquiry of the Department of Labour, I may be pardoned for offering a few words of explanation. In the first place, it was not at all a party expedient. The House of Representatives by an unanimous vote, and the Senate nearly with unanimity, asked that it be made, the majority in each branch of the Legislature at that time being composed of different political parties. Neither was it animated by a sense of hostility to European industrial interests. Extravagant ideas had so long prevailed that there could be no harm in making the real truth known. Furthermore, reciprocal favours would be bestowed, since from the results each nation would learn its own industrial situation, as well as the conditions under which it must compete. Thirdly, the inquiry would at least indicate whether the American tariff was laid solely in the interests of labour, and whether the manufacturer did not himself gain thereby. Lastly, and most important in the eyes of all who care less for individual advantage than the welfare of the whole, it would demonstrate the comparative utility, purely from the economic standpoint, of labour earning high or low wages and maintaining different standards of life.

I cannot insist too strongly upon the scientific aims and non-partisan character of the investigation. Absolutely no other motive than the desire to know the facts dominated alike those who instigated and those who carried out the work. If the European manufacturer averred that he was the victim of unjust discrimination, he ought to be only too glad of an opportunity to expose the truth. To the American claiming that he was handicapped by the payment of higher wages, there could exist no motive for concealment. The working man, so long told that the tariff was created for him, would be glad to learn if it were really so. The interests of economic science, industrial prosperity, and social justice would all be served. The character and attainments of the Commissioner of Labour and his principal associates offered a guarantee that the work would be impartially done, and the practice of the Department in so presenting information that its source cannot be recognised made sure that industrial or trade secrets would not be disclosed.

Let me remark in passing, that a tariff based strictly upon comparative costs of production is not considered, especially by business

men, an available scheme. It is evident that not only is it impossible to find a unit of comparison between articles made of the same material, but different in pattern, texture, and weight, but also the costs of plain units of manufacture will vary according to fluctuations in the price of labour and of commodities. This is perfectly true, and was clearly understood by all who furthered the inquiry. It was never designed to erect either a fixed or sliding scale of tariff duties on all or a part of the articles scheduled. General industrial conditions, not special trade necessities, were the subjects of consideration. The social and economic welfare of the American labourer was the object most at heart, since the inquiry sought for facts to guide the legislator in his distribution of social justice. There was never a thought of being useful to the Customs service in its control of invoices. I mention this to clear up a misconception which unfortunately gained credence on some parts of the Continent, through the medium of newspapers which took absolutely no pains to verify their suspicions. Though this step militated against the success of the work, it nevertheless caused an injustice to the country concerned, since in some instances the facts could only be obtained from places which I am morally convinced did not represent the most favourable conditions. For so unfortunate an incident misconceived patriotism and mistaken zeal are alone responsible.

In the latter part of 1888 a Commission of six officials of the Department of Labour, over whom I had the honour to preside, commenced investigations in Europe. The field of operations was naturally the principal manufacturing countries—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland, and, in a lesser degree, Luxembourg, Italy and Spain. Only the important industries of coal, iron, steel and glass, and cotton, woollen, silk, and linen textiles, were included. Simple and standard units of manufacture—as, for example, a ton of steel rails of the same size, and yards of cloth uniform in organisation, texture, and weight, which are made the world over, and about whose production trade secrets practically no longer exist—were the objects of inquiry. The greatest care was taken to secure homogeneity in the units, as otherwise a comparison of costs of production would be misleading and valueless.

As may readily be judged, it was not an easy matter to conduct the investigation, especially in Europe. American manufactures have been so often approached by statistical agencies that they were naturally freer to respond. But in Europe, where the statistics of labour and industry have been far less developed, one could not, in the nature of things, expect a very general willingness to communicate to foreigners information of so confidential a character. In the midst of the work the McKinley Tariff was imposed, a contingency which was entirely unforeseen at the outset, aggravating the natural

difficulties of the situation, and becoming the root of much misunderstanding. I have already pointed out that there was absolutely no relation between the McKinley Bill and our inquiry. Let me say further, that no information whatever in regard to the textile industries was communicated from Europe before the measure became a law. The Commissioner of Labour, at the request of the Senate Finance Committee, did make a preliminary report upon the cost of production of iron and steel, but, as is well known, the tariff on the most of these articles was either left untouched or was reduced. Nevertheless, the idea got abroad in some quarters that ours was a spy service in the interests of the McKinley Bill.

It is obvious that if the results of such an investigation are to be of any use, the hearty co-operation of a sufficient number of manufacturers must be enlisted. The Department of Labour may claim that such a condition has been fairly complied with. In regard to the first group of industries—coal, iron and steel—with which the so far only published volume deals, the Commissioner states that cost of production returns were received from 454 American and 164 European establishments. Budgets of cost of living were secured from 2190 workmen employed in these industries in America, and 770 in Europe; while the wages of several thousand labourers, at least one-third of whom were European, were tabulated. So liberal were the responses from the two continents! Really representative facts were obtained for all important branches of these industries, except from American producers of steel rails, who with one single exception, refused to state their cost of production.

There can be no cavilling as to the accuracy of the facts themselves. The cost of production statements and tabulations of workmen's wages were taken directly from the account-books and pay-rolls of the different establishments. The budgets of family income and expenses were gathered with all the care that that delicate and difficult branch of statistical work demands. Without entering too much into details, one may say that in those cases where the labourers did not keep books or deal at a co-operative store, we were often accompanied to the houses by a retired postman or policeman, or some other person who was well acquainted with all the families and enjoyed their confidence. The tabulation of wages from the pay-rolls of the manufacturer gave a control over the statements of the workmen as to their earnings, and it will be generally recognised by all who have themselves made personal investigations of this character, that if the truth is told about earnings, at least an honest attempt will be made to speak truly of expenses. The schedules of questions were so constructed that it was not difficult to detect, especially after a little experience, any material inaccuracy.

With the understanding that the statistical bases have been broad

enough in design, and sufficiently thorough in execution, let us pass on to the results. These I shall present chiefly in the form of tabular statements, making only such textual observations as seem necessary to elucidate the figures.

TABLE I.—BITUMINOUS COAL MINING: FAMILY BUDGETS.

Country.	Families.		Dwellings.		Yearly Income of Family.		Farnings of Min-band.		Other Income.		Total Income.	
	Total Number.		Size of Family.		Size of House.		Amount.		Proportion.		Amount.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
United States.	308	5 5	131	3 0	85	6 11	773	24 14	31	22 5	110	1 24
Great Britain.	166	3 4	1	3 7	73	6 10	793	24 14	31	22 5	110	1 24
Belgium.	10	6 0	1	3 3	35	4 0	633	27 0	21	31 7	85	6 24
Germany.	18	7 1	1	3 8	31	10 0	618	26 15	11	34 2	78	5 11 1/2

Annual Family Expenditure.											
Rent.			Food.			Clothing.			Papers and Newspapers.		
Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.
12 4 9	11.7	47 0 9	45.2	21.4	1 1 23	22 9 41	10.3	3 12 41	1 1 23	1.0	3 12 41
9 10 0	10.4	40 5 4	53.3	13.5	0 9 31	13 5 21	6.1	4 10 72	0 9 31	1.0	4 10 72
3 15 10	5.1	43 13 0	58.8	12.1	8 10 3	12 11 8	5.6	5 6 0	8 10 3	0.6	5 6 0
7 14 6	10.5	38 14 4 1/2	52.4	13.2	104 17 8	13 2 104	0.11	2 5 11	104 17 8	0.1	2 5 11
Alcoholic Drinks.			Tobacco.			Other Expenditures.			Total Expenditure.		
Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.	Amount.	Proportion.	£ s. d.
1 8	1.8	16 5 2	1 8	1.8	16 5 2	104 18 10	5.2	4 8	104 18 10	5.2	4 8
7 11 8	7.7	11 0 91	7 11 8	7.7	11 0 91	71 9 31	1.4	7 11 8	71 9 31	1.4	7 11 8
11 0 91	12.9	11 0 91	11 0 91	12.9	11 0 91	71 9 31	1.4	7 11 8	71 9 31	1.4	7 11 8
4 8 5 1/2	5.6	4 8 5 1/2	4 8 5 1/2	5.6	4 8 5 1/2	73 17 5 1/2	1.0	10 13 31	73 17 5 1/2	1.0	10 13 31

The number of families to whom the subsequent facts relate is first given. Next follows the average size of the family, the parents being included. The American family is the smallest, the English, Belgian, and German following in the order named. Proprietorship



of homes is much more common in America than in Europe. The next column, taken in conjunction with the second, discloses a curious fact: the size of the habitation is in inverse proportion to the number in the family.

Not only are the total earnings of the family highest in America, but the contribution of the husband thereto is both absolutely and relatively larger than elsewhere. There is not, however, so great a difference in the proportions, the Englishman being nearly equal, the Belgian 9 per cent., and the German 12 per cent. less.

A large share of the American's outgo is for rent. Here, again, both absolutely and relatively, he occupies first place. For food, his total expense is not quite so great as for his British *confrère*, but passes the Belgian and the German, who have much larger families. But he is able to nourish his family better on a far smaller proportion of his total expenses—viz., 45 per cent., as against 59 per cent. and 52 per cent. respectively.

As regards clothing, Great Britain presents the most favourable conditions. If we assume that reasonable necessities are fully complied with, but no extravagances indulged, then the American is most poorly off. He must spend 40 per cent. more to clothe a family of two fewer individuals than the German for example. It must be remembered that there is not the same disparity in the price of clothing used by the working men in the two continents as there is in that worn by the richer classes. The reason is that the former is largely of home manufacture, and made up by the sweated denizens of New York's miserable tenements. The clothes for the rich men are still principally imported, and made into garments by trade-union labour.

The American coal labourer spends more on books and newspapers than his European fellow-workers, and less for alcoholic beverages than any except the German. In both of these respects is he in particularly marked contrast with the Belgian. Finally, in comparing expenses with income, we find the American less provident than any of the others. He puts aside  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of his income to the German  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the Englishman  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the Belgian 13 per cent.

The foregoing table refers to all classes of workmen in the coal industry. It may happen that there is a larger proportion of what may be called skilled labours—i.e., foremen miners, enginemens, masons, &c.—in some cases than in others. This is actually true, the proportion of such labour being 80 per cent. among American families represented, 50 per cent. the English, 66 per cent. the German, and 90 per cent. the Belgian. Some allowance must be made for this fact, though the influence is not so great as might appear from first sight.

The general truth of the above statistics is strikingly verified by the following table, which displays the average cost of living of five miners in each country. The selections were made from those earning the highest wages in their respective countries. No very important divergence from results previously mentioned is manifest:

TABLE II.—COAL INDUSTRY: FAMILY BUDGETS OF MINERS.

Nationalities.	Yearly Income of Family.					
	Average Size of Family.		Average number of Rooms per Family.		Earnings of Husband.	
	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.
Average of Five American Miners	£ 3.9	102 15 0	3.2	102 15 0	£ 8. d.	102 15 0
Average of Five British Miners	£ 3.3	98 14 7	3.3	98 14 7	£ 8. d.	98 14 7
Average of Five Belgian Miners	£ 3.4	63 17 11	3.0	63 17 11	£ 8. d.	63 17 11
Average of Five German Miners	£ 3.2	57 14 2	3.3	57 14 2	£ 8. d.	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63 17 11
					£ 57 14 2	57 14 2
					£ 13 7 3	13 7 3
					£ 15 9 7	15 9 7
					£ 71 11 1	71 11 1
					£ 102 15 0	102 15 0
					£ 98 14 7	98 14 7
					£ 63 17 11	63



In addition to the foregoing facts, if we consider the further questions of hours of daily labour, sliding scale payments, and stability of organisation, we must feel convinced that the British miner at home is the best off. Observation as well as statistics have led me to this conclusion.

Turning now to the manufacture of bar-iron, we have in Table III. statistics on similar lines to those in Table I.

Here, too, the average family is smaller in the United States than in any of the Continental countries, and it is also better housed. Astonishing as it may seem, the size of the habitation varies again in an inverse ratio to the size of the family. Great Britain is not far behind the United States, while France, Belgium, and Germany follow in the order named. The latter has the poorest accommodation for the largest family. The husband in the United States earned nine-tenths of the total income, and thus fulfilled that highest of social requirements by being able to support the family by his unaided effort. British heads of families are nearly in the same condition, but in all the other countries such a contingency seems impossible for the average workman in the bar-iron industry. In Belgium, for example, only three-fifths came from the husband's wages. The rent column offers no important deviation. But it must be acknowledged that the American was obliged to spend far too large a proportion here. The American family appears to be better nourished than the others on a smaller relative expenditure. The amounts spent under this head in the different countries, taken together with the size of the families, and a table of prices of food which follows later, offer serious grounds for reflection.

The figures for clothing seem to show an advantage for the British iron-worker, though the American has not spent a very much larger proportion. The American again leads the list in expenditure for books and newspapers. He spends more for drink in this case than any other, except the Frenchman, though proportionally his outgo is the smallest of all—3·7 per cent. to 4·4 per cent., to 5·1 per cent., to 5·2 per cent., and 11·7 per cent. respectively. Remark in passing an exceedingly unfortunate showing in the three Continental countries. The Frenchman spent 4 per cent. more for liquor than for house rent, while in the case of Belgians and Germans the proportion of expenditure was abnormally high.

Naturally, with a so much larger income, the per cent. of earnings saved is greater in the case of the American. Next comes the Frenchman, then the Englishman and the Belgian. In Germany a majority of families were unable to make ends meet. I am far from saying that this represents the average condition in that country. The locality whence these budgets were gathered is not industrially the best placed. More representative districts would have been

chosen had not short-sighted views intervened to prevent the collection of data.

The proportion of skilled to ordinary labour amongst the families represented was highest in Germany, 69 per cent.; next in France, 67 per cent.; next in Belgium, 60 per cent.; then in America, 57 per cent.; and finally, Great Britain with 51 per cent. A study of the figures cannot scientifically be made without considering this fact,

TABLE IV.—BAR IRON: FAMILY BUDGETS OF PUDDLERS.

Nationalities.	Yearly Income.						Surplus.		
	Average Number of Rooms per Family.		Earnings of Husband.		Earnings of Children.			Other Income.	
	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.		Amount.	Proportion.
Average of Five American Puddlers . . .	£ s. d.	3	£ s. d.	91.4	16 0 0	8 6	£ s. d.	—	£ s. d.
Average of Five English Puddlers . . .	19 13 7 1/2	4.4	3.8	61 13 11	57.9	11 13 7 1/2	12.1	—	185 3 9
Average of Five French Puddlers . . .	11 15 7 7 1/2	4.2	4.0	73 4 2	63.2	2 13 7 1/2	3.5	2 14 0 1/2	90 7 6
Average of Five German Puddlers . . .	5 6 6 6 1/2	6.6	2.0	59 2 5 1/2	60.6	3 11 11	10.0	—	90 13 0
Average of Five Belgian Puddlers . . .	4 3 8 8 1/2	5.9	3.6	61 11 1	62.9	12 11 9	17.1	—	30 14 4
									74 5 10
Annual Expenditures.									
Rent.	Food.	Books and Newspapers.	Alcoholic Drinks.	Tobacco.					
Amount.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Other Expenses.	Total Expenditure.	Amount.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
19 13 7 1/2	36 8 6 1/2	37.9	2 4 0	1.5	2 16 0	1.9	3 7 0	2.2	65 10 7 1/2
11 15 7 7 1/2	44 17 3	51.7	0 13 1 1/2	0.8	1 3 4 1/2	1.3	1 4 11	1.1	27 2 7 1/2
5 6 6 6 1/2	30 16 2	44.5	0 7 7 1/2	0.5	11 19 3 1/2	17.3	0 17 9	1.3	19 16 5 1/2
4 3 8 8 1/2	28 4 3 1/2	47.6	0 5 7 1/2	0.3	2 15 10 1/2	5.1	0 11 7 1/2	1.1	21 1 2 1/2
6 19 1	38 3 8 1/2	51.9	0 3 8 1/2	0.3	3 7 11	4.6	0 12 1	0.5	24 5 6 1/2

for naturally the higher the proportion of skilled labour, the more favourable should the economic situation appear. However, the range of variation is not sufficient to vitiate the results, which are only confirmed by the following table, where homogeneity is secured. Groups of five puddlers belonging to the different countries have been chosen, quite at random, and their incomes and expenses averaged.

The general conditions amongst steel workers appear to be, broadly speaking, similar to those prevailing in the iron industry, only the American has not as great an advantage in the matter of earnings as

TABLE V.—STEEL MANUFACTURING: FAMILY BUDGETS.

Families.		Dwellings.		Yearly Income of Family.				Earnings of Husband.				Other Income.				Total Income.				
Country.		Total Number.		Size of Family.		House.		House.		House.		House.		House.		House.		House.		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
17	5	9	153	50	16	9	22	0	4	1	6	1	5	6	2	1	1	11	1	9
9	13	3	9	1	51	16	0	51	6	10	18	2	1	4	2	1	1	6	15	4
1	14	9	3	4	25	13	2	50	9	11	1	18	9	0	7	8	1	1	9	4
United States		183	47	28	10	42	97	9	4	82	7	29	7	2	17	3	132	11	3	137
Great Britain		106	53	10	1	20	40	8	2	92	7	3	12	4	7	3	51	0	6	61
Germany		35	49	1	1	20	40	8	2	92	7	3	12	4	7	3	51	0	6	61

Annual Family Expenditure.												Surplus.																		
Rent.			Food.			Clothing.			Books and Newspapers.			Alcoholic Drinks.			Tobacco.			Other Expenses.			Total Expenditure.			Amount.			Proportion.			
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
17	5	9	50	16	9	22	0	4	1	6	1	5	6	2	1	1	11	1	9	4	13	16	4	112	13	11	20	0	31	
9	13	3	9	1	51	16	0	51	6	10	18	2	1	4	2	1	1	6	15	4	6	4	2	11	10	10	6	3	3	
1	14	9	3	4	25	13	2	50	9	11	1	18	9	0	7	8	1	1	9	4	1	10	3	1	50	8	11	11	13	3

before. This is probably due to the larger use of mechanical processes, which enables the manufacturer in the United States to dispense in a greater degree with skilled labour.

The proportion of skilled labour in the total from which the above

budgets were obtained is almost uniform in the three countries—viz., 40 per cent. in the United States and Great Britain, and 43 per cent. in Germany.

Having considered the social economic position of workers in the coal, iron, and steel industries in several countries, let us now, by proper combinations, ascertain the average conditions prevailing on the two continents. Table VI. is an attempt to do this:

TABLE VI.—GENERAL TABLE OF BUDGETS OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE,  
CLASSIFIED BY INDUSTRIES.

[illegible]

The column headed "Other expenses" is not separately given in this table.

Broadly speaking, coal mining presents the smallest, and the manufacture of iron the greatest contrasts. Added to this table is one interesting element—viz., the proportion of families who subscribed to newspapers and bought books, and who drank liquor or smoked tobacco. For books and newspapers the proportion in America, except for workers in coal mines, is uniformly the highest, but as regards the use of liquor the lowest, save in the case of blast-furnace *employés*. A smaller number of families in Europe used tobacco.

Forsaking for a moment the *role* of the statistician, and taking up that of the social philosopher, let us examine closely how nearly in these returns a moderately conceived social standard has been attained. The fundamental condition of such a standard is that the earnings of the husband alone should be sufficient to support the family. The wife ought never to be called away from the household if she have children. The desertion by mothers of the home for the factory is, I am convinced, a fundamental factor in modern social discontent. How can the needs of the husband be met and a proper moral instruction be given to the children under such circumstances? The public school can educate intellectually, but only indirectly morally. In the home the character is formed, in the home the citizen is made, and there can be no proper homes whence mothers have been withdrawn. One may well wonder what this wholesale employment of women in industry will lead to in a generation or so. It is difficult to see how young girls who never had any domestic training, and early went to work in factories, are going to make either acceptable housewives or good mothers. It is not very reassuring to note that in the United States alone, and there only in two cases—viz., bar iron and steel manufacture—was it possible for the husband unaided to support his family. In these instances, too, the margins are so small as to cause one to refrain from congratulation. If we further inquire how often the husband actually did support his family without help, we find the highest proportion in any industry to be 69 per cent.

Any one who has had an opportunity to learn the real life of European labourers understands how much more thoroughly is there developed the sentiment of family solidarity. The children remain longer with their parents than in America, and contribute more to the general support. *Not only are the absolute earnings of the husband smaller in Europe than in America, but the percentage of his contribution to the total income is also less.* A failure to realise this fact is at the bottom of much misconception in the United States regarding the true condition of the European labourer. The family, not the individual, is the unit of society. Hence it is quite false to say, as political "pauper-labour" conjurers are so fond of doing, that



low wages to the husband must necessarily mean a correspondingly low standard of life to the family. The otherwise certain consequences of low earnings are in practice largely mitigated by the relatively higher economic contributions from other members of the family. While such a practice involves a regrettable loss of social opportunities, it permits the maintenance of the family on a higher plane than would first appear to those who judge merely from current rates of wages and take no account of national customs.

The figures before us thoroughly justify the point of view I have been endeavouring to present. The average annual wages of workers in coal mines were 18 per cent. higher in America than in Europe, but the total earnings of the family were but 13 per cent. more. So for the manufacture of pig-iron, bar-iron, and steel the respective figures are 46 per cent. for the husband and 33 per cent. for the family, 107 per cent. for the husband and 77 per cent. for the family, 31 per cent. for the husband and 25 per cent. for the family higher in the New World. Such are the average conditions prevailing in Europe and America, and if we seek for the facts in relation to each separate industry under consideration, we find the practice to be everywhere the same. For coal-workers the variations in the earnings are for the individual 13 per cent., and for the family 11 per cent. more in the United States than in Great Britain; 41 per cent. more for the individual and but 29 per cent. more for the family than in Belgium; 66 per cent. more for the individual and 46 per cent. more for the family than in Germany. The manufacture of iron presents even more striking contrasts. The American individual workman gains 59 per cent. and his family 51 per cent. more than the British, 111 per cent. and 69 per cent. respectively more than the French, 227 per cent. and 118 per cent. respectively more than the Belgian, and 186 per cent. and 178 per cent. respectively more than the German. The steel industry, so far as the returns we are considering go, presents the only exception to what I believe is an universal law. But this is unimportant and easily accounted for by the *carcat* I have previously interposed as to the not quite representative conditions prevailing in the locality whence the statistics for German steel-workers were derived. The individual workman in America is, economically speaking, 19 per cent. better off, while his family is 13 per cent. better off than in Great Britain; the individual 149 per cent. and the family 165 per cent. better off than in Germany.

From a comparative point of view, the facts we have just received are of very great interest. But in their social aspect they represent at best a negative virtue. The greater collective effort which it is necessary to put forth in Europe to secure a good standard of life must be at the expense, always intellectual, often physical and

sometimes moral, of one or more of the individuals. Perhaps it is a rude awakening to many to learn that the true economic basis of a proper social existence is so generally wanting. Only in the United States, and there but for two of the six great divisions of coal-mining and iron and steel manufacturing, does it obtain. Let there be no mistake about this matter. I do not maintain that there are no families within these industries which are not kept solely by the economic efforts of the husband. To be sure, there are thousands of such, and they may be found in all countries. The lesson to be gleaned from the figures is, that when all occupations, skilled and unskilled, are grouped together within each specific industry, the average conditions fall short of the ideal.

A second element in a just social standard for an industrial labourer is food. We see from the double column wherein the figures are portrayed, that in practically every instance the largest absolute but the smallest relative sum falls to the American. Does this mean that the family of the working man in America is better nourished than abroad? I believe it does, and principally for two reasons: the family in the United States is smaller, and therefore with the largest sum of money spent the amount *per capita* is considerably greater. But does higher expenditure mean more food? We may answer affirmatively, because a greater quantity of the principal articles in a working man's menu can be had for an equal amount of money in the New World. The Department was careful to collect information concerning the price of food concurrently with the budgets. From data furnished by the wives of working men, whose authority should be accepted as indisputable, we are able to make a statement of comparative prices.

The price of bread is lower in England than anywhere else; next in the United States and Belgium, and, finally, highest in France and Germany. The kind and quality of flour used is by no means the same, so that to obtain an equal amount of nourishment a much larger sum must be spent in the Continental countries than in Great Britain and the United States. The average prices of the meats which find their way to the working-man's table, without reference to kind, figures out 23 per cent. more in Germany, 47 per cent. more in Belgium, 50 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 52 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Potatoes cost 3 per cent. more in Great Britain, 19 per cent. more in France, than in the United States; but 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. respectively less in Belgium and Germany. Butter is 4 per cent. dearer in Great Britain, 9 per cent. dearer in Belgium, 22 per cent. dearer in Germany, and 35 per cent. dearer in France than in the United States. Sugar in England is only half the price it was in the United States before 1890; but the same article is 19 per cent. more in Germany,

51 per cent. more in Belgium, and 84 per cent. more in France. Coffee costs 13 per cent. more in Belgium, 19 per cent. more in Germany, 40 per cent. more in Great Britain, and 67 per cent. more in France than in the United States. Lard and eggs form no exception to the general rule. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that, with the prevailing prices of provisions so preponderatingly in favour of the American labourer, and seeing that his family is smaller, his larger absolute expenditure means unquestionably that he and his kind are better nourished. The encouraging part of it all is that the family is able thus to maintain itself at a smaller relative sacrifice. I am glad to say that my own experience accords perfectly with this statistical demonstration.

Right here I cannot refrain from adding further testimony as the result of personal observation. The statement so often circulated in America, that meat is the rarest of luxuries to the European industrial labourer, is an absurd falsehood. The casual worker has, we all know, a hard enough time of it everywhere; but it is not after his exigencies that we must fix a general standard. I am very sure that the American nourishes himself and his family better, at a smaller relative cost, than any European; but I am no less positive that those who suppose industrial labourers abroad to subsist generally on pauper's fare are most thoroughly mistaken.

The columns in which expenditure for alcoholic drinks are exposed present food for serious reflection. National pride will no doubt be flattered to learn that American families spend the smallest sums for this purpose. Not only so, but there must also be a smaller *per capita* consumption, since the prices of alcoholic drinks are higher in the New World. Still, this is only a partial satisfaction. If we conceive that the American spends too much, the European, to whom the struggle for existence is keener, wastes more. It is a matter of grave public concern to learn that every year, in that part of the labour world where the hardest workers are found, *the publican receives three-fifths as much as the landlord*. In France and Belgium, I am sorry to say, the quota is higher still.

I have noticed in the course of personal investigations a curious relation between expenditures for rent and alcoholic drinks. The economies which are necessary to indulge the appetite for spirits are almost invariably practised on the house accommodation. The figures in all the tables presented generally corroborate this point of view.

Who does not wish that the European labourer would flee the gin-cup, and with the resulting savings *add two more rooms* to his home, as he could then do?

No doubt I should be held guilty by a certain class of economists if I passed by in silence the columns which show the comparative family surpluses. Without depreciating in the least the virtue of

saving, one cannot but feel that it has been elevated into an importance far beyond its due. Not only is it inapplicable to all conditions, but when offered as a panacea for every social ill, it is very apt to nauseate. How can a working man with a large family and restricted income, the creature of commercial vicissitudes and fluctuations of trade, create a fund large enough upon which to draw in times of emergency? We have seen that, in the average instance, he cannot alone give support. So, if a surplus is to be built up, it must be at the expense of some of the children. The savings shown in the various tables are quite respectable. Provided they could go on growing from year to year, they would constitute an ample insurance fund against want. But experience shows that periods of strikes, shut-downs, illness, or other misfortune soon dissipate the little pile.

We must never consider wages apart from thrift and a standard of living. Where economic gains are small, savings mean a relatively low plane of social existence. A parsimonious people are never progressive, neither are they as a rule industrially efficient. It is the man with many wants—not luxurious fancies, but real legitimate wants—who works hard to satisfy his aspirations, and he it is who is worth hiring. Let economists still teach the utility and the necessity of saving, but let the sociologist as firmly insist that to so far practise economy as to prevent in this nineteenth century a corresponding advance in civilisation of the working with the other classes is morally inequitable and industrially bad policy. I am not sorry that the American does not save more. Neither am I sure but that if many working-class communities I have visited on the Continent were socially more ambitious, there would not be less danger from Radical theories. One of the most intelligent manufacturers I ever met told me a few years ago he would be only too glad to pay higher wages to his working people, provided they would spend the excess legitimately and not hoard it. He knew that in the end he should gain thereby, since the ministering to new wants only begets others. He had tried over and over again to induce the best of his weavers to take three looms instead of two as in their fathers' time, but without success. A few years later I met this same gentleman again. In the meantime the foreman of the weaving department had died, and a new one been appointed on the express condition that he would gradually insist on three looms per weaver in every case where possible. The result did not belie my friend's expectations. Both he and his work-people had profited by the change.

So far we have been dealing with families as one finds them, without reference to the number or ages of the children, or any dependent members. Let us now seek a more scientific unit of comparison. We can do this by establishing what the Commissioner of Labour has been

pleased to call the "normal family." Disregarding those with more than five children, or with children older than fifteen years, or having dependent or other persons in the house, we get a number of similar units rather than groups of individuals. Table VII. presents the

TABLE VII.—NORMAL FAMILIES.

Countries and Industries.	Families.	Total Earnings of Family.	Annual Family Expenditure.						Surplus.	
			Rent.		Food.		Clothing.			
			Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Other Expenses.	Total Expenditure.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1. Coal—										
United States	153	89 4 4½	10 17 8½	13.5	38 4 2	41.7	15 4 11½	17.5	20 9 8½	88 17 5½
Europe . . .	65	70 6 3	8 15 6	12.1	38 0 5½	52.5	9 16 6½	13.5	15 16 0½	72 8 5½
										3 17 9½
2. Pig-iron—										
United States	291	102 15 2	12 15 7½	13.0	40 9 10½	41.3	17 7 2½	17.7	27 2 1	88 2 9½
Europe . . .	49	70 9 11½	7 9 6½	10.1	36 18 1½	49.7	12 17 6½	17.4	16 19 6½	74 4 0½
										4 12 4½
3. Bar-iron—										
United States	208	125 1 1½	19 6 10½	16.9	47 12 5½	41.6	16 13 5½	14.6	30 14 2½	109 0 4½
Europe . . .	111	71 2 10½	6 6 3½	11.5	35 8 5½	46.2	12 12 8½	17.4	9 19 3½	72 5 8½
										15 11 0½
4. Steel—										
United States	85	111 2 0	16 0 2½	16.3	43 19 5½	44.7	15 0 3	15.3	23 6 11½	94 6 10½
Europe . . .	82	95 0 9½	9 2 6½	10.2	46 19 7½	52.6	14 8 1½	15.7	18 14 1	60 5 4½
										12 13 1½
										5 13 4½
										6 1

salient facts for this class of families, and in its almost unvarying uniformity with the preceding tables, gives striking confirmation to the accuracy of their results.

Hitherto, we have been considering standards of living for coal, iron, and steel workers in different countries. To a certain extent,

nationality has also been involved. The figures for the United States do not refer to Americans alone, since, as every one knows, a large proportion of the labourers are immigrants from the Old World. It is quite fair, I think, to call the standard of life practised in the United States the American, since the native-born workman created it, and fixed the price of his labour at a point where he could live up to it. But we must not for a moment suppose that he alone nowadays maintains it. In this he is equalled, and sometimes surpassed, by the best class of immigrants who find work in mining and metallurgy—viz., the British and the Germans. Other nationalities have not as yet come up to the mark. Table VIII., which contains the necessary details to verify the above remarks, is to my mind the most interesting of all.

There are facts herein presented which furnish a severe blow to Chauvinism. The average workman in the allied industries of American birth earns less than the Briton or the German, though he is ahead of other nationalities. In the relative size of his contribution to the family support, he only gives place to the German, whose habits in this respect have undergone a marked change since his transplanting in the New World. The proportion of cases in which the husband actually supports the family are fewer, the total earnings of the family are less, the house accommodation is slightly inferior, a smaller *per capita* expenditure appears for food and clothing for the native American than for the Americanised Briton and German. In other words, in all important respects, except the consumption of alcoholic drinks, these latter seem to be living on a higher level. As regards the other nationalities, the American conserves his leadership, though the expatriated Frenchman is not far behind.

This revelation will surprise many, yet if the statistics before us mean anything at all, they teach the lesson we have outlined. In analysing them closely one can only find two factors which may have had an influence in determining the result. The first is that amongst the budgets included in the returns, those for the labourers employed in making merchant iron and steel, where the highest wages are paid, present a slight proportion in favour of workmen of foreign birth—viz., 422 to 384. This is so little that we may neglect it. More important is the second, which shows that the proportion of budgets drawn from the Southern States, where social-economic conditions are probably not quite so favourable, is much larger for native than for foreign-born working men, or 403 to 46. One can hardly say that the foreigners having outnumbered the natives in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, where the highest wages are generally supposed to be paid in the ratio of 1135 to 802, matters much, because a portion of the majority is composed of Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, and Poles, whose earnings and expenses fall far short of the American's.

TABLE VIII.—GENERAL TABLE OF FAMILY BUDGETS FOR THE COAL, IRON  
AND STEEL INDUSTRIES, CLASSIFIED BY NATIONALITIES.

Nationalities.	Families.		Dwellings.			Families entirely maintained by Earnings of Husband.		Yearly Income of Family.		Proportion of Earnings of Husband to total Earnings.	
	Total number.	Average number of persons in Family.	Owning number of Houses.	Average size of Dwelling.	Information concerning their earning per Family.	Number.	Proportion.	Total Earnings of Family.	Earnings of Husband.	Proportion of Earnings of Husband to total Earnings.	
								£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
Americans . . . . .	1204	4.3	236	959	3.9	524	63.7	116 14 8½	104 1 8½	89.2	
* British in Great Britain . . . .	525	5.1	11	435	4.0	270	51.4	104 8 3½	84 15 2	81.2	
" United States . . . . .	706	5.4	178	569	4.6	546	68.6	138 8 0½	111 6 1½	80.4	
French in France . . . . .	22	5.0	—	3	4.0	6	27.3	86 8 6½	61 11 0	71.2	
" United States . . . . .	24	4.8	5	19	3.7	16	66.6	112 15 3½	82 5 0½	82.3	
* Germans in Germany . . . . .	66	6.3	13	52	2.8	27	40.9	69 0 1½	50 14 4½	73.5	
" United States . . . . .	276	5.0	106	168	4.0	202	73.2	127 1 2½	113 18 3½	89.7	
Belgians in Belgium . . . . .	118	5.7	7	82	3.6	44	37.3	77 17 0½	48 4 3	62.0	
Others not in United States . . . .	83	5.2	15	60	3.6	41	49.4	102 15 2	90 6 10	87.9	
Average in Europe . . . . .	770	5.3	31	608	3.7	374	48.9	94 3 10	73 13 2½	78.2	
Average in United States . . . .	2100	5.0	540	1782	4.1	1551	62.3	124 8 6½	106 18 1½	86.0	

\* The English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish are here included.





Personally, it does not seem to me that there is sufficient in all of the disturbing factors to cast doubt upon the substantially representative character of the figures. Neither do I see any ground for regret. May not a well-to-do citizen generously applaud the enhanced prosperity of his neighbour?

But there is one consideration we must not overlook. The American may not always equal the naturalised European in physical power, but he greatly surpasses him in nerve-force. Consequently, we most often find him following those occupations where ingenuity, finesse, and skill count for more than the exercise of patience or strength. It is a fact of common experience in the United States that, in a machine-shop, for example, three-fourths of the fitters will be foreign-born, while amongst the machinists seventy-five per cent. will be native Americans. We must beware, therefore, of hasty conclusions to the effect that in all branches of manufacture the native is being distanced by the alien.

The juxtaposition of figures portraying the social-economic status of workmen of different nationalities in the country of their birth and the land of their adoption furnishes lessons of even higher interest. From this we are able to learn the social effect of economic betterment. The Briton, already accustomed to a fair standard of life, now exerts his energies anew, and earns nearly one-third more than in his native isle. In fewer instances has he called upon his family to assist him; much more often does he become the owner of his dwelling, which also has improved in character. With a slightly larger family, the *per capita* expenditure for food has considerably increased, leaving no doubt as to better nourishment. It does not appear that quite the same proportion read books and newspapers or drank liquor as before. In the latter respect a notable reform takes place. The relative expenditure declining from 5 per cent. to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., savings, as one would naturally expect, increase.

One curious fact we may note in passing. Under the caption "Briton" are included English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. Looking at each division of the same folk separately, in their own country they rank, in point of earnings and standard of life—first, the Scotch; secondly, the English; thirdly, the Welsh; fourthly, the Irish. In America the order is changed: the Scotchman retains the supremacy, but next comes the Irishman, then the Welshman, and finally the Englishman.

The number of returns from Frenchmen it must be acknowledged are not sufficient upon which to base hard-and-fast conclusions. To anticipate a general criticism which may be offered as to the relatively small number of families in comparison with the whole working population, let me say that one must bear in mind two things: in the first place, the industries of which we are writing are not found in

many different parts of the same country in Europe. Secondly, it does not need many budgets from the a given neighbourhood to typify the average standard of living in that locality. The validity of conclusions does not in this case repose so much upon numbers as in many other branches of social inquiry.

It is not very probable that the Frenchman forms an exception to the general rules. The earnings of the husband increase one-half, and of the whole family nearly a third. Not half as many fathers sought the assistance of their children as before. Dwellings of a higher class, better nourishment, improved intellectual conditions, and far greater sobriety are equally evident. Finally, the Frenchman in the New World thinks less of saving than of self-improvement.

Too few Belgians were found in America to make a reliable comparison of their manner of living in the two continents. Most probably they have done pretty much as their neighbours the French and the Germans.

A veritable revolution has been wrought in the habits of the German. In a higher degree than any other he becomes the proprietor of his abode. The dwelling itself is doubly as good as it was. Three-fourths of the fathers entirely support their families, and their quota has now been raised to nine-tenths of the total revenue. The fathers earn 125 per cent., and the whole family 84 per cent. more than in the Old World. Rent and clothing, as in the case of the Frenchman and Briton, are had on less advantageous terms, exceptions which have already engaged our attention. Judging from the figures alone, the nourishment should be over 50 per cent. better than before. More read, but fewer drink and smoke, though the sums of money spent have increased absolutely as well as in proportion. The German, too, seems to utilise his opportunities for saving to a greater extent than any other nationality, putting aside annually a respectable share of his income.

"Other Nationalities," in Table VIII., include a very few Austrians, Belgians, Scandinavians, and Swiss (29 in all), but principally Italians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Poles. Comparison of their budgets of incomes and expenses with those of the Americans, British, French, and Germans, shows them to be living on a lower level. Collectively in all crucial tests they do not measure up to the standard. More than half of them receive help from their children or wives to maintain the family. The house is very much inferior, the *per capita* outlay for food and clothing considerably less, while that for liquor is appreciably greater. Only about one-half spend anything for books and newspapers. The large proportion of wages saved suggests that as yet economy is more highly esteemed than social betterment. Still, no one can deny that there has been a vast improvement in comparison with their previous condition of life.

With no other showing should Americans be so well pleased as with the last. The immigration problem centres around this group of nationalities. The industrial Briton has, broadly speaking, been reared under wholesome social conditions. Few Frenchmen come to the United States at all. The German is the quickest of all to adopt American ways. The Scandinavians go most largely to the West to engage in agriculture. The Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, and Poles, who throng our gates, give most concern. Experience has shown that, left to horde together in larger cities, they are slow to change their ways. It is therefore with no ordinary satisfaction we note that, drafted off into industry, their advance is much more rapid. Up to the present there seems no ground to fear that such new comers have wielded a depressing influence. There seems rather reason for congratulation in the fact that, instead of their having lowered the American standard of living, the American standard of life has raised them.

Having bestowed so much attention upon the social results of the inquiry, a briefer space must be allotted to its economic aspects. Speaking generally of these, we may say that the cost of production of a similar unit of pig-iron, merchant iron, or steel is greater in the United States than in the principal foreign countries; that rates of wages are also higher; but that *the labour cost of manufacture is not correspondingly more.*

The production of pig-iron offers an apparent exception to the last statement. Table IX., wherein are contained the average figures for fifteen American, four English, and two Belgian Bessemer blast furnaces, shows a maintenance of the proportions between average daily wages and labour cost of manufacture. The exception is easily explained by the fact that in this industry, day wages, not piece-wages, prevail. Familiarity with labour conditions on the two continents teaches that a minimum daily wage is always much higher in America than elsewhere. One may fix the scale at one dollar and twenty-five cents (5s.) in the United States, to three shillings and sixpence in England, three francs (2s. 6d.) in France, two and a half francs (2s.) in Belgium, and two marks (2s.) in Germany. But whenever *quantity*, instead of *time*, is the unit of payment, the proportion in favour of the New World is not nearly so marked. The manufacture of pig-iron is also an industry where mechanical contrivances cannot be utilised to displace whatever highly-paid labour exists, and therefore reduce labour cost, as in the production of merchant iron and steel.

For the purpose of comparing wages with labour cost, and the latter to the total cost of production, I have combined in Table X. the figures from four important establishments, making the same product and operating under conditions as similar as possible.

TABLE IX.—BESSEMER PIG-IRON.

*Relation between the Earnings of Working Men, the Labour Cost and the Total Cost of Production.*

(Unit: One Ton of 2240 lbs.)

Country.	Daily Earnings of					Cost of Production—One Ton.						Total Cost of Production.
	Foreman.	Keeper.	Filler.	Average Daily Wages for the Establishment.		Labour.		Materials.		General Expenses.		
						Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	Amount.	£ s. d.
United States . . . .	0 10 4½	0 8 2	0 5 4½	0 6 1	0 5 6½	9.04	2 13 0	86.21	0 2 11	4.75	3 1 5½	
Great Britain . . . .	0 6 3½	0 4 10	0 3 9	0 2 11	0 2 8½	6.48	1 16 8½	88.87	0 1 11	4.65	2 1 4	
Belgium . . . . .	0 4 6½	0 4 11½	0 2 10	0 2 7½	0 1 10½	4.35	1 19 7½	91.67	0 1 8½	3.98	2 3 3	

These figures are an average from fifteen American, four English, and two Belgian establishments.

TABLE X.—BAR-IRON MANUFACTURE.

*Relation between the Earnings of Workmen, the Labour Cost  
and the total Cost of Production.*

Unit: One Ton of 2240 lbs.

Country.	Daily Earnings of			Labour Cost.		Total Cost of Production.
	Heater.	Roller.	Average daily wage for the Establishment.	Amount.	Per cent. of Total Cost.	
United States . . . . .	£ s. d. 1 0 2½	£ s. d. 0 17 2	£ s. d. 0 9 9	£ s. d. 0 13 8½	10.57	£ s. d. 6 9 9
Great Britain . . . . .	0 8 2½	0 9 5½	0 5 0	0 12 1½	12.44	4 17 ½
France . . . . .	0 6 8½	0 7 1½	0 3 3½	0 13 0½	11.67	4 12 2
Belgium . . . . .	0 6 8½	0 5 2½	0 2 0½	0 8 ½	8.70	4 16 6½

The wages of such skilled workmen as heaters and rollers are twice as great as in Great Britain, and nearly three-fold higher than in France and Belgium. The average wage to all classes of labourers in the establishment is also twice as great as in Great Britain, three times as high as in France, and four times larger than in Belgium. Compare these figures with the labour cost of a similar unit of manufacture, and we find quite different proportions. It is only a trifle more than in France, where daily wages are about one-third as high, one-eighth dearer than in Great Britain, with wages only half as high, and fifty-four per cent. greater than in Belgium, where wages are down to one-fourth.

In the manufacture of steel rails the same general law is evident. With the average wage of the establishment 40 per cent. greater than in England, the labour cost is only 10 per cent. more. In comparison with the continent of Europe wages are 90 per cent. and labour cost but 50 per cent. higher.

We must note also that for bar-iron the proportion of the labour cost to the total cost is less in the United States than in Great Britain and France, and for steel rails less than in England.

What inferences are we to draw from the foregoing statistics? Unmistakably this, that higher daily wages in America do not mean a correspondingly enhanced labour cost to the manufacturer. But why so? Some say because of the more perfect mechanical agencies put into the hands of the workman in American rolling mills. There is reason in this answer, if we take the average conditions, but it does not represent the whole truth. Moreover, it cannot be used in a comparison between England and the United States, since in the former country mechanical processes have been perfected almost to the same degree as in the latter. Particularly will the explanation

TABLE XI.—MANUFACTURE OF STEEL RAILS.

*Relation between the Earnings of Workmen, the Labour Cost and the Total Cost of Production.*

(Unit: One Ton of 2240 lbs.)

Country.	Daily Earnings of			Cost of Production per Ton.										Total Cost of Production per Ton.
	Heater.	Roller.	Average Daily Wage for the Establishment.	Labour.		Materials.		Fuel.		General Expenses.				
				Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.	Amount.	Proportion.			
United States. . . .	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
	0 18 0	1 0 0	0 8 3	0 0 2	6 21 4	4 4 5½	85 12 0	2 9½	2 82	0 5 9½	5 85	4 19 2½		
Great Britain. . . .	0 10 7½	0 12 2½	0 5 9½	0 5 5½	7 36 3	5 7½	89 20 0	1 9½	2 42	0 1 5½	2 02	3 14 4½		
Continent of Europe . .	0 5 9½	0 0 2½	0 4 3½	0 4 2	5 33	3 10 8½	90 27 0	1 7½	2 06	0 1 10	2 3½	3 18 3½		

These figures are taken directly from the books of three large establishments, well equipped and operating under the best conditions.

The terminal dates of the periods to which these figures relate are as follows:—

United States, July 15 to 27, 1889;

Great Britain, April 1 to September 29, 1889;

Continent of Europe, January 13 to April 6, 1889.

The rails manufactured have very nearly the same weight per yard.

fail in the present case, since the three establishments chosen are nearly alike in equipment and occupy a very high rank in their respective countries.

If applicable to steel-making, it should equally hold true of bar-iron, but statistics give it here even less probability.

The real explanation I believe to be, that greater physical force, as the result of better nourishment in combination with superior intelligence and skill, make the working man in the United States more efficient. His determination to maintain a high standard of life

causes him to put forth greater effort, and this reacts to the benefit of the employer as well as to his own. We should give the principal credit of the higher wages in America neither to the manufacturer, the tariff, nor any other agency, but the working man himself, who will not labour for less than will enable him to live on a high social plane. That he can carry out his policy with but little disadvantage to his employer in economic competition, teaches a lesson of far-reaching importance. Instead of a Ricardian régime, where the wages of labour become barely sufficient to permit a sustentation of effort and a reproduction of kind, it looks as if ere long the world's industrial supremacy would pass to those who earn the most and live the best.

E. R. L. GOULD.

## THE INADEQUACY OF "NATURAL SELECTION."

STUDENTS of psychology are familiar with the experiments of Weber on the sense of touch. He found that different parts of the surface differ widely in their ability to give information concerning the things touched. Some parts, which yielded vivid sensations, yielded little or no knowledge of the size or form of the thing exciting it; whereas other parts, from which there came sensations much less acute, furnished clear impressions respecting tangible characters, even of relatively small objects. These unlikenesses of tactual discriminativeness he ingeniously expressed by actual measurements. Taking a pair of compasses, he found that if they were closed so nearly that the points were less than one-twelfth of an inch apart, the end of the forefinger could not perceive that there were two points: the two points seemed one. But when the compasses were opened so that the points were one-twelfth of an inch apart, then the end of the forefinger distinguished the two points. On the other hand, he found that the compasses must be opened to the extent of two and a half inches before the middle of the back could distinguish between two points and one. That is to say, as thus measured, the end of the forefinger has thirty times the tactual discriminativeness which the middle of the back has.

Between these extremes he found gradations. The inner surfaces of the second joints of the fingers can distinguish separateness of positions only half as well as the tip of the forefinger. The innermost joints are still less discriminating, but have a power of discrimination equal to that of the tip of the nose. The end of the great toe, the palm of the hand, and the cheek, have alike one-fifth of the perceptiveness which the tip of the forefinger has; and the lower part of the forehead has but one-half that possessed by the cheek.



The back of the hand and the crown of the head are nearly alike in having but a fourteenth or a fifteenth of the ability to perceive positions as distinct, which is possessed by the finger-end. The thigh, near the knee, has rather less, and the breast less still; so that the compasses must be more than an inch and a half apart before the breast distinguishes the two points from one another.

What is the meaning of these differences? How, in the course of evolution, have they been established? If "natural selection" or survival of the fittest is the assigned cause, then it is required to show in what way each of these degrees of endowment has advantaged the possessor to such extent that not infrequently life has been directly or indirectly preserved by it. We might reasonably assume that in the absence of some differentiating process, all parts of the surface would have like powers of perceiving relative positions. They cannot have become widely unlike in perceptiveness without some cause. And if the cause alleged is natural selection, then it is necessary to show that the greater degree of the power possessed by this part than by that, has not only conduced to the maintenance of life, but has conduced so much that an individual in whom a variation had produced better adjustment to needs, thereby maintained life when some others lost it; and that among the descendants inheriting this variation, there was a derived advantage such as enabled them to multiply more than the descendants of individuals not possessing it. Can this, or anything like this, be shown?

That the superior perceptiveness of the forefinger-tip has thus arisen, might be contended with some apparent reason. Such perceptiveness is an important aid to manipulation, and may have sometimes given a life-saving advantage. In making arrows or fish-hooks, a savage possessing some extra amount of it may have been thereby enabled to get food where another failed. In civilised life, too, a sempstress with well-endowed finger-ends might be expected to gain a better livelihood than one with finger-ends which were obtuse; though this advantage would not be so great as appears. I have found that two ladies whose finger-ends were covered with glove-tips, reducing their sensitiveness from one-twelfth of an inch between compass points to one-seventh, lost nothing appreciable of their quickness and goodness in sewing. An experience of my own here comes in evidence. Towards the close of my salmon-fishing days, I used to observe what a bungler I had become in putting on and taking off artificial flies. As the tactual discriminativeness of my finger-ends, recently tested, comes up to the standard specified by Weber, it is clear that this decrease of manipulative power, accompanying increase of age, was due to decrease in the delicacy of muscular co-ordination and sense of pressure—not to decrease of tactual discriminativeness. But not making much of these criticisms, let us admit the conclusion

that this high perceptive power possessed by the forefinger-end may have arisen by survival of the fittest; and let us limit the argument to the other differences.

How about the back of the trunk and its face? Is any advantage derived from possession of greater tactual discriminativeness by the last than by the first? The tip of the nose has more than three times the power of distinguishing relative positions which the lower part of the forehead has. Can this greater power be shown to have any advantage? The back of the hand has scarcely more discriminative ability than the crown of the head, and has only one-fourteenth of that which the finger-tip has. Why is this? Advantage might occasionally be derived if the back of the hand could tell us more than it does about the shapes of the surfaces touched. Why should the thigh near the knee be twice as perceptive as the middle of the thigh? And, last of all, why should the middle of the forearm, middle of the thigh, middle of the back of the neck, and middle of the back, all stand on the lowest level, as having but one-thirtieth of the perceptive power which the tip of the forefinger has? To prove that these differences have arisen by natural selection, it has to be shown that such small variation in one of the parts as might occur in a generation—say one-tenth extra amount—has yielded an appreciably greater power of self-preservation, and that those inheriting it have continued to be so far advantaged as to multiply more than those who, in other respects equal, were less endowed with this trait. Does any one think he can show this?

But if this distribution of tactual perceptiveness cannot be explained by survival of the fittest, how can it be explained? The reply is that, if there has been in operation a cause which it is now the fashion among biologists to ignore or deny, these various differences are at once accounted for. This cause is the inheritance of acquired characters. As a preliminary to setting forth the argument showing this, I have made some experiments.

It is a current belief that the fingers of the blind, more practised in tactual exploration than the fingers of those who can see, acquire greater discriminativeness: especially the fingers of those blind who have been taught to read from raised letters. Not wishing to trust to this current belief, I recently tested two youths, one of fifteen and the other younger, at the School for the Blind in Upper Avenue Road, and found the belief to be correct. Instead of being unable to distinguish between points of the compasses until they were opened to one-twelfth of an inch apart, I found that both of them could distinguish between points when only one-fourteenth of an inch apart. They had thick and coarse skins; and doubtless, had this intervening obstacle so produced been less, the discriminative power would have been greater. It afterwards occurred to me that a better test would

be furnished by those whose finger-ends are exercised in tactual perceptions, not occasionally, as by the blind in reading, but all day long in pursuit of their occupations. The facts answered expectation. Two skilled compositors, on whom I experimented, were both able to distinguish between points when they were only one-seventeenth of an inch apart. Thus we have clear proof that constant exercise of the tactual nervous structures leads to further development.\*

Now if acquired structural traits are inheritable, the various contrasts above set down are obvious consequences; for the gradations in tactual perceptiveness correspond with the gradations in the tactual exercises of the parts. Save by contact with clothes, which present only broad surfaces having but slight and indefinite contrasts, the trunk has but little converse with external bodies, and it has but small discriminative power; but what discriminative power it has is greater on its face than on its back, corresponding to the fact that the chest and abdomen are much more frequently explored by the hands: this difference being probably in part inherited from inferior creatures, for, as we may see in dogs and cats, the belly is far more accessible to feet and tongue than the back. No less obtuse than the back are the middle of the back of the neck, the middle of the forearm, and the middle of the thigh; and these parts have but rare experiences of irregular foreign bodies. The crown of the head is occasionally felt by the fingers, as also the back of one hand by the fingers of the other; but neither of these surfaces, which are only twice as perceptive as the back, is used with any frequency for touching objects, much less for examining them. The lower part of the forehead, though more perceptive than the crown of the head, in correspondence with a somewhat greater converse with the hands, is less than one-third as perceptive as the tip of the nose; and manifestly, both in virtue of its relative prominence, in virtue of its contacts with things smelt at, and in virtue of its frequent acquaint-

\* Let me here note in passing a highly significant implication. The development of nervous structures which in such cases takes place, cannot be limited to the finger-ends. If we figure to ourselves the separate sensitive areas which severally yield independent feelings, as constituting a network (not, indeed, a network sharply marked out, but probably one such that the ultimate fibrils in each area intrude more or less into adjacent areas, so that the separations are indefinite), it is manifest that when, with exercise, the structure has become further elaborated, and the meshes of the network smaller, there must be a multiplication of fibres communicating with the central nervous system. If two adjacent areas were supplied by branches of one fibre, the touching of either would yield to consciousness the same sensation: there could be no discrimination between points touching the two. That there may be discrimination, there must be a distinct connection between each area and the tract of grey matter which receives the impressions. Nay more, there must be, in this central recipient-tract, an added number of the separate elements which, by their excitement, yield separate feelings. So that this increased power of tactual discrimination implies a peripheral development, a multiplication of fibres in the trunk-nerve, and a complication of the nerve-centre. It can scarcely be doubted that analogous changes occur under analogous conditions throughout all parts of the nervous system—not in its sensory appliances only, but in all its higher co-ordinating appliances up to the highest.

ance with the handkerchief, the tip of the nose has far greater tactual experience. Passing to the inner surfaces of the hands, which, taken as wholes, are more constantly occupied in touching than are the back, breast, thigh, forearm, forehead, or back of the hand, Weber's scale shows that they are much more perceptive, and that the degrees of perceptiveness of different parts correspond with their tactual activities. The palms have but one-fifth the perceptiveness possessed by the forefinger-ends; the inner surfaces of the finger-joints next the palms have but one-third, while the inner surfaces of the second joints have but one-half. These abilities correspond with the facts that whereas the inner parts of the hand are used only in grasping things, the tips of the fingers come into play not only when things are grasped, but when such things, as well as smaller things, are felt at or manipulated. It needs but to observe the relative actions of these parts in writing, in sewing, in judging textures, &c., to see that above all other parts the finger-ends, and especially the forefinger-ends, have the most multiplied experiences. If, then, it be that the extra perceptiveness acquired from extra tactual activities, as in a compositor, is inheritable, these gradations of tactual perceptiveness are explained.

Doubtless some of those who remember Weber's results, have had on the tip of the tongue the argument derived from the tip of the tongue. This part exceeds all other parts in power of tactual discrimination: doubling, in that respect, the power of the forefinger-tip. It can distinguish points that are only one-twenty-fourth of an inch apart. Why this unparalleled perceptiveness? If survival of the fittest be the ascribed cause, then it has to be shown what the advantages achieved have been; and, further, that those advantages have been sufficiently great to have had effects on the maintenance of life.

Besides tasting, there are two functions conducive to life, which the tongue performs. It enables us to move about food during mastication, and it enables us to make many of the articulations constituting speech. But how does the extreme discriminativeness of the tongue-tip aid these functions? The food is moved about, not by the tongue-tip, but by the body of the tongue; and even were the tip largely employed in this process, it would still have to be shown that its ability to distinguish between points one-twenty-fourth of an inch apart, is of service to that end, which cannot be shown. It may, indeed, be said that the tactual perceptiveness of the tongue-tip serves for detection of foreign bodies in the food, as plum-stones or as fish-bones. But such extreme perceptiveness is needless for the purpose—a perceptiveness equal to that of the finger-ends would suffice; and further, even were such extreme perceptiveness useful, it could not have caused survival of individuals who possessed it in slightly higher degrees than others. It needs but to observe a dog crunching small

bones, and swallowing with impunity the sharp-angled pieces, to see that but a very small amount of mortality would be prevented.

But what about speech? Well, neither here can there be shown any advantage derived from this extreme perceptiveness. For making the *s* and *z*, the tongue has to be partially applied to a portion of the palate next the teeth. Not only, however, must the contact be incomplete, but its place is indefinite—may be half an inch further back. To make the *sh* and *zh*, the contact has to be made, not with the tip, but with the upper surface of the tongue; and must be an incomplete contact. Though, for making the liquids, the tip of the tongue and the sides of the tongue are used, yet the requisite is not any exact adjustment of the tip, but an imperfect contact with the palate. For the *th*, the tip is used along with the edges of the tongue; but no perfect adjustment is required, either to the edges of the teeth, or to the junction of the teeth with the palate, where the sound may equally well be made. Though for the *t* and *d* complete contact of the tip and edges of the tongue with the palate is required, yet the place of contact is not definite, and the tip takes no more important share in the action than the sides. Any one who observes the movements of his tongue in speaking, will find that there occur no cases in which the adjustments must have an exactness corresponding to the extreme power of discrimination which the tip possesses: for speech, this endowment is useless. Even were it useful, it could not be shown that it has been developed by survival of the fittest; for though perfect articulation is useful, yet imperfect articulation has rarely such an effect as to impede a man in the maintenance of his life. If he is a good workman, a German's interchanges of *b*'s and *p*'s do not disadvantage him. A Frenchman who, in place of the sound of *th*, always makes the sound of *z*, succeeds as a teacher of music or dancing, no less than if he achieved the English pronunciation. Nay, even such an imperfection of speech as that which arises from cleft palate, does not prevent a man from getting on if he is capable. True, it may go against him as a candidate for Parliament, or as an "orator" of the unemployed (mostly not worth employing). But in the struggle for life he is not hindered by the effect to the extent of being less able than others to maintain himself and his offspring. Clearly, then, even if this unparalleled perceptiveness of the tongue-tip is required for perfect speech, this use is not sufficiently important to have been developed by natural selection.

How, then, is this remarkable trait of the tongue-tip to be accounted for? Without difficulty, if there is inheritance of acquired characters. For the tongue-tip has, above all other parts of the body, unceasing experiences of small irregularities of surface. It is in contact with the teeth, and either consciously or unconsciously is continually exploring them. There is hardly a moment in which

impressions of adjacent but different positions are not being yielded to it by either the surfaces of the teeth or their edges; and it is continually being moved about from some of them to others. No advantage is gained. It is simply that the tongue's position renders perpetual exploration almost inevitable; and by perpetual exploration is developed this unique power of discrimination. Thus the law holds throughout, from this highest degree of perceptiveness of the tongue-tip to its lowest degree on the back of the trunk; and no other explanation of the facts seems possible.

"Yes, there is another explanation," I hear some one say: "they may be explained by *panmixia*." Well, in the first place, as the explanation by *panmixia* implies that these gradations of perceptiveness have been arrived at by the dwindling of nervous structures, there lies at the basis of the explanation an unproved and improbable assumption; and, even were there no such difficulty, it may with certainty be denied that *panmixia* can furnish an explanation. Let us look at its pretensions.

It was not without good reason that Bentham protested against metaphors. Figures of speech in general, valuable as they are in poetry and rhetoric, cannot be used without danger in science and philosophy. The title of Mr. Darwin's great work furnishes us with an instance of the misleading effects produced by them. It runs:—"The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life." Here are two figures of speech which conspire to produce an impression more or less erroneous. The expression "natural selection" was chosen as serving to indicate some parallelism with artificial selection—the selection exercised by breeders. Now selection connotes volition, and thus gives to the thoughts of readers a wrong bias. Some increase of this bias is produced by the words in the second title, "favoured races;" for anything which is favoured implies the existence of some agent conferring a favour. I do not mean that Mr. Darwin himself failed to recognise the misleading connotations of his words, or that he did not avoid being misled by them. In chapter iv. of the "Origin of Species" he says that, considered literally, "natural selection is a false term," and that the personification of Nature is objectionable; but he thinks that readers, and those who adopt his views, will soon learn to guard themselves against the wrong implications. Here I venture to think that he was mistaken. For thinking this there is the reason that even his disciple, Mr. Wallace—no, not his disciple, but his co-discoverer, ever to be honoured—has apparently been influenced by them. When for example, in combating a view of mine, he says that "the very thing said to be impossible by variation and natural selection has been again and

again effected by variation and artificial selection"; he seems clearly to imply that the processes are analogous and operate in the same way. Now this is untrue. They are analogous only within certain narrow limits; and, in the great majority of cases, natural selection is utterly incapable of doing that which artificial selection does.

To see this it needs only to de-personalise Nature, and to remember that, as Mr. Darwin says, Nature is "only the aggregate action and product of many natural laws [forces]." Observe its relative shortcomings. Artificial selection can pick out a particular trait, and, regardless of other traits of the individuals displaying it, can increase it by selective breeding in successive generations. For, to the breeder or fancier, it matters little whether such individuals are otherwise well constituted. They may be in this or that way so unfit for carrying on the struggle for life, that, were they without human care, they would disappear forthwith. On the other hand, if we regard Nature as that which it is, an assemblage of various forces, inorganic and organic, some favourable to the maintenance of life and many at variance with its maintenance—forces which operate blindly—we see that there is no such selection of this or that trait, but that there is a selection only of individuals which are, by the aggregate of their traits, best fitted for living. And here I may note an advantage possessed by the expression "survival of the fittest;" since this does not tend to raise the thought of any one character which, more than others, is to be maintained or increased; but tends rather to raise the thought of a general adaptation for all purposes. It implies the process which Nature can alone carry on—the leaving alive of those which are best able to utilise surrounding aids to life, and best able to combat or avoid surrounding dangers. And while this phrase covers the great mass of cases in which there are preserved well-constituted individuals, it also covers those special cases which are suggested by the phrase "natural selection," in which individuals succeed beyond others in the struggle for life by the help of particular characters which conduce in important ways to prosperity and multiplication. For now observe the fact which here chiefly concerns us, that survival of the fittest can increase any serviceable trait only if that trait conduces to prosperity of the individual, or of posterity, or of both, *in an important degree*. There can be no increase of any structure by natural selection unless, amid all the slightly varying structures constituting the organism, increase of this particular one is so advantageous as to cause greater multiplication of the family in which it arises than of other families. Variations which, though advantageous, fail to do this, must disappear again. Let us take a case.

Keeness of scent in a deer, by giving early notice of approaching enemies, subserves life so greatly that, other things equal, an individual having it in an unusual degree is more likely than others to

survive, and, among descendants, to leave some similarly endowed or more endowed, who again transmit the variation with, in some cases, increase. Clearly this highly useful power may be developed by natural selection. So also, for like reasons, may quickness of vision and delicacy of hearing. Though it may be remarked in passing that since this extra sense-endowment, serving to give early alarm, profits the herd as a whole, which takes the alarm from one individual, selection of it is not so easy, unless it occurs in a conquering stag. But now suppose that, one member of the herd—perhaps because of more efficient teeth, perhaps by greater muscularity of stomach, perhaps by secretion of more appropriate gastric juices—is enabled to eat and digest a not uncommon plant which the others refuse. This peculiarity may, if food is scarce, conduce to better self-maintenance, and better fostering of young, if the individual is a hind. But unless this plant is abundant, and the advantage consequently great, the advantages which other members of the herd gain from other slight variations may be equivalent. This one has unusual agility and leaps a chasm which others balk at. That one develops longer hair in winter, and resists the cold better. Another has a skin less irritated by flies, and can graze without so much interruption. Here is one which has an unusual power of detecting food under the snow; and there is one which shows extra sagacity in the choice of a shelter from wind and rain. That the variation giving the ability to eat a plant before unutilised, may become a trait of the herd, and eventually of a variety, it is needful that the individual in which it occurs shall have more descendants, or better descendants, or both, than have the various other individuals severally having their small superiorities. If these other individuals severally profit by their small superiorities, and transmit them to equally large numbers of offspring, no increase of the variation in question can take place: it must soon be cancelled. Whether in the "Origin of Species" Mr. Darwin has recognised this fact, I do not remember, but he has certainly done it by implication in his "Animals and Plants under Domestication." Speaking of variations in domestic animals, he there says that, "Any particular variation would generally be lost by crossing, reversion, and the accidental destruction of the varying individuals, unless carefully preserved by man" (vol. ii. 292). That which survival of the fittest does in cases like the one I have instanced is to keep all faculties up to the mark, by destroying such as have faculties in some respect below the mark; and it can produce development of some one faculty only if that faculty is predominantly important. It seems to me that many naturalists have practically lost sight of this, and assume that natural selection will increase *any* advantageous trait. Certainly a view now widely accepted assumes as much.

The consideration of this view, to which the foregoing paragraph is



introductory, may now be entered upon. This view concerns, not direct selection, but what has been called, in questionable logic, "reversed selection"—the selection which effects, not increase of an organ, but decrease of it. For as, under some conditions, it is of advantage to an individual and its descendants to have some structure of larger size, it may be, under other conditions—namely, when the organ becomes useless—of advantage to have it of smaller size; since, even if it is not in the way, its weight and the cost of its nutrition are injurious taxes on the organism. But now comes the truth to be emphasised. Just as direct selection can increase an organ only in certain cases, so can reversed selection decrease it only in certain cases. Like the increase produced by a variation, the decrease produced by one must be such as will sensibly conduce to preservation and multiplication. It is, for instance, conceivable that were the long and massive tail of the kangaroo to become useless (say by the forcing of the species into a mountainous and rocky habitat filled with brushwood), a variation which considerably reduced the tail might sensibly profit the individual in which it occurred; and, in seasons when food was scarce, might cause survival when individuals with large tails died. But the economy of nutrition must be considerable before any such result could occur. Suppose that in this new habitat the kangaroo had no enemies; and suppose that, consequently, quickness of hearing not being called for, large ears gave no greater advantage than small ones. Would an individual with smaller ears than usual survive and propagate better than other individuals in consequence of the economy of nutrition achieved? To suppose this is to suppose that the saving of a grain or two of protein per day would determine the kangaroo's fate.

Long ago I discussed this matter in the "Principles of Biology" (§ 166), taking as an instance the decrease of the jaw implied by the crowding of the teeth, and now proved by measurement to have taken place. Here is the passage:—

"No functional superiority possessed by a small jaw over a large jaw, in civilised life, can be named as having caused the more frequent survival of small-jawed individuals. The only advantage which smallness of jaw might be supposed to give, is the advantage of economised nutrition; and this could not be great enough to further the preservation of men possessing it. The decrease of weight in the jaw and co-operative parts that has arisen in the course of many thousands of years, does not amount to more than a few ounces. This decrease has to be divided among the many generations that have lived and died in the interval. Let us admit that the weight of these parts diminished to the extent of an ounce in a single generation (which is a large admission); it still cannot be contended that the having to carry an ounce less in weight, or the having to keep in repair an ounce less of tissue, could sensibly affect any man's fate. And if it never did this—*say*, if it did not cause a *frequent* survival of small-jawed individuals where large-jawed individuals died, natural selection could neither cause nor aid diminution of the jaw and its appendages."

When writing this passage in 1864, I never dreamt that a quarter of a century later, the supposable cause of degeneration here examined and excluded as impossible, would be enunciated as not only *a* cause, but *the* cause, and the sole cause. This, however, has happened. Weismann's theory of degeneration by *panmixia*, is that when an organ previously maintained of the needful size by natural selection, is no longer maintained at that size, because it has become useless (or because a smaller size is equally useful), it results that among the variations in the size, which take place from generation to generation, the smaller will be preserved continually, and that so the part will decrease. And this is concluded without asking whether the economy in nutrition achieved by the smaller variation, will sensibly affect the survival of the individual, and the multiplication of its stirp. To make clear his hypothesis, and to prepare the way for criticism, let me quote the example he himself gives when contrasting the alleged efficiency of dwindling by *panmixia* with the alleged inefficiency of dwindling from disuse. This example is furnished him by the *Proteus*.

Concerning the "blind fish and amphibia" found in dark places, which have but rudimentary eyes "hidden under the skin," he argues that "it is difficult to reconcile the facts of the case with the ordinary theory that the eyes of these animals have simply degenerated through disuse." After giving instances of rapid degeneration of disused organs, he argues that if "the effects of disuse are so striking in a single life, we should certainly expect, if such effects can be transmitted, that all traces of an eye would soon disappear from a species which lives in the dark." Doubtless this is a reasonable conclusion. To explain the facts on the hypothesis that acquired characters are inheritable seems very difficult. One possible explanation may indeed be named. It appears to be a general law of organisation that structures are stable in proportion to their antiquity; that while organs of relatively modern origin have but a comparatively superficial root in the constitution, and readily disappear if the conditions do not favour their maintenance, organs of ancient origin have deep-seated roots in the constitution, and do not readily disappear. Having been early elements in the type, and having continued to be reproduced as parts of it during a period extending throughout many geological epochs, they are comparatively persistent. Now the eye answers to this description as being a very early organ.\* But waiving possible interpretations, let us admit that here is a difficulty

\* While the proof of this article is in hand, I learn that the *Proteus* is not quite blind, and that its eyes have a use. It seems that when the underground streams it inhabits are unusually swollen, some individuals of the species are carried out of the caverns into the open (being then sometimes captured). It is also said that the creature shuns the light; this trait being, I presume, observed when it is in captivity. Now obviously, among individuals carried out into the open, those which remain

—a difficulty like countless others which the phenomena of evolution present, as, for instance, the acquirement of such a habit as that of the *Vanessa* larva, hanging itself up by the tail and then changing into a chrysalis which usurps its place—a difficulty which, along with multitudes, has to await future solution, if any can be found. Let it be granted, I say, that here is a serious obstacle in the way of the hypothesis; and now let us turn to the alternative hypothesis, and observe whether it is not met by difficulties which are much more serious. Weismann writes:—

“The caverns in Carniola and Carinthia, in which the blind *Proteus* and so many other blind animals live, belong geologically to the Jurassic formation; and although we do not exactly know when, for example, the *Proteus* first entered them, the low organisation of this amphibian certainly indicates that it has been sheltered there for a very long period of time, and that thousands of generations of this species have succeeded one another in the caves.

“Hence there is no reason to wonder at the extent to which the degeneration of the eye has been already carried in the *Proteus*, even if we assume that it is merely due to the cessation of the conserving influence of natural selection.

“But it is unnecessary to depend upon this assumption alone, for when a useless organ degenerates, there are also other factors which demand consideration—namely, the higher development of other organs which compensate for the loss of the degenerating structure, or the increase in size of adjacent parts. If these newer developments are of advantage to the species, they finally come to take the place of the organ which natural selection has failed to preserve at its point of highest perfection.”\*

On these paragraphs let me first remark that one cause is multiplied into two. The cause is stated in the abstract, and it is then re-stated in the concrete, as though it were another cause. Manifestly, if by decrease of the eye an economy of nutriment is achieved, it is implied that the economised nutriment is turned to some advantageous purpose or other; and to specify that the nutriment is used for the further development of compensating organs, simply changes the indefinite statement of advantage into a definite statement of advantage. There are not two causes in operation, though the matter is presented as though there were.

But passing over this, let us now represent to ourselves in detail this process which Professor Weismann thinks will, in thousands of generations, effect the observed reduction of the eyes: the process being that at each successive stage in the decrease, there must take place variations in the size of the eye, some larger, some smaller, than the size previously reached, and that in virtue of the economy, those

visible are apt to be carried off by enemies; whereas, those which, appreciating the difference between light and darkness, shelter themselves in dark places, survive. Hence the tendency of natural selection is to prevent the decrease of the eyes beyond that point at which they can distinguish between light and darkness. Thus the apparent anomaly is explained.

\* “Essays upon Heredity,” p. 87.

having the smaller will continually survive and propagate, instead of those having the larger. Properly to appreciate this supposition, we must use figures. To give it every advantage we will assume that there have been only two thousand generations, and we will assume that, instead of being reduced to a rudiment, the eye has disappeared altogether. What amounts of variation shall we suppose? If the idea is that the process has operated uniformly on each generation, the implication is that some advantage has been gained by the individuals having the eyes  $\frac{1}{2000}$ th less in weight; and this will hardly be contended. Not to put the hypothesis at this disadvantage, let us then imagine that there take place, at long intervals, decreasing variations considerable in amount—say  $\frac{1}{100}$ th, once in a hundred generations. This is an interval almost too long to be assumed; but yet if we assume the successive decrements to occur more frequently, and therefore to be smaller, the amount of each becomes too insignificant. If, seeing the small head, we assume that the eyes of the *Proteus* originally weighed some ten grains each, this would give us, as the amount of the decrement of  $\frac{1}{20}$ th, occurring once in a hundred generations, one grain. Suppose that this eel-shaped amphibian, about a foot long and more than half an inch in diameter, weighs three ounces—a very moderate estimate. In such case the decrement would amount to  $\frac{1}{14400}$ th of the creature's weight; or, for convenience, let us say that it amounted to  $\frac{1}{10000}$ th, which would allow of the eyes being taken at some fourteen grains each.\* To this extent, then, each occasional decrement would profit the organism. The economy in weight to a creature having nearly the same specific gravity as its medium, would be infinitesimal. The economy in nutrition of a rudimentary organ, consisting of passive tissues, would also be but nominal. The only appreciable economy would be in the original building up of the creature's structures; and the hypothesis of Weismann implies that the economy of this thousandth part of its weight, by decrease of the eyes, would so benefit the rest of the creature's organisation as to give it an

\* I find that the eye of a small smelt (the only appropriate small fish obtainable here, St. Leonards) is about  $\frac{1}{144}$ th of its weight; and since in young fish the eyes are disproportionately large, in the full-grown smelt the eye would be probably not more than  $\frac{1}{100}$ th of the creature's weight. On turning to highly-finished plates, published by the Bibliographisches Institut of Leipzig, of this perenni branchiate *Proteus*, and other amphibians, I find that in the nearest ally there represented, the caduobranchiate axolotl, the diameter of the eye, less than half that of the smelt, bears a much smaller ratio to the length of the body: the proportion in the smelt being  $\frac{1}{14}$ th of the length, and in the axolotl about  $\frac{1}{17}$ th (the body being also more bulky than that of the smelt). If, then, we take the linear ratio of the eye to body in this amphibian as one-half the ratio which the fish presents, it results that the ratio of the mass of the eye to the mass of the body will be but one-eighth. So that the weight of the eye of the amphibian will be but  $\frac{1}{1456}$ th of that of the body. It is a liberal estimate, therefore, to suppose that its original weight in the *Proteus* was 1000th of that of the body. I may add that any one who glances at the representation of the axolotl, will see that, were the eye to disappear entirely by a single variation, the economy achieved could not have any appreciable physiological effect on the organism.

appreciably greater chance of survival, and an appreciably greater multiplication of descendants. Does any one accept this inference?

Of course the quantifications of data above set down can be only approximate; but I think no reasonable changes of them can alter the general result. If, instead of supposing the eyes to have disappeared wholly, we recognise them as being in fact rudimentary, the case is made worse. If, instead of 2000 generations, we assume 10,000 generations, which, considering the probably great age of the caverns, would be a far more reasonable assumption than the other, the case is made still worse. And if we assume larger variations—say decreases of one-fourth—to occur only at intervals of many hundreds or thousands of generations, which is not a very reasonable assumption, the implied conclusion would still remain indefensible. For an economy of <sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub> of the creature's weight could not appreciably affect its survival and the increase of its posterity.

Is it not then, as said above, that the use of the expression, "natural selection" has had seriously perverting effects? Must we not infer that there has been produced in the minds of naturalists, the tacit assumption that it can do what artificial selection does—can pick out and select any small advantageous trait; while it can, in fact, pick out no traits, but can only further the development of traits which, *in marked ways*, increase the general fitness for the conditions of existence? And is it not inferable that, failing to bear in mind the limiting condition, that to become established an advantageous variation must be such as will, other things remaining equal, add to the prosperity of the stirp, many naturalists have been unawares led to espouse an untenable hypothesis?

HERBERT SPENCER.

(*To be concluded.*)

## THE SITE OF GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

**A**N appeal, under distinguished patronage, has lately been made to the public for funds to buy on the outskirts of Jerusalem a plot of land which we are confidently assured holds the very sepulchre in which the body of the Saviour was laid in the interval between His death and resurrection. So certain of their ground are the advocates of the new site that they disdain to consider whether something may not still be said to vindicate the authenticity of the old site. One of their authorised spokesmen has lately referred to myself as a man who "supports the claim which" my critic "had supposed had been generally abandoned by all intelligent observers." For myself, I am not sure that I should have regretted if the tomb of our Redeemer had remained for ever unknown among the hills of Judæa, like that of the great lawgiver of Israel among the mountains of Moab. I am not insensible to the charm which association with heroic deeds and great names lends to localities so favoured. To look with one's own eyes on Marathon and Salamis, the Ilissus and the Acropolis, with its coronet of temples, enables one to read again Greek history and the Dialogues of Plato, not only with a fresh relish, but with a better insight into their meaning and with a juster appreciation of that richly endowed people who are still our masters and instructors in all that appertains to the discipline of man's imagination and intellect. In like manner, a visit to Palestine can hardly fail, if we give nature fair play, to deepen one's impression of that wonderful Providence which has from the beginning presided over the destinies of men, "shaping their ends, rough-hew them how they will," to His own wise purposes. Especially is this true of the scenes of our Lord's life. It is impossible to convey to another the feelings roused and hallowed by treading the same soil which He trod,

gazing on the same sky, and hills, and lake, and river on which His eyes so often rested; looking down on "the city of the great King" from the very spot which made Him break out suddenly into loud sobs\* of grief as He saw the contrast between the fair vision beneath Him, "the joy of the whole earth," and the desolation which was so soon to overtake the daughter of Sion because "she knew not the time of her visitation."

I wish the Holy Sepulchre, and Golgotha, and the grotto of Bethlehem, and the summit and ridge of Olivet had been left as Nature made them, instead of being disfigured and disguised by the misguided zeal of Christian piety. They lose much of their impressiveness through an ignorant desire to make them more impressive. And it is lamentable to reflect that the holiest spot in the Holy Land; that which was sprinkled with the life-blood of Incarnate God and witnessed His victory over death, should have been indirectly the cause of more carnage than any other spot on earth. For it arrayed not only Christendom against Islam on many a bloody field, but also one-half of Christendom against the other; ending in the capture and sack of Constantinople by the Latins in A.D. 1204—the greatest political crime ever perpetrated in Christendom; for not only were the atrocities committed by the Latins worse than those of the Turks, but, together with the weakening of the Eastern Empire by previous crusades, the Latin conquest of Constantinople broke down the bulwark of Christian Europe against the Turks. They had a footing on the European side of the Bosphorus before, but they could never have made good their conquests in Europe without possession of Constantinople.† Even in our own generation we have seen one of the greatest wars of modern times originating in a dispute between Christian nations about the scene of our Lord's death and burial—a war which cost our country streams of precious blood and added £100,000,000 to our national debt. And the jealousies, intrigues, and bad blood which that sacred shrine still engenders among rival Christian communions, making our holy religion odious in the eyes of unbelievers, may well make a Christian wish that, had it been possible, the place of Christ's burial had never been known.

But of course it was not possible, for His resurrection could not otherwise have been certified. It is not a question, therefore, of setting out in quest of Christ's sepulchre. Two spots are now claimants for that honour; and if we are to cherish the memory of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, it is better that we should know which are the true and which the spurious—that is to say, if such

\* Not *ἰδδκρυον*, as in St. John xi. 35—the gentle, sympathetic tears of One who had a secret with which He was about to turn great heaviness into joy; but *ἐκλαυον*—the sudden loud outburst of unlooked-for sorrow. How very human it is!

† Mr. Pears seems to me to have proved this in his able and interesting work on "The Fall of Constantinople." He acquits Innocent III. of any share in the crime.

knowledge is possible. The controversy ought not to be deemed a religious one—a dispute between Protestantism on the one hand, and Latin and Oriental Christianity on the other. It is a purely historical question, and as such I shall deal with it in the following argument. Those who think that the title of the old site to be acknowledged as the true one is an anachronism, “abandoned by all intelligent observers,” are plainly tyros in the study of the question. Dr. Stapfer is nearer the mark when he says: “We accept as authentic the traditional site assigned to Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. This opinion is general to-day among the learned.”\* Another learned Protestant, a Swiss, who made a careful examination of the topography of Jerusalem in 1875, and compared the respective arguments for the old site and the new, says that, while sentiment would incline him to adopt the new site, historical and topographical evidence convinced him that the old site is the true one.†

Now it is obvious to observe that the burden of proof lies, in a double sense, on the advocates of the new site. The old site is admittedly in possession by the prescriptive right of more than fifteen centuries, and must be dispossessed by some evidence more cogent than mere conjecture, however ingenious or plausible; and the new site must be authenticated by some better credentials than the “may be,” or “bare possibility,”‡ to which its advocates resort when driven out of their positive statements. Apart from good evidence to the contrary, the presumption is all in favour of the old site, against which nothing of a tangible character can be urged, except that it lies within the city walls, while Golgotha was undoubtedly “without the gate” in the time of Christ. The question, of course, is whether the old site was within the gate at the time of the Crucifixion, for the third wall, which presumably includes it now, was not built till eleven years after Christ’s death. In other words, is the old site outside or inside the second wall? A clear answer to that question would be decisive either way. But no clear answer on topographical grounds is at present available. For “no distinct trace of this (second) wall has yet been found.”§ We must, therefore, have

\* “Palestine in the Time of Christ.” By Edmond Stapfer, D.D., Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. P. 50. English translation. London. 1886. The bibliography appended to Dr. Stapfer’s volume shows that he has pretty well exhausted the modern literature on this controversy, including the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

† “Voyage en Terre Sainte.” Par Felix Bovet. Pp. 127-230. Paris. 1876. “Si je ne croyais avoir de bonnes raisons pour adopter la tradition relative à la situation de Golgotha, et que je voulusse m’élancer dans les conjectures, je pencherais à le placer en cet endroit, qui semble réunir toutes les conditions voulues.” I shall give reasons to show that the new site does not possess “all the requisite conditions,” except in the superficial sense meant by M. Bovet. But the admission shows that the learned author was convinced against his will by the overwhelming weight of evidence in favour of the old site.

‡ See a letter from Mr. Campbell published in the *Times* last October, and Mr. Haskett Smith’s “Calvary and the Tomb of Christ,” p. 21.

§ Sir C. Wilson, R.E., in “Picturesque Palestine,” vol. i. p. 82. Sir Charles Wilson was formerly engineer to the Palestine Exploration Fund.



recourse to other evidence, though I may examine later on, if there is room, some of the topographical objections which have been urged against the old site.

We may surely urge, *in limine*, that Golgotha was far too famous spot and too well-known a landmark to pass easily out of the memories of the generations of Christians who lived in Palestine between the Crucifixion and A.D. 326, when the site was recovered, assuming—what I shall presently endeavour to prove—that the traditional is the true site. There is no controversy as to the identity of the site of the present Holy Sepulchre with that of Constantine.\* It is evident from the Evangelists that Golgotha was a marked historic feature outside one of the gates of the city. St. Matthew speaks of it as “a place called Golgotha—that is to say, a place of a skull.” St. Mark says that “they brought Him to Golgotha, a place which means a place of a skull.” St. Luke is more precise and emphatic: “And when they came to the place which is called a skull.” St. John describes it as “the place called that of a skull.” These references plainly imply some fame or notoriety attaching to the place and indicated by its name. There are three theories in explanation of the name: (1) that it was so called from its having some likeness to the shape of a human skull; (2) that it was the public place of execution, and therefore skulls were lying about; to which others add that it was a cemetery as well; (3) that a skull was found there in ancient days which was identified by the wisdom of Solomon as Adam’s skull, and hence that his body was buried there.

No. 1 need not detain us. It has very few supporters among the ancients, and none of any weight. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions it only to reject it.† No. 2 has more supporters; but they rely on the great name of Jerome, whose authority on this question, however, must be discounted for a reason to be given presently. Bede set the example of that false interpretation among English writers.‡ Nothing but the exigencies of a foregone conclusion could have induced a man of Jerome’s learning and critical acumen to commit himself to a theory which is exposed to three objections, any one of which is fatal to it. First, Golgotha is singular, and therefore cannot be derived from the alleged fact of skulls lying about. Second, the interpretation implies, and Bede asserts, that the criminals supposed to have been executed there were beheaded, which was not a Jewish capital

\* Mr. Ferguson published an essay fifty years ago to prove, on architectural grounds, that the Dome of the Rock is Constantine’s Church. But his brilliant paradox was knocked to pieces at the time by the Rev. George Williams and Professor Willis, and nobody of any reputation accepts it now, although it still holds its place in Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible” and in the “Encyclopædia Britannica.”

† Catech. xiii.

‡ “Extra urbem Hierusalem et extra portam loca erant in quibus truncabantur capita damnatorum, et Calvarie, id est, decollatorum sumere nomen.”—Expos. in Luc. xxiii.

punishment. Third, according to Jewish law the bodies must have been buried before sundown of the day of execution; therefore there could have been no skulls exposed in the place. The fact is, Jerome started this untenable theory in lieu of the received tradition because, from a mistranslation of Joshua xiv. 15, he thought that Adam was buried in Hebron. The Authorised Version renders the passage as follows: "And the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba, *which was a great man among the Anakims*. And the land had rest from war." The words in italics are a gloss by the translators. The Septuagint renders it: "But the name of Hebron was previously Argob city, which was the metropolis of the Anakim. And the land had rest from war."\* It will be seen that the Authorised Version and Septuagint, while differing in their interpretation of Arbo or Arba, agree as to the meaning of the final sentence. Jerome's translation is: "The name of Hebron before was Cariath Arbe. Adam, the greatest among the Anakims, was laid there." The word "Adam" in Hebrew means "earth" or "land," and Jerome hastily mistook an appellative for a proper name, and thus mistranslating the verse, rejected the old tradition which laid Adam's body in Golgotha. Such is the origin of the theory that Golgotha was a place of execution. No. 3 may be said to have a *consensus* of the great Fathers of the Church, East and West, in support of it: among the Easterns, Origen,† Athanasius,‡ Epiphanius,§ Cyril of Jerusalem,|| Chrysostom,¶ Theophylact,\*\* Basil;†† among the Westerns, Tertullian,‡‡ Ambrose,§§ Cyprian,||| St. Augustine.¶¶

It may be well to quote the words of some of the leading Fathers as to this tradition. Origen says: "The Hebrews have a tradition about the Place of the Skull—viz., that the body of Adam was buried there; that as in Adam all die, in Christ all should again be made alive.\*\*\* Epiphanius: "Since the skull of the first man was found there, there also his remains were buried, and for this reason the place where our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified received the surname

\* Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς Χεβρών ἦν τὸ πρότερον πόλις Ἀργὸβ (another reading gives Ἀρβὸ); μητρόπολις τῶν Ἐνακίμ αὐτῇ. Καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐκόπασε τοῦ πολέμου.

† "Comment. in Matt." Ed. Parisiensis, tom. xii. p. 261.

‡ "De Cruce et Pass. Dom." Tom. i. p. 1003. § "Hær." xlv. p. 172.

|| "Catech." xiii. p. 802; Migne's ed. ¶ "Hom." lxxviii. in Johan.

\*\* In cap. xv. Marci.

†† Orat. xxxviii. 199; Comm. in Is. v.

‡‡ Adv. Marc. ii. p. 883.

§§ Ep. lxxi. 10, tom. ii. vol. i. p. 1243; tom. i. vol. ii. p. 1832. Ed. Bened.

||| Serm. de Resurr.

¶¶ Tom. v. pt. ii. p. 2306. Ed. Bened.

\*\*\* Περί τοῦ Κρανίου τόπον ἦλθεν εἰς ἣν μᾶς ὅτι Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδάσκον. ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐκεῖ τέθειται ἵνα ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσι, πάλιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν.—Comment. in Matt. With the exception of a few fragments this treatise exists only in an old Latin translation. The Latin is: "Venit enim ad me traditio quedam talis, quod corpus Adæ primi hominis ibi sepultum est ubi crucifixus est Christus; ut sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in Christo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo, qui dicitur Calvarie locus—id est locus capitis—caput humani generis resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, et resurrexit."

of the Place of a Skull."\* Athanasius: "Nowhere else did He suffer, nowhere else was He crucified, than at the Place of a Skull, which the doctors of the Hebrews say was Adam's sepulchre."† Basil: "According to the traditions of the Jews, the skull of Adam was found there, and they say also that Solomon recognised it by his surpassing wisdom. For this reason they also say that place is called the Place of a Skull."‡ Ambrose: "There [Golgotha] is Adam's sepulchre; that He [Christ] might raise up that dead man through His cross. Where, therefore, is the death of all in Adam, there is the resurrection of all in Christ."§ In his exposition of St. Luke (lib. x.) he refers to the tradition of the Jews on this point.

Let it be remembered that some of the writers whom I have quoted in support of this Jewish tradition as to the origin of the word Golgotha (*e.g.*, Origen in the East and Tertullian in the West) wrote years before Constantine's discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and their words imply that Golgotha was then a place well known to both Jews and Christians. There is not a hint of the tradition of the locality being lost, not a doubt as to its being *then* a perfectly known spot. Nor, indeed, is it at all likely that a place so deep-rooted in Hebrew tradition, so sacred from its supposed association with the first Adam and with the Promised Seed, who, as the second Adam, was to reverse the curse of Eden—an association accepted by the early Christians, both Jews and Gentiles—so sanctified in Christian eyes as the standing witness of Christ's death and resurrection against Gnostic sophistry and Pagan sneer, would have been allowed to pass into oblivion. And to this must be added the singular persistence with which Eastern towns preserve, and reproduce after ruin, the essential lines and traits of their original plans. Streets, temples, theatres, monumental structures reoccupy, as a rule, the old sites. It is evident from the Book of Nehemiah that the Jews of the Captivity had an accurate knowledge of the topography of their ruined city, and rebuilt it on the old plan. One of the advocates of the new site of Golgotha (though not of the sepulchre) appeals to this characteristic of Eastern life, not perceiving that it tells against rather than for him:

"Immutability," he says, "is the most striking law of Eastern life. The name of every village in Palestine almost is Hebrew; each stands on the great dust-heap into which the ancient buildings beneath its present cabins

\* Ἐπὶ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου ἐκεῖ τὸ κρανίον εὐρητά, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ λείψανον ἐναπέκειτο, τούτου ἕνεκα κρανίου τόπος ἐπεκλήθη, ἐφ' οὗ σταυρωθεὶς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.—*Ἡστ.* xli. p. 172.

† Οὐδέ ἀλλαχθὺ πάσχει, οὐδέ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον ἀναρτῶνται, ἢ εἰς τὸν κρανίου τόπον, ὃν Ἑβραίων οἱ διδάσκοι φασὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἶναι τάφον.—"De Cruce et Pass. Dom." tom. i. p. 1003.

‡ Κατὰ τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεις, τὸ κρανίον τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἐκείσε εὐρέθη, καὶ τοῦτο διεγνωσθέν τε Σολομῶντα δια τῆς υπερβαλλούσης αὐτοῦ σοφίας. Τούτου χάριν, φασὶ, καὶ κρανίου τόπος ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος.—*Orat.* xxxviii. p. 199.

§ "Ibi [Golgotha] Adæ sepulcrum; ut illum mortuum in sua cruce resuscitaret. Ubi ergo in Adam mors omnium, ibi in Christo omnium resurrectio."—*Ep.* lxxi. 10.

have crumbled, and the old necropolis is cut in rock near the modern site. For thousands of years the people have gone on living in the same way and in the same place, venerating (perhaps in ignorance) the same shrines, building their fortresses on the same vantage-ground. This is also the case in Jerusalem. The great barracks of Antonia are still barracks; the fortress of the upper city is still a fortress. On the rock-scarp of the 'Tower of the Corner' a corner tower now stands. On the high ground where the stronghold of Psephinus once stood the Russians have erected buildings which are regarded by many as a menace to the city. The Upper Market is a market, the Lower Market (mentioned with the former in the Talmud) is the main bazaar of Jerusalem. The old Iron Gate retains its name in the present *Bab el Hadid*. The Temple area is still a sanctuary. Finally, the Rock of Foundation is still covered by a sacred building, and the 'Place of the Skull'—that is, Major Conder's place—"is now a cemetery, while close to it is the slaughter-house of the city."

This argument is sound, as every one can testify who has travelled in the East. Even in Constantinople, which is on the confines of East and West, one can trace the main lines and features and celebrated spots of the city of Constantine, in spite of the devastations of Frank and Turk, the conflagrations which reduced streets and wooden palaces to ruins, and the domination for centuries of a barbarous people who hate and despise the religion, laws, and customs of the subject population. But how did it escape the intelligence of Major Conder that in the unchanging East so remarkable a spot as Golgotha—remarkable alike by its associations (even granting his hypothesis that these were only the associations of a place of execution) and by its physical configuration, should have passed clean out of the memory of Jew and Christian for eighteen centuries, and should have been left for him to discover\* at the close of the nineteenth century of the Christian era? Will it be said that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and Trajan, and the conflicts of Saracen, Crusader, and Turk, would be certain to obliterate old landmarks? But Major Conder himself insists on the survival of the past in the conservative East, and especially in Jerusalem, through all such changes. Besides, no change at all has passed over *his* Golgotha. It is a large rock, partially covered on the top with a few inches of turf, and standing at a considerable distance outside the third wall, to the north-east of the Damascus Gate. It was never inside any of the walls; it is a conspicuous object in the landscape, and remains now precisely as it was at the time of the Crucifixion. On its slope and at its base there is a public cemetery now, as there probably was then. No obliterating change of any sort has ever passed over it. What imaginable reason can be suggested for the shadow of oblivion that has shrouded it for eighteen centuries from the knowledge of man-

\* Major Conder, I believe, claims the honour of having been the first to suggest the rocky knoll outside the Damascus Gate as the true site of Golgotha, though the late General Gordon was the first to popularise the idea through the halo surrounding his name.

kind? The theory is on the face of it an impossibility. But sentimental prepossessions die hard. I shall therefore examine later the reasons given by Major Conder and others for their belief that their new site is the true one. But as it is quite impossible for the rock outside the Damascus Gate to have been Golgotha without a whisper of an echo of any tradition to that effect, it is equally impossible, surely, that the true Golgotha—which had far other associations than those of the charnel-house and the shambles—should have vanished suddenly from the minds of the Jews and Christians of Palestine. For Jew and Christian alike the spot was a peculiarly sacred one. This explains why rich Jews, who could afford the luxury of a private burial-ground, like Joseph of Arimathea, should have family tombs there. Joseph's was not the only one in that quarter, though the place was evidently not a public cemetery. Josephus supplies a very important piece of evidence on that point. If the reader will turn to the fifth book of the "Jewish Wars," c. vi. 2; vii. 3; ix. 2; xi. 4, he will find that an angle of ground which, from his description, can almost certainly be identified with the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre, was distinguished by a monumental tomb which gave its name to the spot and its vicinity—"the monument of John the High Priest"; "the approach (to the second wall) near John's Monument (*τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν*)."

This quarter of the city was in our Lord's time a fashionable suburb, where rich and distinguished persons had villas and family tombs in their own grounds. Another indirect proof of this is furnished by the question of the angels at the risen Saviour's tomb to the women: "Why seek ye the living One among the dead?" (*μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν*). Having found the tomb empty, and thinking, like Mary Magdalene, that somebody had removed their Lord's body, they went in search of it to the neighbouring tombs, and were probably returning, perplexed and disconsolate, when the two angels met them and asked them the gently reproachful question, which had thus a literal significance.\*

So far I have granted the assumption of the objectors, that the

\* See Mr. McClellan's "New Testament: a New Translation," pp. 512-536, for an admirable harmony of the various visits to the Saviour's tomb on the morning of the Resurrection. His exposition of the facts brings out very clearly the extraordinary incredulity of our Lord's disciples, men and women, as to the fact of the Resurrection. They doubted the repeated assurances of the angels, and some doubted even His own assurance. So far is it from being true that they were imbued with a credulous disposition to accept the story of the Resurrection without evidence. The striking thing is that they were "fools and slow of heart" to believe the evidence even of their own senses. How childish, in view of the facts, is the suggestion in "David Grieve," that the "legend" of Christ's Resurrection is nothing more than the vivid impression of an affectionate dream, like the dream of the hero of the story after he lost his wife! As if a whole crowd of men and women were likely to dream the same dream, and alter the whole tenor of their lives in consequence! The impression made even by David Grieve's dream vanished with the expanding sunlight, and the gifted authoress does not venture to tell us that the dream exercised any practical influence on the current of her hero's life.

destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and its further demolition by Trajan, had so effaced the general features of the city as to make the identification of every particular landmark *prima facie* difficult; and I have shown that, even so, the probability is that the tenacious memory of the East, and its rare topographical instinct, would keep alive the memory of the main outlines and of the noted places in the Holy City. But where is the proof that the damage done either by Titus or Trajan altered to any appreciable extent the quarter in which the Holy Sepulchre is situated? Golgotha and the garden of Joseph of Arimathea must of course have been perfectly well known to every inhabitant of Jerusalem till the capture of the city by Titus. But that destruction was by no means so complete as is generally supposed. We know, on the authority of Josephus, that the city and temple were demolished; but not the whole city. For the historian relates that Titus gave orders to spare the most remarkable of the towers which defended Jerusalem, as a lasting memorial of the fortifications which it cost him so much labour and blood to master. The towers left standing were Phasaël, Hippicus, and Mariamme. Titus, moreover, left the whole of the north-western wall, and repaired the breaches, as a protection for the garrison which he left to guard his conquest. That quarter of the city therefore underwent no material change; and it is in that quarter that the traditional site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre lies. The garrison left there by Titus consisted of the tenth legion, some squadrons of cavalry, and several cohorts of infantry. We may infer that a quarter of the city where such a body of troops could be provided with lodgings could not have been very seriously demolished, and there can be no reasonable doubt that such places as Golgotha and the suburb where Joseph's villa was would have remained much as they were before. There is therefore no reasonable ground for thinking that the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre underwent any such change, through the capture of the city by Titus, as would present the smallest difficulty to its identification.

Did Trajan's subsequent destruction of Jerusalem alter materially this state of things? In order to wipe out completely the nationality of the Jews, that emperor decreed the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman city. The Jews retorted by a rebellion so formidable that they recovered possession of Jerusalem, and reconquered most of the fortified places in Judæa. This shows the absurdity of arguments like the following:

"As to the tradition of 'more than fifteen centuries,' what is it worth in the face of the fact that at and after the siege of Jerusalem by Titus the Christians fled from the city, and the Jewish population were either slain or carried captive; so that for perhaps a century or more tradition was

absolutely broken, while the whole interior of the city was reduced to ruin and most of the old landmarks were erased." \*

"The Jewish population either slain or carried captive," forsooth! when within about sixty years they reconquered their metropolis and most of their strongholds, and held their own for two years against the might of the Roman Empire. And as to the Christians' flight to Pella beyond the Jordan, the exile lasted only about two years. After the capture of Jerusalem many of them returned to the city, and their ecclesiastical organisation there, as is evident from Eusebius, went on uninterruptedly. And even those who still abode at Pella till the reign of Trajan "enjoyed," as Gibbon says, "the comfort of making frequent and devout visits to the Holy City"†—in other words, pilgrimages to its holy places, and pre-eminently to the scene of their Lord's death and resurrection. Yet we are asked to believe by objectors to the traditional site, from Robinson downwards, that both Christians and Jews were excluded from the Holy City from the siege of Titus to the beginning of Constantine's reign! After the insurrection under Trajan the Jews were forbidden and forcibly prevented from approaching the city within a distance of seven miles. That prohibition lasted for some centuries, though Constantine relaxed it so far as to allow the Jews, on certain conditions, to behold the Holy City from the neighbouring hills. But the Christian Jews of Palestine were exempted from the edict of proscription. "They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles. . . . At his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered for a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian."‡

Here, then, is the state of facts which the assailants of the traditional site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre have to face. First: neither the siege of Titus nor that of Hadrian made any material change in the quarter of Jerusalem in which the traditional site is. Second: a considerable body of Jews remained in the city from its capture by Titus to its recapture by Trajan. Third: the Christians fled to Pella before the siege, but many of them returned after the fall of the city, and the rest made frequent pilgrimages to the sanctuaries of their religion in Jerusalem. Fourth: when the Jews were exiled by Trajan, the Christian Jews, by taking the precaution of electing Gentile bishops and breaking with the Mosaic law, were permitted to become members of the Italic colony of *Ælia Capitolina*. Neither topographically, therefore, nor historically, has there ever been the slightest breach in the traditional knowledge of Golgotha and the

\* A letter from Professor Hull in reply to one from me in the *Guardian* last December.

† Vol. i. p. 461.

‡ Gibbon, vol. i. p. 461.

Lord's sepulchre. The Jews knew it well, for it was also, as I have shown, a sacred Jewish shrine, until their expulsion by Trajan; and there was no break whatever in the Christian tradition from the Crucifixion to Constantine, except the brief interval of the siege of Titus. It is also important to bear in mind that the first bishop elected to the See of Jerusalem after the conquest of the city by Titus was Simeon, the cousin of Jesus, whose mother stood by the cross with her sister, the Lord's mother.\* To believe under all these circumstances, as the assailants of the traditional site would have us believe, that all knowledge of the site had perished between A.D. 70 and A.D. 326, and that Constantine and the Christians of Palestine were the victims of "a pious fraud," is to substitute the fancies of a prejudiced imagination for the plainest historical facts.

But now I proceed to show that Constantine was not, and could not have been, the victim of a pious fraud. And I begin by summarising the account which Eusebius, himself a bishop of Palestine, and an eyewitness of the facts which he relates, has given us of the discovery of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. One of the gentlemen who wrote against me on this subject in the *Guardian* declared that "the age of Constantine and Helena was one in which religious credulity ran mad," an assertion which shows the rashness of dogmatising on a slender basis of knowledge. If we take the period embraced by the united ages of Helena and Constantine, it contains such a galaxy of illustrious names in almost every department of learning and intellectual eminence as no period of Christian history within the same limits can show. It embraces names like Origen and Tertullian at one end, with Augustine almost at the other; while a host of great names lie between, including that of Athanasius.† Not the least famous in the splendid list of writers of that age is Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who relates as an eye-witness the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in A.D. 326. He was one of the most learned men of his day, and one of the least credulous of mankind. He had the historical faculty in an eminent degree, and was of a cautious and critical, not to say sceptical, temper. He accepted the Homoöusion of the Nicene Creed with reluctance, because it was an unscriptural term, and he was suspected of leaning towards the Arian, or at least Semi-Arian, heresy. And his reputation for learning, for accuracy, for critical sagacity, has risen with our fuller knowledge of those times. The latest tribute paid him is by the joint editors of

\* St. John xix. 25; Eusebius iii. 2.

† It was an age, moreover, in which Christianity was fighting for its life against all the intellectual forces of paganism on the one hand, and of heresies within its own borders on the other. It was a battle of giants, and the victory which Christianity then won, after many a giddy reel, has never since been seriously put in jeopardy. It was an age, of all others, in which Christian writers could not afford to be credulous: their enemies were too many, and too vigilant and skilful.



the Apocryphal Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter, Mr Robinson and Mr James, who speak in the highest terms of his accuracy and critical acumen, and refer to him as "the Father of Church History," who seems so well to have divined what would be of interest to readers who lived fifteen centuries later than his time" (p. 15). Let us see, then, what Eusebius has to say about the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre. Such readers as wish to read his full account, including Helena's proceedings, will find it in the third book of his *Life of Constantine*, chaps. xxvi.-xlv.

The statement of Eusebius is that, in the year after the Nicene Council, Constantine, moved by a divine impulse, after establishing peace throughout his empire, determined to do honour to the site of our Lord's resurrection, and accordingly commanded a church (ἐκκλήριον) to be built there. Neither here nor elsewhere in the historian's narrative is there the slightest indication that there was any doubt as to the precise locality. Eusebius proceeds:

"This cave of salvation (τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον) certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly, with immense labour they brought a quantity of earth from a distance (ἐξωθεν), and covered up the whole place. Then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the divine cave (τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον) beneath this huge mound."

On this mound, he goes on to say, they erected a shrine for an idolatrous statue of Venus, "and offered detestable oblations there on profane and accursed altars." "These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any of the governors, or military commanders, or even any of the Emperors themselves, ever yet appeared who had courage to abolish these daring impieties, except our Prince, befriended by God." Here we have a proof that the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre and the purpose of the mound were known all along to the Roman authorities. By Constantine's order the temple and statue were destroyed. But "the Emperor's zeal did not end there." He ordered "the materials, stones and timber, to be carted as far as possible from that quarter." He also ordered "that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth," so that the soil brought thither might be removed "to a far distant place." "And when another level appeared instead of the former—viz., the ground which lay below—there at length appeared, beyond all hope, the solemn and all-holy witness (μαρτύριον) of the Saviour's resurrection; and thus the cave, a holy of holies, imaged the Saviour's revival, and, after being sunk in darkness, came to light again, and to those who witnessed the sight presented a manifest history of the wonders which had then been done, witnessing by facts more eloquently than by any voice the resurrection of the Saviour."

Such is the account given by Eusebius, an eye-witness, a bishop of a great See in Palestine, and one of the most careful and cautious historians and critics of any age or country. Not a word does he say about the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by means of any miracle or divine interposition. His narrative implies throughout that the site was known to everybody. He does say that the discovery was "beyond all hope" (*παρ' ἐλπίδα πάντων*), a phrase which implies knowledge of the site, and which is wrongly rendered "beyond all expectation" in all the English translations which I have seen. In the letter written by Constantine on the occasion to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (given by Eusebius), the Emperor does speak of the discovery of the sepulchre as "this marvel" (*τοῦ θαύματος τούτου*). But the meaning in both cases is plain. The object of Trajan having been to desecrate and efface what he regarded as a Jewish shrine,\* it might indeed be considered "beyond all hope," and a "marvel," that when the superincumbent buildings and artificial mound were removed the sepulchre was found intact. Trajan and his workmen evidently thought that the huge mound of earth, crowned by a statue and temple to Astarte, the abomination of the Israelites, would effectually obliterate one of the sacred places of the Jews. This great mound was probably an imitation of the "high places" which Solomon and other kings of Israel erected for the worship of that impure deity. That is a sufficient answer to those—including, I regret to say, Major Conder†—who sneer at "the miraculously-discovered fourth-century site." One of the most provoking features of this controversy is the "damnable iteration" with which the assailants of the traditional site repeat each other's blunders, with the mechanical monotony of parrots, without taking the trouble to consult original authorities, including sometimes so common a book as the Bible. Let it be understood, once for all, that Eusebius does not breathe a word or hint of any miracle connected with the discovery of the sepulchre. He simply relates, in a business-like way, excavations on a spot which he assumes was well known as the site of the Saviour's sepulchre. He does not say a word about Helena in this connection, though he does say that she built a church at Bethlehem and another on the Mount of Olives. Nor does he say anything about the discovery of any crosses. We have the story of Helena's part in the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in three historians who wrote a century later than Eusebius, and who, as far as appears, were never in Palestine—Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen. They attribute the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre to the researches of Helena; but not one of them alludes to any miracle in the matter. Sozomen reports a rumour that Helena was directed to

\* I have already shown that Golgotha was a sacred Jewish shrine long before the Crucifixion.

† "Tent Work in Palestine," p. 371.

the site by "a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived" his information from some documents which had come to him by inheritance." \* It is unnecessary to quote Theodoret and Sozomen, for they agree in the main with Sozomen. What they all say is, that near the Holy Sepulchre were found three crosses, and lying by itself Pilate's tablet proclaiming Christ king of the Jews. They do not say that even the crosses were miraculously discovered, but that Christ's cross was identified by miracle—viz., the cure of a person to whose body the three crosses had been applied. Such is the origin of the ignorant sneers about the "miraculously discovered" site of the Holy Sepulchre.

Now let it be understood that the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre has no necessary connection at all with Helena, or the discovery of any crosses. Eusebius is silent about both. At the same time I see nothing improbable in the discovery of the crosses, whatever may be thought of the miraculous identification of the Saviour's. We know that it was the custom of the Jews to bury the instruments of death with the corpses of the malefactors.† It was necessary that both the bodies and crosses should be buried before sundown. Joseph and Nicodemus were too busy with our Lord's body to attend to the crosses, and what more likely than that all three were hurriedly deposited in one of the tombs in the neighbourhood? There, in a rocky cavity, and protected from the air, they would remain undecayed for centuries. The oldest statue in the world is a wooden statue found in a tomb in Egypt. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, was a contemporary of Eusebius, and he makes repeated mention of Christ's cross, which he professed to have in his possession. But the story of the crosses must be judged on its own merits, and, I repeat, has no connection at all with the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre. To ask us to reject the evidence of the traditional site because legends may have grown up around it is most unreasonable. Are the objectors prepared to give up the Four Gospels because of the apocryphal ones?

I have referred to Cyril of Jerusalem, and I now cite him as a very important witness on one or two points. He lived on the spot, and relates facts from personal knowledge. He says that "there was a garden where Christ was crucified, for though it was much adorned by the gifts of the Emperor (Constantine), yet it was formerly a garden, and the tokens and traces thereof remain (*σύμβολα τούτου μένει καὶ τὰ λείψανα*)."<sup>‡</sup> This is an exceedingly important piece of evidence. By Jewish law no gardens were allowed inside the walls. There was only one exception—a rose garden which dated from the time of the Prophets. § The Golgotha garden must therefore have

\* "Eccl. Hist." bk. ii. c. i.

† "Accedit consuetudo Judæorum quibus solemne instrumenta suppliciorum juxta cadavera sontium obnuere" (Gretzer, "de S. Cruce," tom. i. p. 37).

‡ "Catech." xiv. 5.

§ Stapfer, pp. 53, 62.

been at one time outside the walls, but not a very long time, since clear traces of its having been a garden were still visible in Cyril's time (middle of fourth century); but it could never have been inside the second wall, else no trace of its original character would have survived so long. We have it on the authority of Josephus that this quarter of the city was sparsely inhabited at the time of the siege, and the villas and gardens therefore (Joseph's included) would doubtless have remained comparatively unchanged for many years afterwards. This casual piece of evidence seems to me to prove conclusively that the traditional site could not have been within the second wall at the time of Christ. There is no question about the third wall, for it was built eleven years after Christ. Cyril says further that the stone which was rolled away from the door of the sepulchre was still there (*μέχρι σήμερον κείμενος*),\* and that Golgotha was not then within Constantine's church,† but distant about a stone's throw from the Holy Sepulchre, as the author of the Itinerary to Jerusalem tells us.

But the exigences of space compel me to omit a number of other points, and hurry on to give a summary of an original argument in favour of the authenticity of the traditional site, for which I am indebted to Mr. Finlay, the distinguished historian of the Byzantine Empire, and which, unless it can be upset, is sufficient of itself to prove beyond all question the authenticity of the traditional site. The argument, in brief, is as follows :

Assuming, what Eusebius by implication denies, that there was any doubt about the site of the Holy Sepulchre, Constantine had the means at hand to determine it to a mathematical certainty. The civil administration of the Roman Empire was the most perfect in the world. The inhabited parts of the Empire were mapped out with a precision far excelling our Ordnance Survey. But in no previous period was this so carefully done as in the reign of Constantine. Lactantius, the tutor of his son, gives a sketch of its minuteness, from which we learn that every field was measured, the number and kind of trees and animals enumerated, and also the occupants, slaves being distinguished from freemen. Three copies were always made of those maps : one for the imperial archives in Rome, one for the provincial records, and the third for local use. Maps of Jerusalem, before and after its conquest by Titus and Trajan, undoubtedly existed ; and after it became a Roman colony, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, the previous plans of the city would be carefully revised :

"These plans would leave no doubt that the Temple of Venus stood over the real site of the tomb of our Saviour. Had the smallest doubt remained, it could easily have been removed by actual measurement from some other

\* "Catech." xi. 19.

† *Ibid.* xiii. 4.

position. The position of Golgotha, the gate leading to Golgotha, and the property of Joseph of Arimathea, were all places which must have been inserted in the register. . . . With the place called Golgotha and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, a rich man and a counsellor, to search for, both of which must have been laid down in the plans, and inscribed in the registers prior to the time of the Crucifixion, any pious fraud of the Christians in the time of Constantine could only have proved injurious to their own cause. . . . That the site was so verified we may rest assured, otherwise the Jews and Pagans, in the time of Julian, would have pointed out the inaccuracy of the researches of Constantine, and revealed the smallest flaw in the evidence. Any insufficiency in the data on which Constantine had pretended to fix the site of the Crucifixion would have been considered a legitimate ground for drawing the inference that the Christians had accepted the fundamental truths of their religion on the same imperfect testimony. It would not have remained for Korte,\* a bookseller from Altona, to raise doubts concerning the authenticity of the site; nor for Dr. Robinson, an American divine, to make the charitable discovery that Constantine, or Helena, or the Bishop Macarius, had committed a pious fraud."

"It appears to me that there are only two points within the walls of Jerusalem which are incontestable—the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple of the Jews. From these two points, and the marked topographical features of Mount Sion and the valley of Tyropæon, we must cautiously proceed to the indentification of the rest. . . . If history can prove any facts by collateral evidence, it must be admitted that it has proved that Constantine could not possibly have been mistaken in identifying the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and that Christians cannot have transferred the site from the spot fixed on by him in his time. We may consequently rest perfectly satisfied that, when we view the marble tomb now standing in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, we really look on the site of the sepulchre that was hewn in the rock in the place where Jesus was crucified."†

Mr. Finlay's argument is all the more valuable because, from his well-grounded confidence in his own position, he throws all other arguments overboard, making admissions which are untenable, such as a break in the tradition among Jews and Christians as to the true site. I have shown that there was no break at all in the Christian tradition, and none in the Jewish till their expulsion from Jerusalem by Trajan.

I will now run over the chief objections that have been urged against the traditional site, and I begin with Robinson, the ablest of the objectors. He charitably asks us to believe that the whole thing was "a pious fraud" by Constantine or the ecclesiastics of Jerusalem. That accusation shows how Robinson's prejudices warped his reason to such a degree that he could not see the absurdity of his assertion. A pious fraud must have an object. Grant, for argument's sake, that Constantine, Macarius, Eusebius, and the rest, were engaged in a conspiracy to palm off an imposture on Christendom; yet what could have been their object? Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, says

\* The first writer who cast doubts on the traditional site in a volume published in 1751.

† "History of Greece," vol. i. Appendix iii.

Robinson, believed that if he could get the Emperor to sanction the alleged discovery of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, he would add dignity and importance to his See. Very well. But why choose a site which, *prima facie*, would appear to be a wrong one, since it was within the third wall, and Christ was crucified "without the gate"? To say nothing of the certain detection of the fraud by Constantine's officials, why take upon himself the gratuitous task of proving that a sepulchre which was then within the wall was outside it three centuries before? The more unprincipled we prove the discoverers of the Holy Sepulchre to have been, the less likely they were to commit the folly with which Robinson credits them. The choice of the site inside the wall was plainly due to the fact that there was no doubt about it. The decisive evidence adduced by Finlay was available in case of doubt. But there was no doubt, or Eusebius would have referred to it. So far from it, he speaks throughout as of a fact within his knowledge. And in his Panegyric on Constantine, some time afterwards, he declares emphatically that Constantine built his church on "the very spot" of Christ's sepulchre.\* And he says further that this spot was then "in the middle of the city," which had grown in that direction after the ruin of the old city of Titus and Trajan. Nothing but absolute knowledge of the true site can account for so unlikely a choice. It is a case to which we may apply Tertullian's argument, *Credo quia impossibile*. The choice was an impossible one without demonstrative evidence, and the fact that it was never questioned by the bitter enemies of Christianity, Jew and Pagan, is a proof that it could not have been. The Jews, in particular, would have been only too glad to be able to prove that Constantine's Christian church did not occupy the sacred shrine of Golgotha. They must have known that the early Christians built an argument on the fact that Christ's sepulchre occupied the traditional site of Adam's, so that, as death came to all by the fall of the first Adam, life came to all by the resurrection of the second on the same spot. It is possible that St. Paul, who was so fond of applying analogies from Jewish traditions, may have had that idea in his mind in 1 Cor. xv. 22. The Fathers of the first four centuries, as we have seen, quote his words in that sense.

The arguments on which Robinson mainly relies are three: the position of the Tyropœon Valley, of the Hill of Acra, and of Hezekiah's Pool. The first two need not detain us, since it is now generally admitted that Robinson was entirely wrong. But Robinson's *champ de bataille* is the position of Hezekiah's Pool. And here I must observe on the eagerness with which these decriers of tradition become themselves the most slavish of traditionists, the moment they fall in with any tradition which seems to support their

\* "De Land. Const." c. ix.

theories. Robinson is a scorner of any tradition which tells in favour of the authenticity of the traditional site, but swallows greedily any tradition that tells against it. The Pool of Hezekiah is a palmary instance. It has never been known by that name by Jew, or native Christian, or Mussulman. The name is, in fact, a monkish tradition of modern date, without a shred of evidence to support it. But Robinson accepts it, and builds the following argument upon it: It is clear from the Bible that Hezekiah's Pool was within the wall. But it is close to the Holy Sepulchre; therefore the Holy Sepulchre must have been within the old wall. But which old wall? Clearly the first, if it is Hezekiah's Pool; and that would prove too much, for nobody believes that the Holy Sepulchre is within the first wall. But it is unnecessary to track all the fallacies of Robinson's elaborate argumentation, for it can be refuted by a simple test. If Robinson had taken the trouble to consult his Bible, he would have read as follows: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David."\* The spurious Hezekiah's Pool is *not* in the city of David, and is on the *north*, not the *west*, side of it.

Much has been made out of the silence of Eusebius about any tradition as to the site of Golgotha and the erection of an idolatrous temple on it by Trajan. As to the first, writers do not call attention to any tradition about sites which everybody knows and nobody disputes. Would an author describing St. Paul's Cathedral think it necessary to quote any tradition as to its site? The fact that Eusebius does not mention Trajan by name as the founder of the Temple of Venus on Golgotha proves nothing. Jerome, among contemporary writers, does mention him;† and it is Eusebius's habit to use periphrases of that sort instead of proper names. Just as he designates Trajan and his coadjutors by the words "ungodly men," so he means Diocletian when he speaks of "tyrants of our days who essayed to fight against the God of all, and oppressed His Church,"‡ "tyrannical slavery," *i.e.*, the sovereignty of Maxentius; "news came that some dreadful wild beast was attacking," &c.—*i.e.*, Licinius. And in the third book and thirty-third chapter of the same work he says of Constantine's church that "on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was built over against (*ἀντιπρόσωπος*) the one so celebrated of old; which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the

\* II. Chron. xxxii. 30.

† But we are not dependent on Jerome or Eusebius for our knowledge of the statue of Venus on Golgotha in Trajan's time. It is engraved on the coins of his successor, Antoninus Pius. Trajan desecrated the two principal shrines of the Jews—the site of the Temple with a statue of Jupiter, and of Golgotha with a statue and idolatrous rites of the goddess who was the evil genius of the Jews before the Captivity.

‡ "Vit. Const.," i. 12; i. 26; i. 49.

Emperor now began to rear a trophy of the Saviour's victory over death." From the words ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαιᾷ Finlay infers "that the temple of Venus was, even in the time of Eusebius, without the walls." \* But I have already pointed out that elsewhere Eusebius speaks of the site as being ἐν μέσῳ of the city. The passage, however, is a striking one, and makes strongly for the traditional site. By the New Jerusalem Eusebius meant, not the new city, but the new Church, with reference to St. John's use of the expression in the Apocalypse (xxi. 2).† But by "the Old Jerusalem" it is almost certain that he means Jerusalem within the second wall. It was "right opposite" that Old Jerusalem, and therefore outside of it, that Constantine's church was built. The space between the second and third walls was only twenty-six years old when the City was taken by Titus, and therefore could hardly be included in the "Old Jerusalem." Eusebius had probably also in his mind the site of the old Temple, and the description of the Holy Sepulchre as "straight opposite" the Temple is strictly accurate, but does not fit the new site at all. It is an example of the carelessness with which the assailants of the traditional site write that Major Conder tells us that "Eusebius gives a long description of the growth of New Jerusalem, to account for the position of Constantine's site almost in the heart of the town."‡ The description is of the building of a church, not the growth of a town; and as to its length, it occupies fifteen lines of Greek.

As I have quoted Major Conder, I will notice here a military argument against the traditional site which he thinks fatal to its authenticity. Assuming, without any evidence, the direction of the second wall, he finds that if we make it exclude the Holy Sepulchre it would run through a valley commanded by high ground, and it is an axiom of military science that "fortresses stand on hills, not in deep ravines." I reply—(1) That Major Conder assumes the point in dispute—namely, the topography of the second wall. (2) Though his axiom applies to the choice of a site for a fortress and its encompassing wall, it does not apply to subsequent walls to surround the extension of population outside the original fortress. Considerations not entirely military would then come in, such, for example, as the distance of the rising ground from the farthest limit of population. (3) As a matter of fact, we know that the wall of ancient Jerusalem did pass through a valley. See 2 Chronicles xxvi. 9; Nehemiah iii. 18.

I suppose I ought to say something about Mr. Haskett Smith's arguments against the old site and in favour of the new, as he is the literary Corypheus of those who appeal for funds to buy "Gordon's tomb." But really it is difficult to discuss his *brochure* and his

\* "History of Greece," i. 473.

† See Valetius *in loc.* correcting the mistake of Socrates.

‡ "Tent Work in Palestine," 362.



letters to the *Times* in terms which shall be at once accurate and courteous. In all my experience in controversy I have seldom seen so much nonsense packed into so small a space. "We know," he says—he is never troubled with any doubts—"that the site was lost," and he appeals to "the flight of the Christians to Pella" and "the complete desolation in which the city lay under the Emperor Trajan." But when he asks us to accept his own site we find that it was never lost at all, for he quotes Jewish traditions to identify the knoll beyond the Damascus Gate with Golgotha, and gravely argues that the site was so well known to the early Christians that they built churches and excavated graves on the spot in order to worship and be buried "near their Lord." Golgotha, he tells us, was the Jews' "place of execution," and was surrounded with graves; a place therefore which was "an accursed spot." A conclusive reason why a rich Jew, who was also a member of the Sanhedrim, could not have had his villa and garden there. It was also "the recognised place of crucifixion." But crucifixion was not a Jewish punishment, and the Romans, as is plain from Josephus, had no "recognised place of crucifixion." The emphasis which all four Evangelists lay on Golgotha I have explained by its traditional association with Adam's burial; and it was probably because it was regarded as a holy place by the Jews that Pilate ordered Jesus and the two robbers to be crucified there, just as he insulted them by the title which he put on the cross. He did violence to his conscience in yielding to their clamours, and he took this method of revenging himself.

A Roman pavement has been discovered in the basement of the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, which some identify with Gabbatha, the pavement of the Prætorium, from which Jesus was led out to Golgotha. "The pavement points unmistakably in the direction of the Damascus Gate," says Mr. Haskett Smith, "and is nearly at right angles to the so-called 'Via Dolorosa,' which leads to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." As if streets always ran in a straight line, and were never at right angles with the pavements of the houses which they pass! The summit of Olivet is seen from Mr. Smith's spurious site, and Jesus would thus have been comforted by seeing from His cross the scene of "His crowning triumph" at the Ascension. But the summit of Olivet is also seen from the old site; and, moreover, Christ did not ascend from the summit of Olivet, but from Bethany (St. Luke xxiv. 50), which is some distance below the summit, on the eastern declivity of the mountain, and invisible both from the summit and from Jerusalem. After the Ascension the disciples "returned from the mount called Olivet" (Acts i. 12), for Bethany is on Olivet, and three roads lead from it to Jerusalem; one, a foot-path over the summit. "The tomb was never finished," Mr. Smith tells us. Where did he learn that? Where he learnt all his facts

—from his own imagination. There is no authority for the statement either in the Gospels or in ecclesiastical history. He could not have been better acquainted with the tomb if he had been Joseph of Arimathen's architect, for he not only tells us all about its internal and external arrangements, but gives the reasons for them. It was "once occupied." How does he know that it was only once occupied? In a letter written to the *Times* of September 24, 1892, Major Conder says that he "was present at the excavation of 'Gordon's tomb' in 1873, and found in it the remains of the bones of a large number of persons." That was an awkward fact for Mr. Haskett Smith's assertion in Murray's Handbook, and in his pamphlet on "Calvary and the Tomb of Christ." But Mr. Smith is proof alike against the logic of reason and the logic of facts. He wrote to the *Times* to say that "no one of experience will for a moment deny" that "Gordon's tomb at Jerusalem has been used at some time as a place of general interment." But it was Mr. Smith himself, and he only, who had denied it by asserting that the tomb had been only "once occupied," and by one body. In a tomb near "Gordon's" were found "two memorial stones, which almost appear to settle the question." On one of these are inscribed the words: "Buried near his Lord. On the other: "To Nonus and Onesimus, deacons of the church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Christ." Here at last, I will frankly admit, is a piece of evidence which, if it can be substantiated, "appears to settle the question." In the close neighbourhood are the ruins of St. Stephen's church, and also another ruin which Mr. Smith takes for a church. And his theory is that one of those two churches bore in early days the title which is inscribed on the tombstone. Now if he can prove that point, I will admit at once that he has overthrown my argument for the traditional site. The question then is, have we any evidence to show that there was a church in Jerusalem which bore that title, and where it was situated? Let us see. Eusebius in many places refers to a church called "the Martyry of the Resurrection"; and when the Asian Council of Ephesus adjourned to Jerusalem, soon after the Nicene Council, they assembled at "the Saviour's Martyry." Bede also speaks of a church in Jerusalem, which is called the Martyry ("que Martyrum appellatur").\* Cyril of Jerusalem also makes several references to it, and in one place he asks why it should not, after the manner of other churches, have been called the church of Golgotha, or of the Resurrection, instead of "the Martyry of the Resurrection?" and he suggests an explanation.†

\* De Loc. Sanct., c. ii.

† Πλεονεξία δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀναστάσεως προεῖδεν ὁ προφήτης Μαρτύριον ἐπιληθσόμενος. Τίτι γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος, μὴ κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως οὗτος ὁ τόπος Ἐκκλησία καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ Μαρτύριον; Ἀλλ' ἵσως διὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν εἰπαῖτα. Εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνταρστήριος μου εἰς μαρτύριον. Cyril, "Catech." xiv. ii.

It is evident, therefore, that there was a church in Jerusalem in early days which was called "the Martyry of the Resurrection," and occupied the site of Golgotha. Have we any clue to the history and position of that church? \* I am sorry for Mr. Haskett Smith, for it is always painful to have one's fond illusions shivered. But the plain truth is that "the Martyry of the Resurrection" is the historic title of the church which Constantine built at Golgotha, and which is now known as the Holy Sepulchre. And the two deacons, Nonus and Onesimus, were deacons of that church. It is the only church in Jerusalem which ever bore that title. And the Christian symbols, of which Mr. Smith makes so much, undoubtedly belong to Crusading times. What are we to think of an archaeologist who, writing in the character of an expert, professes to have supplied us with a case in favour of "Gordon's tomb," in which there is "actually not a link missing in the chain of evidence which connects this tomb with the sepulchre of Christ,"\* and yet has not taken the trouble to master the alphabet of the facts with which he has to deal? Mr. Smith, too, like Dr. Robinson, has neglected to consult his Bible. We learn from St. Mark xvi. 5, that on passing from the outer into the inner chamber of Christ's Sepulchre, the *loculus* for the body was on the right, and it is so in the real tomb. In "Gordon's tomb" it is on the left. I may also add here, in confirmation of what has been said on page 174 as to other family tombs on the traditional site, that the tombs which bear the names of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, near the Holy Sepulchre, are undoubtedly Jewish tombs of a date not later than the time of Christ.

My space is exhausted; but I think I have said enough to prove that the new site cannot, and that the old site must, be the true site. And the method of reasoning adopted by the advocates of the new site appears to me more reprehensible even than their conclusion. It is an example of the criticism which seeks to substitute the dogmas of a "verifying faculty" in the critic for arguments which can be fairly tested, and thus undertakes to tell us for certain, not only what portions of ancient books were, or were not, written by the authors whose names they bear, but even what parts of our Lord's discourses were, or were not, spoken by Him. I have a profound distrust of these "verifying faculties," and we have a specimen of their arrogant fallacy in the futile assault on the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre.

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

\* "Calvary and the Tomb of Christ," p. 15.

## THE MILITARY COURAGE OF ROYALTY.

**M**R. E. B. LANIN'S paper in the January number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW on the present Emperor of Russia is so brilliant, so well-informed, and so interesting that one has the consciousness of being censorious in taking exception to an incidental detail of that masterly performance. But since the point is one of some importance, and as since I perhaps can bring to bear on it more knowledge of a personal character than Mr. Lanin would seem to possess, I venture to advance some comments on one of his statements.

Mr. Lanin observes: "Marvellous personal courage is not a striking characteristic of the dynasty of the Romanoffs as it was of the English Tudors." It will be conceded that periods materially govern the conditions under which sovereigns and their royal relatives have found opportunities for proving their personal courage. The Tudor dynasty had ended before the Romanoff dynasty began. It is true, indeed, that the ending of the former with the death of Elizabeth in 1603 occurred only a few years before the foundation of the latter by the election to the Tzarship of Michael Feodorovitch Romanoff in 1612. But of the five sovereigns of the Tudor dynasty it happened that only one, Henry VII., the first monarch of that dynasty, found or made an opportunity for the display of marked—scarcely perhaps of "marvellous"—personal courage; and thus Mr. Lanin's selection of the Tudor dynasty as furnishing a contrasting illustration in the matter of personal courage to that of the Romanoffs is not particularly fortunate. Henry VIII. was only once in action; he shared in the skirmish known as the "Battle of the Spurs" because of the precipitate flight of the French horse. Edward VI. died at the age of sixteen, and the two remaining sovereigns of the dynasty were women, of whom it is true that Elizabeth was a strong and vigorous ruler, but in the nature of things had no opportunity for showing

"marvellous personal courage." Henry VII. literally found his crown in the heart of the *melér* on Bosworth field; it matters not which of the alternative stories is correct, that he himself killed Richard, or that Richard was killed in the act of striking him a desperate blow. But Henry at Bosworth in 1485 still belonged to the days of chivalry—to an era in which monarchs were also armour-clad knights, who headed charges in person, and gave and took with spear, sword, and battle-axe. Long before Peter the Great, more than two centuries after Bosworth, foamed at the mouth with rage, and hacked with his sword at his panic-stricken troops fleeing from the field of Narva on that winter day of 1700, the face of warfare had altered, and the *métier* of the commander, were he sovereign or were he subject, had undergone a radical change.

Of a family of the human race it is not rationally possible to predicate a typical generic characteristic of mind. A physical characteristic will endure down the generations, as witness the Hapsburg lip and the swarthy complexion of the Finch-Hattons, in the face of alliances from outside the races; but, save as regards one exception, there is no assurance of a continuous inheritance of mental attributes. What a contrast is there between Frederick the Great and his father—between George III. and his successor; between the present Emperor of Austria and his hapless son; between the genial, wistful, and well-intentioned Alexander II of Russia and the monarch whom Mr. Lamm has depicted so graphically! But I have reserved one exception to the absence of assurance of inherited mental attributes—one mental feature in which identity takes the place of dissimilarity, and even of actual contrast. And that feature—that inherited characteristic of a race whose progenitors happily possessed it—is personal courage.

Take, for example, the Hohenzollerns. One need not hark back to Carlyle's original Conrad, the seeker of his fortune who tramped down from the ancestral cliff-castle on his way to take service under Barbarossa. Before and since the "Grosse Kurfürst" there has been no Hohenzollern who has not been a brave man. He himself was the hero of Fehrbellin. His son, the first king of the line, Carlyle's "Expensive Herr," was "valiant in action" during the third war of Louis XIV. The rugged Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, had his own tough piece of war against the volcanic Charles XII. of Sweden, and did a stout stroke of hard fighting at Malplaquet. Of Fritz himself the world has full note. Bad, sensual, debauched Hohenzollern as was his successor Frederick the Fat, he had fought stoutly in his youth-time under his illustrious uncle. His son, Frederick William III., overthrown by Napoleon, who called him a "corpsé," did good soldierly work in the "War of Liberation" and fought his way to Paris in 1814. His eldest son, Frederick William IV., the vague, benevolent dreamer whom *Punch* used to call "King Clicquot" and who died of softening of the brain, even he, too, as a

lad had distinguished himself in the "War of Liberation," and in the fighting during the subsequent advance on Paris. As for grand old William I., the real maker of the German Empire on the *quid pro quo*, *facit per se* axiom, he died a veteran of many wars. He was not seventeen when he won the Iron Cross by a service of conspicuous gallantry under heavy fire. He took his chances in the bullet fire at Königgrätz and again on the afternoon of Gravelotte. Not a Hohenzollern of them all but shared as became their race in the dangers of the great war of 1870-71 - even Prince George, the music composer, the only non-soldier of the family, took the field, William's noble son, whose premature death neither Germany nor England has yet ceased to deplore, took the lead of one army; his nephew, Prince Frederick Charles, a great commander and a brilliant soldier, was the leader of another. One of his brothers, Prince Albert the elder, made the campaign as cavalry chief; whose son Prince Albert junior, now a veteran Field-Marshal, commanded a brigade of guard-cavalry with a skill and daring not wholly devoid of recklessness. Another brother, Prince Charles, the father of the "Red Prince," made the campaign with the Royal headquarters; Prince Adalbert, a cousin of the sovereign and head of the Prussian Navy, had his horse shot under him on the battle-field of Gravelotte.

The trait of personal courage has markedly characterised the House of Hanover. As King of England, George I. did no fighting, but before he reached that position he had distinguished himself in war not a little; against the Danes and Swedes in 1700, and in high command in the war of the Spanish succession from 1701 to 1709. His son while yet young had displayed conspicuous valour in the battle of Oudenarde; and he was the last British monarch who took part in actual warfare. Cumberland had no meritorious attribute save that of personal courage; but that virtue in him was undeniable. At Dettingen he was wounded in the forefront of the battle; at Fontenoy the "martial boy" was ever in the heart of the fiercest fire, fighting at "a spiritual white heat." His grand-nephew the Duke of York was an unfortunate soldier, but his personal courage was unquestioned. In the present reign a cousin and a son of the Sovereign have done good service in the field, and that venerable lady herself, in situations of personal danger, has consistently maintained the calm courage of her race.

Mr. Lawin has written that "marvellous personal courage is not the striking characteristic of the dynasty of the Romanoffs." He makes an exception to this quasi-indictment in favour of the Emperor Nicholas, who, he admits, "was absolutely ignorant of fear, and could face a band of insurgents with the calm self-possession of a shepherd surveying his bleating sheep." The monarch who at the moment of his accession illustrated the dominant force of his character by confronting amid the bullet fire the ferocious mutiny of half an army corps, and who crushed the bloodthirsty *émancipés* with dauntless

resolution and iron hand; the man who, facing the populace of St. Petersburg, crazed with terror of the cholera and red with the blood of slaughtered physicians, cowed its panic-fury by commanding it in the sternest tones of his sonorous voice to kneel in the dust and propitiate by prayers the wrath of the Almighty—such a man is scarcely, perhaps, adequately characterised by the expression employed by Mr. Lanin.

But setting aside this instance of the fearlessness of Nicholas, facts appear to refute pretty conclusively that gentleman's reflection on the personal courage of the Romanoffs. No purpose can be served by cumbering the record by going back into the period of Russia's semi-civilisation; illustrations from three generations may reasonably suffice. At Austerlitz Alexander I. was close up to the fighting line in the Pratzen section of that great battle, and so recklessly did he expose himself that the report spread rearward that he had fallen. He was riding with Moreau in the heart of the bloody turmoil of Dresden when the French cannon-ball mortally wounded the renegade French general, and he was splashed by the latter's blood. Moreau had insisted on riding on the outside, else the ball which caused his death would certainly have struck Alexander. That monarch participated actively and forwardly in most of the battles of the campaign of 1814 which culminated in the allied occupation of Paris. Marmont's bullets were still flying when he rode on to the hill of Belleville and looked down through the smoke of battle on the French capital. Mr. Lanin has admitted that Nicholas, the successor of Alexander, was "absolutely ignorant of fear," and I have cited convincing instances of his "marvellous personal courage." Two of his sons, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, were under fire in the battle of Inkerman and shared for some time the perils of the siege of Sevastopol.

Alexander II. was certainly a man of real, although quiet and undemonstrative, personal courage. But for his disregard of the precautions by which the police sought to surround him, he probably would have been alive to-day. The Third Section was wholly unrepresented in Bulgaria, and his Majesty's protection on campaign consisted merely of a handful of Cossacks. No cordon of sentries surrounded his simple camp; his tent at Pavlo and the dilapidated Turkish house which for months was his residence at Gorni Studen were alike destitute of any guards. The imperial Court of Russia is said to be the most punctiliously ceremonious of all Courts; in the field the Tzar absolutely dispensed with any sort of ceremony. He dined with his suite and staff at a frugal table in a spare hospital tent: his guests, the foreign attachés and any passing officers or strangers who happened to be in camp. When he drove out, his escort consisted of a couple of Cossacks. In the woods about Biela, at the beginning of the war, there still remained some forlorn bivouacs

of Turkish families; he would alight and visit those, his sole companion the aide-de-camp on duty; and would fearlessly venture among the sullen Turks, all of whom were armed with deadly weapons, try to persuade them to return to their homes, and, unmoved by their refusal, promise to send them food and medicine. Dispensing with all etiquette, he would see without delay any one coming in with tidings from fighting points, were he officer, civilian, or war correspondent. During the September attack on Plevna he was continually in the field while daylight lasted, looking out on the slaughter from an eminence within range of the Turkish cannon-fire, and manifestly enduring keen anguish at the spectacle of the losses sustained by his brave patient troops. Later, during the investment of Plevna, his point of observation was a redoubt on the Radischevo ridge, still closer to the Turkish front of fire, and it was thence he witnessed the surrender of Osman's army on the memorable December 10, 1877. If Alexander was fearless alike in camp and in the field on campaign, he was certainly not less so in St. Petersburg, when he returned thither after the fall of Plevna. He drove from the railway-station straight to the Cathedral of Kazan, in accordance with the custom which prescribes to Russian Emperors that when setting out for, or returning from, any important enterprise, they shall kiss the image of the Holy Virgin of Kazan which the cathedral enshrines. In stately procession his Majesty reached the altar, bent his head, and touched with his lips the sacred image. As he turned to depart, the wildest paroxysm of enthusiasm laid hold of the great throng. Had all the myrmidons of the Third Section been present, they would have been powerless to protect the monarch from an assassin's dagger, and admission had been free to all comers. The people closed in about the Tzar till he had no power to move. The great struggle was but to touch him, and the chaos of his subjects—nobles, officers, shrieking women, and enthusiastic *mujiks*—swayed and heaved to and fro: the Emperor in the centre, pale, the tears in his eyes, his lips trembling with emotion, just as I had seen him when his troops were cheering him on the battle-field, struggling for the bare possibility to stand or move forward, for he was lifted by the pressure clean off his feet and whirled about helplessly. Alexander II. literally sacrificed his life to his self-regardless concern for the suffering. After the first bomb had burst on the Alexandra Canal Road, striking down civilians and Cossacks of the following escort, but leaving the Emperor unhurt, his coachman begged to be allowed to dash forward and get clear of danger. But Alexander forbade him with the words, "No, no! I must alight and see to the wounded"; and as he was carrying out his heroic and benign intention, the second bomb exploded and wrought his death.

As did the men of the Hohenzollern house in 1870, so in 1877 the adult male Romanoffs went to the war with scarce an exception.



The Grand Duke Nicholas, brother of the Emperor, and Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies in Europe, was neither a great general nor an honest man; but there could be no question as to his personal courage. That attribute he evinced with utter recklessness when arriving, as was his wont, too late for a deliberate and careful survey, he galloped round the Turkish positions on the morning on which began the September bombardment of Plevna, in proximity to them so dangerous that his staff remonstrated, and that even the sedate American historian of the war speaks of him as having "exposed himself imprudently to the Turkish pickets." His son, the Grand Duke Nicholas, jun., in 1877 scarcely of age, was nevertheless a keen practical soldier, imbued with the wisdom of getting to close quarters and staying there. He was among the first to cross the Danube at Sistova under the Turkish fire, and he fought with great gallantry under Mirsky in the Shipka Pass. The brothers, Prince Nicholas and Prince Eugene of Leuchtenberg, members of the imperial house, commanded each a cavalry brigade in Gourko's dashing raid across the Balkans at the beginning of the campaign, and both were conspicuous both for soldierly skill and personal gallantry in the desperate fighting in the Tundja valley. The Grand Duke Vladimir the second brother of Alexander II., headed the infantry advance in the direction of Rustchuk, and served with marked distinction in command of one of the Army Corps in the Army of the Lom. A younger brother, the Grand Duke Alexis, the nautical member of the imperial family, had charge of the torpedo and subaqueous mining operations on the Danube, and was held to have shown practical skill, assiduity, and vigour. Prince Serge of Leuchtenberg, younger brother of the Leuchtenbergs previously mentioned, was shot dead by a bullet through the head, in the course of his duty as a staff officer at the front of a reconnoissance in force made against the Turkish force in Jovan-Tchilik in October of the war. He was a soldier of great promise, and had frequently distinguished himself. No unworthy record, it is submitted, earned in war by the members of a family of which, according to Mr. Lanin, "personal courage is not the striking characteristic."

That writer, who certainly evinces no animus, may be warranted in stating that "the Tzar has been frequently accused of cowardice - an indictment to which, it must be admitted, many undeniable facts lend a strong colouring of probability"; and he further tells of "the Emperor's aversion to ride on horseback, and of his dread of a horse even when the animal is harnessed to a vehicle." There is something, however, of inconsistency in his observation that "Alexander III. may well be a contrast to his grandfather without deserving the epithet of ahen-hearted." The melancholy explanation of the strange apparent change between the Tzarevitch of 1877 and the Tzar of 1892 may, indeed, lie in Mr. Lanin's statement that "Alexander's nerves

have been undoubtedly shaken by the terrible events in which he has been a spectator or actor." The term, surely, should not have been "shaken," but "shattered," if Mr. Lanin's testimony or information is to be accepted on this point. In 1877 Alexander did not know what "nerves" meant. He was then a man of strong, if slow, mental force, stolid, peremptory, reactionary, the possessor of dull but firm resolution. He had a strong though clumsy seat on horseback, and was no infrequent rider. He had two ruling dislikes: one was war; the other was officers of German extraction. The latter he got rid of; the former he regarded as a necessary evil of the hour; he longed for its ending, but, while it lasted, he did his sturdy and loyal best to wage it to the advantage of the Russian arms; and in this he succeeded, staunchly fulfilling the particular duty which was laid upon him, that of protecting the Russian left flank from the Danube to the foothills of the Balkans. He had good troops; the subordinate commands were fairly well filled; and his headquarter staff was efficient—General Dochtoureff, its *sous chef*, was certainly the ablest staff-officer in the Russian army. But Alexander was no puppet of his staff; he understood his business as the commander of the Army of the Danube, performed his functions in a firm, quiet fashion, and withal was the trusty and successful warden of the eastern marches.

His force never amounted to 50,000 men, and his enemy was in considerably greater strength. He had successes, and he sustained reverses, but he was equal to either fortune; always resolute in his staid, dogged manner, and never whining for reinforcements when things went against him, but doing his best with the means to his hand. They used to speak of him in the principal headquarter as the only commander who never gave them any bother. So highly was he thought of there that when, after the unsuccessful attempt on Plevna in the September of the war, the Guard Corps was arriving from Russia, and there was the temporary intention to use it with other troops in an immediate offensive movement across the Balkans, he was named to take the command of the enterprise. But this intention having been presently departed from, and the reinforcements being ordered instead to the Plevna section of the theatre of war, the Tzarewitch retained his command on the left flank, and thus in mid-December had the opportunity of inflicting a severe defeat on Suleiman Pasha, just as in September he had worsted Mehemet Ali in the battle of Arakova. It is sad to be told that a man once so resolute and masterful should now be the victim of shattered nerves; it is sadder still to learn that he is a mark for accusations of cowardice which Mr. Lanin appears to regard as well-founded. He never was a gracious, far less a lovable man; but, if Mr. Lanin's statements are accurate, his bitterest enemies may well pity him now. He was a brave man fifteen years ago.

## THE MORAL TEACHING OF ZOLA.

**G**ENIUS can make its own terms. You cannot beat it down or do without, for it offers a possession which outweighs all damage or disadvantage: the expression of what mankind is beginning to feel, the formula of what mankind is beginning to think. So, despite all drawbacks, real and imaginary, Zola has had to be accepted. We may not enjoy and we may not approve; but unless we would forego much knowledge of contemporary thought and feeling, and much practical benefit in consequence, we are bound, mature and thoughtful men and women, to read and meditate his works. The present moment is very propitious. Zola is not merely enthroned; he is beginning to be threatened with dethronement. We have long ago heard all the objections of the generation which he shocked and horrified; we are now hearing all the objections of the generation which Zola himself produced by the force of imitation or reaction. It is universally admitted that Zola's books are full of horrors and indecencies, that the reading thereof must be attended with much disgust and perhaps some danger; also, that they are not really scientific nor thoroughly realistic; and we know how he stands to Rabelais, to Victor Hugo, and to Claude Bernard. All these points having been discussed and settled, we are therefore at liberty to ask ourselves, each reader for himself, by what thoughts or feelings Zola has enriched his contemporaries; since, as I have remarked, the fact of his having been accepted, drawbacks and all, proves that he must have offered the world something it found worth possessing. And here I may forestall, once for all, the objection which certain folk may be inclined to make; and remark that I am speaking of the acceptance of Zola, not by the class of readers to whom horrors and indecencies are an allurements, since to them he required to offer

nothing else ; but by such readers as face horrors and indecencies in a book only because they would hope for the courage to face them in reality. It is, therefore, with the view of studying Zola, neither as a thinker nor as an artist, nor of assigning him an approximate position in the abstract though arbitrary hierarchy of writers, that I wish to collect my impressions of his principal books. The thoughts which have come to me in this course of reading are connected rather with right and wrong than with ugly or beautiful, accurate or inaccurate ; and my desire is to suggest what moral lessons Zola may bring to his worthier readers, by showing what lessons he has conveyed to myself.

I do not mean by this that I intend examining the ethical theories of Zola, nor his own motives in writing what he has written. Zola, like every writer of very varied gifts, is also occasionally a moralist ; and his morality, where it appears, is of a sound and humdrum sort enough—the morality, precisely, of the very conservative and rather conventional Latin races : certain items in the Decalogue are fully understood to be dead-letter ; but the *Code*, both the printed one of the Law Courts, and the unspoken one of Society, is wholly acquiesced in, with the Code's practical amendments about extenuating circumstances. He appears also very often to have genuine sympathy—altogether different from the indifferent cynicism of Balzac and the affected indifference of Flaubert—with those who suffer, and those who sin as a result of suffering. One may, therefore, hope that certain horrible pages have cost him much more to write than they can cost us to read ; that parts of “*Germinal*,” “*Nana*,” “*La Terre*,” and “*Pot Bouille*” are due to the highest moral courage, the deepest pity, the strongest horror. Yet it may be that besides the tragedies and outrages described in his books, there remains a circumstance as tragic and as scandalous as any—namely, that all this is merely so much *art for the sake of art*, or, rather, *skill for the sake of skill*, addressed to readers who care only for artistic excellence or scientific novelty, to intellectual voluptuaries who seek obliviousness and interest, not in Decameron or Marivaux' novels, but in the most tremendous pictures of pain, degradation, and injustice.

.Be this as it may, the morality which Zola practises as a writer can be only matter for surmise, while the morality which he professes in his books is not novel enough to deserve discussion ; and the lesson derivable from his works has nothing to do with either. For the true moral teachings of a book are not necessarily those which the author has deliberately set forth, nor even those which he has unintentionally implied. They are the teachings inherent in the work because it is a great one ; they are the thoughts suggested to the reader by every faithful representation of life, by every strong imaginative or emotional summing up of any of life's realities. The moral pointed by the author may be worthless, through preconceived ideas

or artistic scruples; it may, very likely, show the author's shortcomings as much as the story it accompanies displays his particular merits. A novel may be, intentionally or unintentionally, a sermon; but it is primarily a representation of things seen, an expression of things felt. And it is as such that Zola's work possesses a true ethical interest. It gives us knowledge of life by showing how life has impressed one peculiarly gifted mind; and the peculiarities which this impression owes to the mind that receives it, increase, rather than diminish, its value as a *human document*.

In the case of Zola this fact requires to be constantly remembered. Despite his own programme, and despite the amazing power of observation and analysis which would have secured the execution of that programme had his genius been less versatile and complex, Zola is the last novelist in the world from whom we should expect an objectively faithful picture of life. His vision is limited and peculiar. The individual case—that is to say, the only objective reality—does not interest him; and he has a response only for what is more or less tragic. Where there is nothing typical, and where there is nothing fatal, Zola has neither eyes nor heart. He resembles to an extraordinary extent certain of our Elizabethan dramatists, Webster, Marston and Ford, the men who could see over Shakespeare's shoulder only when he was looking at the black side of life. Like them, Zola is impressed solely by the tragic; and, like them, he expresses partly what he sees, and partly also what he feels; he paints the harrowing reality, but he paints also the nightmare which it produces in him; he is, what seems the most opposed to everything realistic, intensely dramatic, and, more than dramatic, lyric: the moment comes, in most of his works, when we learn what he has to show us no longer by the pictures which he is painting, but by the gestures which he makes, the cries which he utters, by a whole marvellous phantasmagoria of hyperbole, metaphor, and allegory. In a book which is admitted by competent authorities to have been studied minutely from the life, in the marvellous novel of the colliery, "*Germinal*," there is as much fantastic eloquence as in the "*Travailleurs de la Mer*," and as many concatenations of catastrophe as in the great play of Ford. Things are perpetually undergoing transformations, the mining machinery metamorphosed into gargoyle monsters of romantic rhetoric; the elements for ever feeling, loving, resenting, avenging, taking up, like some huge *cosmos*, the theme left unfinished by the human actors. The surroundings of life are never for a moment themselves, passive, indifferent, as they are in reality. They pant and quiver and discourse more than the men and women. The machine of novel-writing men and women into the bowels of the earth, and looms for ever, with its fantastic profile, on the horizon of "*Germinal*."

nas its counterpart in the engine of intoxication of the "Assommoir," the distilling apparatus, with its creeping tubes and panting valves, which guards, a marvellous Python of metal, the entry of Zola's most elaborately realistic and prosaic tragedy. There is also the locomotive in "La Bête Humaine"; but that, like the rest of this senselessly loathsome book, represents merely Zola's great qualities run utterly to waste in a moment of bookmaking. And the earth, the fertile cornfield of La Beauce, which is tilled by Agony and Crime, yoked like the black oxen of some frescoed triumph of Death—that "Terre," in the hideous novel named after it, does it not speak the solemn words of eternity and change, of renovation and purification, of the sure methods of Nature, which alone seem human speech in that catalogue of foulness?

In the work of Zola, as in that of any other great poet in verse or prose, this hyperbolic, metaphorical quality, these bursts of lyricism, are a sort of natural counterpoise to an excessive preoccupation with the typical. For there is a loss of poignancy proportionate almost to an author's departure from individual fact, and this loss—as we see it, for instance, in Dostoevsky's "Dead House," a book which contains far more horrible matter, and yet terrifies us infinitely less, than "Germinal"—this loss of objective emotional strength can be balanced only by the strongest subjective emotion: by those outbursts of poetry which add the terror and pity of the author's mind to the terror and pity inherent in the subject. Hence, in estimating the moral bearings of one of Zola's novels we must not separate the mere facts from their oratorical setting, but on the contrary, submit to be acted upon by both; we must remember that, despite all his realistic programme, the art of Zola is not simple realism but a most complex personal art, none of whose elements should be considered separately, and into which there enters as much that is lyric, metaphorical, and allegorical, as into the art of another great realist, Browning. To the reader who lets himself go to these complex effects, there can be no question, in Zola's novels, of exaggeration or one-sidedness: he will feel at once, that what he is being shown does not exist in the sense of individual, literal fact; that of course the world contains no such arrangements—or, in Whistlerian language, *symphonies*—in special kinds, of misery and wickedness; that good and evil are, on the contrary, scattered about with no sense of pattern and no intention of impressing; but that from Zola's elaborate arrangements we learn what sort of misery and wickedness the world contains, however much mixed up with happiness and goodness. And from Zola, therefore, we can learn what reality teaches in but a vague and muddled way, and the novel of individual facts in a manner far too limited and fragmentary: namely, the various sorts and systems of the world's tolerated evil.

There is another peculiarity of Zola's (for his unswerving pessimism and misanthropy belong to his poetical, subjective method) which we are apt to account as a fault vitiating his teachings, but which really goes to increase his value as a moral teacher. This peculiarity is Zola's preoccupation of the class, the crowd, the type; and his corresponding indifference to the individual human being, who alone possesses an objective existence and reality. Zola's personages lack individuality; not in the ordinary sense of definite outline and striking appearance, but in the much more subtle matter of those details of action and feeling which are different in every individual, and which make every individual unlike the mass in his detail, however like it in his general characteristics. But these differences are visible rather in the things where the mass does not prevail; for the individual develops his peculiarities where he is isolated, where the other individuals are not all obliterating and getting obliterated in the grind; and Zola's subject is precisely that grind of life in its various forms. Each of his books is the exhibition of some of those vast mechanisms which the tyranny of the "line of least resistance" has forced upon mankind, or, rather, has made mankind into. I am not speaking merely of the shop, the mine, the railway, the Government administration, those actual inventions for uniting certain activities and eliminating others. There are also those non-official, invisible hierarchies and regiments, into which community of greed—greed of money, pleasure, comfort, vanities—forces all weaker individualities; breaking them to their drill and their services, despoiling them of all independent activity. For the struggle for life is an extremely regularised thing, and it has that minimising of energy employed which comes with everything mechanical, whether devised by man or shaped by circumstance. Studying mankind in these great machines for levelling it, it is natural that Zola loses sight of individual differences: we give importance to that part of fuel which makes the mechanism act, and overlook what, with reference to the particular machine, goes as mere waste. With the exception of the particular genius, or madman, or monster of the book, all the human beings whom Zola shows are but mediocre creatures, lacking all strength or newness. Only, there is the good sort of mediocrity which Zola shows solely as the victim of the bad; and there are advantages derivable from this levelling of individuals, without which it could never have come about. For offices, shops, mines, workshops, political parties, social institutions, family life, if they crush and soil, also straighten and keep clean: they mean lack of initiative, cowardice, vanity, hypocrisy, dead-letter and bad measure; but they mean, also, and probably to a far greater extent, self-restraint, effort, patience, resignation, and ideal. But these advantages Zola does not allow you to see; and probably, in his tragic fury at the cruel deterioration due to the

social grind, he does not himself see. His books contain, for instance, "La Terre," "Au Bonheur des Dames," and "L'Argent"—magnificent appreciations of the advantages which modern methods of agriculture, commerce, and finance will bring, despite all temporary evils. But except a remark of the doctor in "Pot Bouille" to the priest lamenting over his female penitents—to wit, that they are "toutes malades ou mal élevées"—I can remember no similar prophecy that the heart of man, like his crops, machines, and economic arrangements, will ever become more satisfactory. Therefore, as I have said, we must seek in Zola for information concerning only the miseries of the world; but such information, however one-sided, we are all of us bound to look for.

There has been an immense amount of controversy as to whether or not "La Terre" is an abominable calumny upon the French peasantry, as well as being the most hideous masterpiece that has ever dirtied a human pen. The chief character is obviously a born criminal, what Lombroso and his school would call a *moral idiot*; and, as such, his feelings and doings must be deducted from the frightful bill brought against the normal peasant. Moreover, much of the matchless hideousness of this book is due to the extreme detail and insistence which give certain actions and habits an importance which, statistically, for instance, they would not have. But while heartily hoping that this may be a libel, and that the French peasant may prove less filthy than the French novelist; while also dissuading my readers from paying for perhaps false knowledge the price of a hideous nightmare such as "La Terre" left with myself; I wish to be fair to Zola, and to remind his critics that Balzac had implied everything that Zola has said. I am alluding to the very curious novel called "Les Paysans," one of Balzac's most elaborate studies—indeed, one might say a mere collection of notes taken from life; and more particularly to a passage which might be the summing up, in Balzac's polite attorney's style, of all the nameless abominations of "La Terre." Balzac's book is clean: he is satisfied with indicating the worse results of what he calmly describes as the *social functions* of the agricultural class; and his indignation rises only at the sight of the inconvenience and disgust which these rural habits must cause to people who can afford soap and morality. Zola, on the contrary, puts our fingers into the sore, our noses into the stench, and, what Balzac would never have done, our hearts also, for a while, into these repulsive creatures' breasts. For Zola makes us feel the human nature which we share with these poor, horrible wretches; he makes us understand their surrounding influences and their temptations. He says—This were-wolf, this obscene satyr, look at it—it is a man, or might have been one. We are not, after all, much surprised at the manners and morals of animals, nor greatly shocked when they diverge from our own standard; and what is there in the surroundings and business of



these grandsons of serfs, in the food given to their thoughts—that should put them much above other useful though unclean animals?

"The nature of their social functions"—I am quoting Balzac's matter-of-fact explanation of his own statement *that a perfectly upright and moral man is an exception in the agricultural class*—"the nature of their social functions forces the peasantry to live a purely material life which approximates to the savage condition. . . . That is a decorous statement of the subject of "La Terre." And decorous as it is, it might yet suffice, for readers whose nerves cannot stand the strain of Zola's horrors, as introduction to certain sociological studies and reflections of which there is great need in our days of semi-socialist nostrums—to wit, what amount of use the various dead-letters of civilisation can be—subsidised religion and education foremost—which the leisured classes have foisted upon people whose social functions necessitate what Balzac calls an *approach to the savage condition*?

It is in such visions—frightful often as any of Dante's—of the various *bolge* of the social hell, that lies the thought-compelling worth of Zola; circles where what the inhabitants of Paradise or Purgatory call *Sin* is not merely punished, as in the mediæval dolorous city, but manufactured. Of these visions the most terrible is entitled "Germinal," and the most disheartening and afflicting, "L'Assommoir."

Without any hyperbole, and in a sense inapplicable to any other book which occurs to my memory, I have lived through "Germinal," rather than read it. Lived in very real, dull, numbing, crushing suffering; not merely seeing that terrible colliers' village of Northern France, but moving with the people, following in and out of the bare cottages, among the refuse heaps, along the black roads, into the pot-houses and down into the mine; perceiving, in a remote yet real manner, like one under a partial narcotic, the cold, the dripping, black, stifling damp, the bent backs and choked breathing—much as if I had been there, lived through it all hundreds of years ago and felt it all revive in that description. The strangest perhaps is that one experiences no sense of unfamiliarity in finding oneself among the *dramatis personæ* of "Germinal": their miserable lives, their filthy habits and foul language do not beat one back with a shock of surprise. These people remain human beings, wonderfully akin to ourselves, with power of reasoning, of loving and sacrificing like the highest among us, while living the lives of savages and beasts. They are not a race apart like South Sea Islanders, whose nature is much the same, nor like our own proximate ancestors; they are not, like the people in "La Terre," creatures in whom we expect some difference of structure, a longer or shorter skull. They have participated in certain effects of modern civilisation, have become more nervous and more susceptible of suffering. They are, in fact, like ourselves,

had we been steeped in the blackness and filth of the mine, given no interests save sufficiency of food, no pastimes save lechery and drunkenness. In the sense of this fact lies the tragedy of this book—the tragedy into which obscenity enters as but one among many terrible elements; the filthy lives of these poor people affecting us like the violences of Elizabethan villains or the crime of Francesco Cenci, as but one of the outrages, the various modes of horror, to which, like the victims in Marston's and Webster's grisly plays, this mass of human souls is condemned by implacable fate.

The book is written, so far as I judge, with no socialist or anarchist sympathies, and the utter emptiness of the various Utopias, Bakunin's as well as Marx's, forms one of the most tragic elements in the book, as it does in the reality. There is no terror or pity so great as that of the struggle of these doomed creatures with their destiny; of the hopeless and fatal way in which these poor folk are gradually, unconsciously, through no one's fault, hounded out of their moderation, made ferocious and bloodthirsty, turned from sufferers into criminals; and all to end in what?—in their being worse off than before. Besides the usual lesson of Zola's books, this novel brings home also a special one: how patient, how gentle, how courageous (for patience and gentleness combined mean courage) must we well-fed, enlightened people become if we wish our dealings with those who are suffering from lack of food and leisure, to be something more equitable than virtual massacre: for chance has made them into savages; and us, if we choose, into civilised beings.

"L'Assommoir" is no longer the vision, to resume the Dantesque simile, of the lurid circle where hunger and weariness turn men and women into swine and wolves. It deals with another division of hell—externally the grey Parisian street we have all seen, with its trodden-in blackness before the coal-shop, its many-coloured gutter-water, its chiffonier's heap, and, as sole splendour, its eating-house window—where a generation of gluttons, tipplers, and good fellows who amuse themselves, is preparing, in densest moral darkness, a race of paupers, prostitutes, and criminals. This marvellous study of the gradual degradation of a family of respectable and well-to-do artisans is not really, as the title implies, the novel of Drink. Drunkenness merely gives the finishing blow in a work of general slow destruction, accomplished by a number of bad habits and small vices, which arise out of emptiness and idleness. I employ the word *idleness* deliberately. For while these people's hands are busy, even in their most industrious moments, their minds are in stagnation and rottenness. Besides providing for their own and their family's food and housing, which these skilled artisans do without exhausting fatigue, they have absolutely no interest in life; and there arise in the empty place nothing but base

appetites and unkind, baser vanities and curiosities. The English workman, we are told, drinks because he eats badly; cook his food properly, and he will grow sober. This may be true of England; but it is evidently not true of France. The food of these Parisian working folk is well cooked, and they take to drinking if anything as a consequence of eating too well. For the bottle comes as a natural sequel to those marvellous gormandisings, long or short, foreseen for days, remembered for months, which are the high pleasures, the pride, and the dream of Zola's *ouvriers*; the bottle comes with the sloth, the carnality of such utter living for the body. A gourmand dinner, a soft bed, a warm room, laziness, lust, loafing; the bottle first, of choicer wine than needful, and the *prune à l'eau de vie*, the *petit verre* afterwards, as accompaniment to the debauch of idle, unrestrained, worthless jabber, so that one scarcely knows whether the *gâtelaude* is the immoderate eating and drinking, or the immoderate, senseless, filthy talk. Nothing above this. The church is gone to only for the display of brides' finery or smart communion veils; the newspaper picked up only for its low jests or personal gossip; we never hear of music, the theatre, or reading. No priest, no secular teacher, no sympathising person from the more enlightened classes ever appears on the horizon. Never a word of God, clean living, mercy, endeavour—not even of Heaven or Hell; a strange contrast, these well-off artisans of a great city, with the poor, ignorant moujiks of Tolstoy, round whom the love of Christ seems to form an aureole, words of love and peace falling from their lips like flowers. Nothing of all that here. No notions of right and wrong applied to others, even where they exist for oneself; no repugnance for the vicious, no moral pride—nay, no personal pride save in money, clothes, and food. Not even hatred any more than loyal kindness; for the cruel, cynical words of her old friends against poor Gervaise, the pleased amusement at her gradual dishonour, are but the counterpart of her own easy acceptance of the woman she had beaten and outraged (and that frightful fight between the two laundresses merely amuses the bystanders), of the man who had deserted and robbed her, back into her innermost intimacy, re-admitted dully, without forgiveness, fear, or disgust. It is this swinishness of mind, this utter promiscuity of heart and imagination, stifling all good feeling, all decorum, gratitude, or kindness, which is summed up in that monstrous hyperbolic invention of Zola's, where he makes the besotted Gervaise, partly drunk and partly crazy, mimic her husband's delirium tremens for the amusement of the neighbours; and these respectable, sober neighbours, once the friends of the couple, pay her in drink for this parody of the dying man. For although there is kindness among these folk, soft-heartedness as towards stray dogs and starving cats, it is never such as may be

counted upon to prevent an outburst of amusement at the sight of suffering. There is no solidarity, no decorum of reciprocal good or bad offices, making them into consistent friends or consistent enemies. All is haphazard; the one spying the filth of the other, a horrible catch-who-can of curiosity and vileness, in which the most distinct and consistent feeling, apart from the lazy lusts of the body and the lazy lust for scandal, is the envious desire to provoke by superior expenditure the envy of others, the triumph of seeing the ill-contained rage of the guests invited to an expensive dinner.

I have alluded to the lesson derivable from Zola's novels. It is, I think, the lesson of the constant tendency to minimise the good results of anything—of virtue, knowledge, courage, civilisation, where any one of them exists—due to man's abominable slackness; to so many of us being born through our parents' fault; bred through the fault of selfishness embodied in institutions, or become, through lack of ideas and ideal, less fit for the work of even this low world than is required or taken for granted. The peasantry and those who work in arduous trades are unable to become real human beings because, for all the pretence of schooling, religion, and political rights, there is a dead wall of want and weariness between them and humanising influences; the artisans, because they are still too near bodily misery to value anything save bodily advantages; and the middle and upper classes finally, because they allow artificial wants, sensual pleasures, vanity and covetousness, to turn what civilisation they possess into dead-letter.

This, of course, does not represent the real state of the world's affairs; for, if it did, there would be no world remaining, and the peasants of "La Terre," the miners of "Germinal," the artisans of "L'Assommoir," and the *bourgeoisie* of Zola's other novels would long since have died out in a handful of hospital inmates, maniacs, and homicidal savages; nay, they would never have existed at all if all previous generations had resembled themselves. But what Zola, with his tragic one-sidedness, magnifies into death to all progress, or indeed to all existence, plays a very important part in the world as that which makes progress slow and arduous, and existence, in many cases, intolerable, though tolerated. The subject of Zola's study is the great mass of human shoddy, whether it exist as whole individualities which have been born or become unfit, or as the rubbishy parts of individualities composed for the rest of solid qualities; human shoddy, which keeps giving way and tearing with every movement of the social machine; for, little as that demands, it yet requires something less bad. The human material which is good—nay, that which is just barely up to work—is rarely shown to us by Zola. But what Zola does show is quite as deserving of our attention; for it is this rubbishy portion of mankind, rubbishy natures, ideas, ideals, habits, and

institutions, rubbishy wholes and rubbishy parts, rubbish in our neighbours and in ourselves, which causes so much tearing and so little progress in the Penelope's web for ever stretched upon Time's whirling loom.

This fact is partially disguised as long as Zola displays to us only the lower classes, where poverty, ignorance, and pressure from above destroy a portion of the fit as well as of the unfit; and the original value of the individual can with difficulty be extracted from the confusion of hostile circumstances to which he or his worthier self succumbs. The case becomes much clearer when Zola has to deal with the *bourgeoisie*, the class which suffers no pressure from without; and all crushing of better things in whose midst is therefore the sign of its own moral incompetence. This moral incompetence—this inferiority of the well-to-do mass to the ideals and institutions forced upon it by superior individuals, manifests itself in a perpetual using of false weights and measures in things moral. These hypocrites, more frequently unconscious than conscious, are always giving the minimum of thought, of sympathy, of self-restraint and effort; they believe in the necessity of all these things because their comfort requires them from others. This complicated and *naïf* system of reciprocal false weights and measures is the subject of most of Zola's studies of the well-to-do classes; and it constitutes the whole of the very dreary and repulsive, but exceedingly important, book entitled "Pot Bouille." These people are all of them trying to impress their neighbours with the idea that they are much richer, more independent, and more important than they are; hoping to obtain real wealth, independence, and importance by the show of fictitious, exactly as the speculators in "L'Argent" hope to sell their shares high by pretending to have already sold them. Hence all the degradation of hidden parsimony for the sake of outward ostentation, fine clothes and parties to cover bankruptcy, debts made in order to obtain credit; all those tricks which, although laughed at on discovery, are yet considered pardonable—nay, commendable—on the part of affectionate parents or aspiring married couples. Moreover, these people of the respectable lot are pursued by the fear of their neighbours becoming no better than themselves: they lie, cheat and commit adultery all round, but they are alive to the incongruence of such habits on the part of others; so they exclaim with sincere indignation against licentiousness and deceit. They are the people who are for ever shifting their moral responsibility on to others, and who want to enjoy the good results of morality which shall cost them nothing. They do each other and themselves a deal of mischief; and what is more important, they do mischief also to the classes below and the generations to come. Their thoughtlessness, luxury and vanity constitute a large part of the fatality oppressing the ill-paid,

misgoverned, mistaught thousands who work with their hands; and their sensuality, their sloth and poverty, prepare a breed more weak and vicious than themselves—children to whom apply the doctor's words in "Pet Bouille": "Tous malades ou mal élevés."

Is a book immoral because it would help to demoralise those who should read it in an immoral spirit? Is the majority of those who are likely to take up Zola's greatest novel more capable of imitating its heroes and heroines than of understanding its moral bearing? Perhaps. Yet it remains certain that for those who desire to know weakness and folly and filth, in order to combat or merely avoid them, "Nana" must be the most efficacious of all Zola's books. For in it he has shown *vice as vice*—not with more detail or horror, but in its independence and simplicity, as something requiring neither wickedness, nor madness, nor monstrosity, though leading to them all; vice infinitely more mischievous than crime, because requiring for its existence mere egoism—egoism which in its turn means insufficient thought, insufficient sympathy, insufficient strength, thinness of nature, flaccidity, moral and intellectual anæmia. Such egoism may be in the individual or in the society, the selfishness of the one reacting on that of the other, practice debasing principle, principle debasing practice; but it need never be more than mere egoism. The strange quality of "Nana," its difference from Zola's other novels, depends largely on its containing nobody who is constitutionally wicked; most of these wretches are doing nothing of which they would be ashamed, or for which mankind, as distinguished from mankind's dead-letter codes, could possibly reprehend them; and for this very reason they are able to accomplish an incalculable amount of evil. The men are the men, just as honest as we insist upon having them, with whom we all rub shoulders; the women, but for one item of conduct (for which, as Nana herself religiously remarks, they will of course go to hell), are not more villainous than the majority of their undamned sisters; and they have, all of them, their share of good qualities—intelligence, honour, courage on the men's side; tenderness and forgiveness on that of the women. Indeed when, later on, some of these folk pass on to vice which fills us with horror, to dishonesty which we punish with prison or club disgrace, it is rather we who have suddenly become censorious than they who have suddenly turned wicked. The world's morality has suddenly waked up and cried out, *So far and no further*; but the world's morality ought to have been awake and have done so long before, for the tolerated evil has been quite as mischievous and intolerable. Nana herself is the embodiment of the thinness of nature, the insipidity, vulgarity, weakness, which is the rough ground-work of all vice. She is to the last *bonne fille*, protesting with perfect truthfulness that she would not hurt a fly, that she only

wants to amuse herself, to have a *good time*; and she cannot understand why the world will insist on being made wretched by her doings. There is a wonderful scene, one of Zola's allegoric *tableaux vivants*, in which, while the maid is washing out of the carpet the traces of one lover's attempted suicide, and his mother reproaching Nana with having pushed her other son to embezzle his regimental money, the great courtesan bursts into tears and complains to a third lover of the astonishing injustice and unkindness of the world: "Voyons chéri, est-ce ma faute? Si tu étais la justice, est-ce que tu me condamnerais. . . . Dans tout ça, je suis la plus malheureuse. On vient faire ses bêtises chez moi, on me cause de la peine, on me traite comme une coquine." Only to have a good time; to have new loves when the old ones grow stale. new luxuries when the old ones become tame, new sensations when the old are worn out; new dresses, houses, furniture, equipages, jewels, when the old ones have ceased to make people gape: that is, in reality, the extent of Nana's wickedness, of the wickedness of vice. If all this cannot be obtained without deceit, prostitution, and bringing people to death, disease, and shame—nay, if it even lead to perversion for its newness and destruction for its excitement—there is at bottom only that apparently harmless desire to have a good time. For those who look only at the good time they are seeking, naturally do not see the bad time they are preparing for others. But as to wishing to hurt others! Heaven forbid! *That* would be crime; this is only vice. Zola has seized the secret of the strength and terribleness of vice—the fact that it is not a rebellion against the moral code, but a taking advantage of that code's slackness. Nana herself is not in the least Satanic, not even in the least an enemy of Society. She maintains a stock of high principles, indulges in maternal love, sentimental devotion, and enjoys thinking herself thoroughly *bonne fille*. Respectability, embodied in a reformed courtesan whom she sees at the church-door surrounded by widows and orphans, fills her with awe and longing. Only—and in this *only* lies the origin of all vice—only her high principles, her maternal and sentimental love, her wish to be good, her aspiration after respectability, are all put aside whenever there is a chance of a new present, a new amusement, a new excitement, the possibility of having something she wants. Psychological science is teaching us nowadays that we have most of us an inheritance of some evil possibility, of moral weakness, of mental malady, which becomes manifest as soon as we cease to control our likings and dislikings, as we cease to select what shall and what shall not have the upper hand in our nature. Thus, if races of kings have often been races of evildoers or imbeciles, it is not that their blood has been worse than that of their subjects—has it not been the blood most often of heroes and saints?—but

because circumstances have not restrained, controlled its evil tendencies, and developed and united its good ones. Similarly, the creatures—Nanas and their votaries—who have taken advantage of the moral slackness of our world, must run the risk of a similar tendency to further degradation: the fact of giving way to sensuality, covetousness, vanity, and instability, makes noble feelings rarer, diminishes self-control, and tends to adulterate even kindness and affection with admixture of self-satisfaction and base excitement. Nana extracts debasing pleasure from her maltreatment by one of her lovers, from her sentimental forgiving of his brutality, and her maudlin self-commiseration. She thinks only of what the police may do when the wretched little Georges commits suicide, and she revels in high falutin and sickly curiosity by the hideous deathbed of her favourite minion. Then also Nana—and Nana is in fact an allegorical as much as an individual woman—gradually extends her self-indulgence (not accompanied by shades of Swinburnian empresses, but, as she comfortably believes, of real ladies, of *femmes du monde*) to regions not usually included by those who seek merely a *good time*: sane and without bad intentions, she enters the happy hunting-grounds of monomania and crime. She begins also by being merely excessively covetous; then, very soon, furiously consuming, she reaps without sowing, takes without giving, borrows without returning; till she becomes unconsciously, and at last consciously and deliberately, destructive. “She could not see anything which cost a lot of money without wanting to have it; and surrounded herself with a litter of flowers, of precious nicknacks, enjoying her caprices of half an hour just in proportion as they were expensive. She could never keep anything. Everything withered, got broken and soiled in her little white fingers; her passage was marked by a trail of nameless breakages, of tatters and dirty rags.” No thought, of course, of the privations which wastefulness represents; no respect for things or feelings; no possibility of projecting the thoughts and sympathies beyond the moment and its pleasures; a constant narrowing down of the individual to its own self, its sensations, its *to-day*, its *this minute*. Then comes destruction for its own sake. Having accidentally broken one of her New Year’s Day presents, Nana sets to breaking all the others. She suddenly discovers that there is a new amusement to be had, a sort of second chapter to covetousness: “A light kindled in her expressionless eyes, a little pucker of the lips displayed her white teeth. When every one of the things was in bits, she slapped the table with her outspread hands, flushed and again overcome with laughter; and she lisped in a naughty child’s tones: “*Fini! N’a plus, n’a plus!*”



Here crime begins; and here, so far as moral or immoral evolution goes, there is therefore an end of Nana and vice; for Nana and vice do nothing for which they cannot find an excuse, and for which, despite its hypocrisy, the world is not perfectly willing to excuse them.

The great smashing bout is reserved for a few individuals whom Society censures, shuns, or imprisons; but that performance had been preceded, as we saw, by an immense amount of unintentional, purely incidental wasting and spoiling of valuable objects. And the votaries of Nana—men useful in other capacities, and while in Nana's house enjoying themselves in a manner authorised by Society, smiled at by their neighbours, and practised by the very best people—the votaries of Nana, like Nana herself, mark their passage through the world by a "trail of nameless breakages, of tatters and filthy rags," their children's diseased bodies, their own defiled and mangled souls.

The vice which Nana embodies is undoubtedly the one which can spread the most mischief, because it tells more than any other upon the very material of which body and soul are made. But we must beware of thinking that it is the only, or perhaps even the principal one which is making the present miserable and the future gloomy. In a dozen ways are respectable people wasting the things most valuable and most wanted—wealth, strength and intellect, care and time and thought; robbing the world of all they might have been.

"L'Argent" is the great prose poem of one sort of respectable vice, the vice seeking pleasure in wealth apart from wealth's uses, in risk apart from risk's fruitfulness. "Au Bonheur des Dames" is the study of another sort of immorality, more permitted even than that of "Nana," since no one so much as pretends to object to it. The great shop in which women accounted as honest spend much of their existence and more of their thoughts, gives the allegory of covetousness in its various forms: covetousness due sometimes to vanity, sometimes to wastefulness; covetousness which is sometimes the mere passion for possession, sometimes the desire for a bargain—oftenest, perhaps, the half-conscious mania for outshining one's neighbours; the vice which is tolerated and encouraged as peculiarly feminine, and which supplies, as a fact, the other half to the vice symbolised in "Nana." For even in other sets than those of "Nana," in unions apparently legitimated and sanctified by Society and Religion, is it not the covetousness of the woman which comes halfway to meet the profligacy of the man? It is on this feminine vice that the hero of the "Bonheur des Dames" trades, even as "Nana" trades on its masculine counterpart. To awaken, to maintain, to increase it, this man of genius is forever devising new dodges and inventing new marvellous temptations. The real economy in production and distribution, the economy of time and trouble obtained by the centralisation of all possible wants is legitimate; but by no means the chief reason of the great shopman's

success. He holds his clientesses not by a benefit, but by a temptation; by their folly and weakness, not by their wisdom. As usual, Zola has typified, turned into allegory almost, the mischief done by the "Bonheur des Dames": one woman develops a buying mania which ruins her family; another ends by stealing some of the much-contemplated wares; while a third gets her nerves out of order as an effect of feverish covetousness. It is a rhetorical way of bringing the lesson home to the imagination. But the mischief, the degradation is really shown in the humdrum conversations between the sane and respectable women of the book, going over and over again the contents of the great shop in which they spend so much of their day, enlarging on the delights of its novelties and bargains in a manner which corresponds, subject for subject, to the way in which the men meanwhile, in the other novel, are discussing the attractions of Nana and her tribe.

Thé masculine vice of "Nana," the feminine one of the "Bonheur des Dames," each with its waste of things material, its soiling of things spiritual, suffice in their union to produce the meanness and hypocrisy of "Pot Bouille," the rapacity and avidity for excitement of "L'Argent." Vicious men and women, however tolerated their vice, must be, to the exact extent of their lowness of standard and slackness of fibre, bad fathers and mothers of families, and bad citizens. Zola would show us how inevitably they are the accomplices and victims of the political corruption, big and small, of his Rougons, father and son; how they explain a national calamity, such as he has painted in the "Débâcle;" a social horror like the one of "Germinal." For the silk purse cannot be made of the sow's ear; that requisite for mankind's happiness which we designate as *morality*, that extension of human happiness which we call *progress*, can find only obstacles in people who are weak and narrow to the extent of seeking solely their own individual and immediate pleasure. Such men and women have organised, unconsciously, and merely by following the line of least resistance, a network of tolerated mischief which ramifies throughout life and life's various circumstances; a gigantic spider's web of lust, greed, vanity, and sloth, of all the active and passive modes of indulging self while disregarding others; and into this is fatally caught every inferior one of us, every inferior portion of ourselves. This network of commonplace evil, this spiritual hell, which honeycombs our life with its intricate circle, is what Zola has made us see and feel in his terrible set of novels.

Would it have been possible to do as much at a less expense of evil suggestion and loathsome detail? Theoretically, doubtless; such a man as Tolstoy—the Tolstoy of the "Kreutzer Sonata"—might have done it had he tried. But the fact that no one has done it leads one to think that practically a certain obtuseness and recklessness could

alone have confronted such a task ; and that the advantages of Zola's brutal power of vision, of his imaginative and passionate impressiveness, could not have been bought at a lesser price.

Is that price too high ? We should not, perhaps, bargain too hard with genius, any more than with the other forces of Nature which bring good and evil together, beyond our wisdom to calculate. As in all similar cases, good will be brought to the strong and evil to the weak. Such books as "Nana," "Germinal," and "Pot Bouille," putting aside "La Terre," must contain for an immense number of readers a large amount of bad example and bad emotion : they are full of moral miasma. But is not life full of the same ? Not to those, perhaps, who know life only on the surface ; and not to those who, seeing more than the surface, would never be vividly impressed by its ugly sides : to such as these Zola may do harm without doing good. But to those who could not fail to learn elsewhere than in Zola's novels many of the things with which they deal, to the only men and women who can be really just and helpful to their fellow-creatures, these books can do very little harm and may do very much good.

For it is well to be shown as a vast system what one's individual experience can show only in fragments. It is well to be forced to think on cause and effect while being made to feel other folk's woes ; and still more to feel them as really living, while one is wondering on their cause and effect. It is salutary to be horrified and sickened when the horror and the sickening make one look around, pause, and reflect.

VERNON LEE.

## SIMONY.

THE last legislative attempt to stop the scandal of simony in the Church of England was in the reign of Queen Anne, when clergymen were forbidden to buy next presentations to benefices. But during the one hundred and eighty years which have passed since Parliament made that law, neither simony nor the desire to prevent it has disappeared. So far from simony being extinct, the successful evasion of the legal obstacles to its practice has become one of the niceties of scientific conveyancing, and persons who arrange for the purchase and sale of livings are recognised as pursuing a reputable calling. On the other hand, for the last twenty years, to go no further back, there has been a continuous series of protests, appeals, exposures, speeches, resolutions, bills, reports and committees, such as I think no other ecclesiastical matter has produced. The full recital of what has been attempted in Parliament alone would take a considerable space. I am not sure my list is complete, but there have been at least three Bills in the Lords, eight Bills and one resolution in the Commons, four Select Committees, one Royal Commission, and two Blue-books. It is announced that the Archbishop of Canterbury—encouraged perhaps by the success, after many failures, of the Clergy Discipline Bill—means to try once more to procure a reform of Church Patronage. Prevention is better than cure, and it will occur to most people that on the whole it is more satisfactory to prevent unworthy men from getting into benefices in the first instance, than, having afforded them the opportunity to disgrace themselves, to expel them.

There are two subjects which, although closely intertwined so far as each has to do with corrupt or otherwise improper appointments

to a spiritual charge, are yet distinct; and for the sake of clearness they had best be considered separately. The first is the question of the sale of livings and next presentations. The other is the question of the conditions and control which ought to be applied before a patron's nominee is finally admitted to a cure of souls.

Taking the sale of livings first, let us start with a statement of principle which the Select Committee of the Lords (1874) laid down and the Royal Commission of 1878 affirmed :

"All legislation affecting Church Patronage should proceed on the principle that such patronage partakes of the nature of a trust, to be exercised for the spiritual benefit of the parishioners, and that whatever rights of property originally attached, or in process of time have attached, to patronage, must always be regarded with reference to the application of this principle."

Whatever the old lawyers might have said to this notion of a trust, it is now generally accepted and approved, and it may safely be assumed as the basis of any discussion of the subject. The question is not so much whether a trust is to be recognised, as whether the notion of property is to be retained to any, and if so to what, extent. If we had an opportunity of explaining to St. Paul the nature of an advowson as an "incorporeal hereditament" and a species of real estate, the intricacies of the parson's freehold and the distinction between the temporal benefice and the spiritual cure of souls, it is possible that this venerable branch of our law, even if the Apostle could be induced to listen with patience to its elucidation, might find small favour in his eyes. There are many who insist that sales of advowsons ought to be abolished, and so profoundly have Nonconformist members of Parliament come to feel this, that it has been their wont for many years past to obstruct and oppose all attempts to stop the simoniacal traffic in livings, on the ground that the traffic itself is intolerable, and that the evil ought to be exterminated root and branch, instead of being paltered with by the mere removal of its ugliest features.

Probably most people would be heartily glad to accept any practicable method of getting rid altogether of sales of livings. The difficulties, however, are very considerable. In the first place, there is the question of compensation. If the saleability of this kind of property is destroyed by statute, the owners are entitled to be compensated. However undesirable the sale of rights of patronage may be, the law has hitherto sanctioned it, and, just as in the case of the abolition of slavery, the public cannot gratify its laudable desire for reform without paying the price. The pacification of a man's conscience at his neighbour's expense, however convenient, has undeniable drawbacks from a moral point of view. But where is the money to come from? Not from the public exchequer, all will agree; not from

the already shrunken parochial endowments, as was formerly proposed, most of us will now agree. Again, the system of private patronage, as to the advantage of retaining which there is a general consensus, is practically dependent for its continuance on the possibility and occasional occurrence of sales. If advowsons became inalienable for money, the probable result would be that most of them would drift into the hands of public patrons, such as bishops and bodies of trustees, while patronage, from the fact of its having no money value, would sometimes be left in the hands of bankrupts, or be allowed to devolve on persons entirely unfitted for its proper exercise. The present system, unsatisfactory as are many of its incidents, secures in a rough sort of way the circulation of patronage, and "ensures within reasonable limits the due representation of varieties of thought and opinion in the ministry of our national Church" (Report of R. C., 1880, p. vii.). No efficient substitute has ever been suggested. It is true that in some of the Primate's Patronage Bills—*e.g.*, the last Bill, of 1887, as introduced—much trouble and ingenuity were expended on the constitution of diocesan "Councils of Presentations" or "Boards of Patronage," in which livings were to be vested. Lord Salisbury "purged" the Bill of 1887 by turning the "Council of Presentations" out of it altogether. I confess I witnessed its disappearance with satisfaction, for the whole idea of these Boards or Councils seems unpractical. In such schemes scrupulous care is taken to provide for representative laymen and clergymen in fair proportions, and periodical elections by various bodies and sections are contemplated. It looks well enough on paper, but the whole proceeds on the mistaken notion that laymen generally are eager to give their time and labour to ecclesiastical affairs of this sort. Experience shows that, except under some special excitement, people will scarcely even take the trouble to vote on such occasions; and the inevitable tendency of Patronage Boards would be to come under individual influence, which might or might not be wise, but would not be, in any true sense, representative.

It is not then to be wondered at that neither the Lords' Committee of 1874, nor the Royal Commission of 1878, nor any Bill hitherto introduced into Parliament with the object of its being passed, has proposed the total abolition of sales of livings. In fact, the regulation of sales and their restriction to proper persons and purposes seem, under existing circumstances, the only practical objects. Is this justifiable? Is the notion of property in patronage so essentially evil that we are bound to bear the shame and mischief of notations and even recurring scandals, rather than seem to counteract, by fresh legislative sanction, the principle of sale? I think not. I admit that the idea of rights of Church Patronage being proprietary, and therefore marketable, goes uncomfortably near the wind.

But the truth is that the law has lent itself to simony rather by its negligent application of its own theory than because that theory is itself vicious.

The use of money to influence the appointment to a spiritual charge, or simony, is the most ancient, and probably the most ineradicable, of all ecclesiastical abuses. English law against simony is based on the distinction, in itself obvious enough, between the duties of a patron and those of a parson. To buy a patron's place is merely to buy the right to choose a suitable priest for a particular benefice. To buy a parson's place is to buy the spiritual oversight of souls. The one may be pure, the other must be corrupt. Patronage is regarded as a species of temporal property, which may be acquired and employed for ends untainted either in law or morals. But cure of souls is an office of direct spiritual responsibility, demanding high and special qualifications, and to make appointment to it depend on the payment of money is illegal, because it is felt to be sinful. The theory is thus clear enough. Sales of patronage for its own sake, when the object of the purchaser begins and ends with the acquirement of the right to administer the trust, which, as has been said, is the essence of the patron's duty, are recognised by the law as harmless and valid. But financial transactions which have for their aim the advantage of an individual by his introduction into a sacred office, are bad. This theory, if consistently carried out, ought to stamp as illegal every sale where patronage is bought, not for its own sake, but merely as a means of procuring the cure of souls for a particular person. But unfortunately the distinction between buying an advowson and buying a cure of souls is not so clear in practice as in theory; and the law has made the distinction less real by a mechanical, unintelligent clinging to its mere form, without regard to the principle that lay at the bottom of it.

It is true that the law cannot probe men's minds and discover their motives. But there are some circumstances so suspicious, so obviously indicative of a special purpose, that there can be no injustice in the law using a little common-sense. For instance, when a clergyman buys a valuable advowson, there is a reasonable presumption that he does so with the object of appointing and benefiting himself. This would not invariably be just, as, for instance, in the case of the Rev. Charles Simeon, the founder of the well-known Evangelical Trust. But nevertheless the unfavourable view furnishes a good working hypothesis, which will almost always be right, and at any rate will lead to much better results than the law's irritating habit (in this context) of ignoring probabilities, no matter how cogent or irresistible. For, instead of adopting precautions based on a reasonable view of the relations between human motives and actions, the law carries its benevolent optimism to the verge of absurdity.

If a clergyman buys an advowson when to his knowledge the incumbent is dying, and then presents himself, the law does not interfere. The vacancy is regarded as a lucky chance, a mere accident, and not, as it really is, the sole object of the transaction. Yet if, through some unfortunate delay, the breath had actually left the incumbent's body before the agreement for sale was signed, the law is virtuously strict; the sale, so far as that turn of presentation is concerned, is a nullity, it is "fruit fallen"; to sell vacant patronage is simony, which the law abhors! Again, a layman buys a next presentation, with (as commonly advertised) "speedy possession," in order that he may present a son or other relative. That is his reason for buying at all, and he pays on the understanding that he will be able to put his nominee into the living at once. The law has nothing to say. But if, instead of going through the farce of buying himself into the patron's shoes, the purchaser were so crude as to offer the same sum of money to the patron as an inducement to him to present the son or relative, that would be simoniacal and void. The astonishing levity of Mr. Bumble's statement that "the law is a ass" is very painful, but really the law has laid itself open to misconstruction. The distinction between legal and illegal dealing is in such cases as these too nice for ordinary minds.

If sales of livings are to be retained at all they should be made in fact what they are now only in theory, sales of the right to choose fit persons to fill a sacred office, not virtual sales of the sacred office itself. What we want is a sieve which will let pass *bona fide* purchasers of patronage for its own sake, but will stop those by whom the patronage is being bought as a mere means to bring about a particular appointment. Cases in this latter class are in essence simoniacal and corrupt.

Now there is one feature which belongs to almost all improper sales, and that is "immediate possession." Day after day livings are advertised for sale, and with very few exceptions either "immediate" or "speedy" or "early" possession is offered, or there is an octogenarian incumbent. One recent advertisement contained this impudent announcement: "Prospect of early possession, or subject to life of elderly incumbent." There is much to be learnt from advowson advertisements. Only the most respectable cases appear in the *Times*, and I infer that these are somewhat scarce, from the fact that the agents, for want of livings to advertise, so frequently advertise themselves. During the last seven weeks of 1892 there have been fifty advertisements of this class in the *Times*. Ten different preferments have been offered for sale. As to seven of them "early possession" or its equivalent is promised. The eighth advertisement shows the incumbent to be elderly only, and is therefore so unattractive that it has had to be repeated six times. The ninth is, I think, intended to



suggest a speedy vacancy, but does not say so. The tenth, so far as appears, invites purchasers without reference to a vacancy, but it significantly adds, "no agents." Four persons have advertised for advowsons. Three require respectively "early possession," "very early possession," and "probable vacancy." The fourth describes himself as "clericus," and leaves his wishes to be surmised. The truth is that a man who is buying an advowson merely because he wants to be the patron, may be more or less indifferent as to when his turn to appoint will arise. But the man who buys to appoint himself, or a son, or a son-in-law, is never indifferent. The result of this demand for virtually vacant benefices, coupled with the laxity of the law in permitting sales of patronage even when a vacancy is imminent, is precisely what might be expected. If the age or ill-health of the incumbent makes it certain that the living will soon be empty the purchaser may be content to wait, but in other cases a vacancy is "arranged for," as it is euphemistically termed.

It may be well to indicate here the plan usually adopted, in order to evade the law of simony. It will be remembered that the essence of that law is that there must be no money agreement for causing a vacancy. That is to say, any pecuniary benefit, direct or indirect, which a clergyman receives as an inducement to resign his cure, invalidates the whole transaction of which it is a part. Let us first consider the case of an incumbent who is also patron selling to another clergyman, with "immediate possession." The purchase-money, which is of course very greatly increased by that fact, has been agreed upon, and the only difficulty is how the business is to be put through. Both gentlemen have a conscientious objection to simony, and besides the bishop is a source of anxiety. His acceptance of the vendor's resignation is a matter of his discretion, and if he is given reason to suspect a "transaction," he may probably refuse to accept it, and thus spoil the whole affair. To prevent any mishap and in order that everything may be "quite regular," lawyers are consulted. They advise that the parties must trust one another! Either the vendor must resign, and then present the purchaser, trusting to his honour to pay the purchase-money, and take up his conveyance afterwards. This is the best plan, because least calculated to arouse the bishop's suspicion. Or else the purchaser must pay his money and take his conveyance, trusting to the honour of the vendor to resign afterwards, and trusting also to the bishop to foster an innocent belief in the vendor's story about his wife's health demanding instant change, or what not. It is usual when matters have reached this stage for both gentlemen to lament the unsatisfactory condition of the law. Each feels a reluctance to trust the other, and who shall say that either is wrong? Cases have occurred in which a clergyman of sensitive but intermittent conscience, having got into a living in this manner,

wakes up to the immorality of the bargain, and so refuses to pay the price. But the crisis has to be faced, and having first secured the purchase-money in the joint hands of the solicitors on both sides, to abide the event, one or the other makes the plunge.

The other case is that of a patron, who is not incumbent, selling to a clergyman with speedy possession. This is an easier business, and was made simpler still by an unfortunate decision of Vice-Chancellor Stuart, just thirty years ago, to the effect that, on the sale of a living, the vendor may agree to pay interest to the purchaser on the purchase-money until a vacancy occurs, so long as the incumbent is not a party to the agreement. The theory of the decision is, that there is no inducement to the incumbent to resign, and therefore there is no simony. But it is obvious that the obligation to pay interest, which may be arranged at a penally high rate, gives the vendor a powerful inducement to make a simoniacal bargain with the incumbent to resign. In the case referred to the incumbent was the *vendor's son*. The Vice-Chancellor, of whom it used to be said that, although it was quite a "toss up" how he would decide, yet he could be relied on to "toss fair," could have little foreseen how his judgment would be turned to account. It has been the model of scores of transactions. The agreement generally provides for the deposit of the purchase-money in a bank at interest to be received by the purchaser until a vacancy. He has not long to wait. The incumbent disappears; the purchaser is instituted, and the late patron pockets the money.

These are what may be called ordinary cases, but more special ones are constantly occurring, in which more complicated machinery is put in motion. The common feature of all is the end aimed at—namely, the purchaser's early admission to a cure of souls as the result of a bargain and sale.

The House of Lords has been called the House of Patrons, and not without some reason, for of the 6500 livings or thereabouts in private patronage, more than 1400 are in the gift of Peers, who now number 559. If therefore opposition to a curtailment of patrons' rights might naturally be looked for anywhere, it would be in the Upper House; but as a matter of fact the Lords have shown a readiness to adopt reforms which, if it had been shared by the Commons, would have settled the matter long ago. The Bill of 1887, as revised by Lord Salisbury and passed by the Peers, is, I think, by far the most workmanlike scheme which has been formulated. Its chief provisions are as follows:—Every purchaser of a right of patronage, before he can become the owner, must be certified as "fit" by a Commission, consisting of the Chancellor of the Diocese, the Archdeacon, the Rural Dean, and two laymen, to be nominated *pro hac vice* by the Lord Chancellor. This condition is to apply to any

transfer of the living for money or money's worth. But if it is to be effective, it must, I think, be extended to any transfer, not being by act of the law (*e.g.*, bankruptcy), or by will, or other devolution on death, and not being the appointment of new trustees (without power of sale). Otherwise, the ingenious practitioner will introduce the principle of *Do ut des* with effect. A. will make a deed of gift to B. of his advowson. Each will be prepared to make a solemn declaration that no money has passed or been promised. Nevertheless, when the transfer is safely through, B. will make a valuable present to A. There will be the same uncomfortable necessity of trusting each other's honour as now, but that is all. I think I hear the reader say, "But this is only a clumsy evasion which the bishop ought to stop." But how? The bishop hears nothing about the transaction until a presentation is made under the deed. If he then disputes its validity, he invites heavy litigation. He will have to fight at his own risk. His chances of success will be precarious, for they will depend upon getting A. or B. to confess the truth, and admit the secret bargain. In most cases, the bishop will be advised to do nothing.

Every grantor of patronage is to be deemed to grant the entirety of his rights whatever they may be, a neat arrangement for the speedy abolition of sales of next presentations, without injustice to present holders. Public opinion may now be considered fairly unanimous against sales of next presentations, but it has matured slowly. Even in 1874, the Lords' Committee did not advise the suppression of sales of next presentations. The Royal Commission of 1878 recommended their prohibition; but one of the most eminent judges of the day, Lord Justice James, expressly dissented.

Mortgages of advowsons are to cease, and quite rightly. Such securities are inconvenient and unsuitable. The mortgagee can get no interest, for the advowson yields none: he cannot present to the living: his only remedy is to sell it. Mortgages are sometimes manipulated for simoniacal purposes. The prohibition should, I think, be extended to settlements as well as mortgages, and, on the other hand, should not apply to either when the advowson is part of a landed estate. Such cases are not within the mischief to be dealt with, and their inclusion in the prohibition would probably create embarrassment.

Clergymen are not to be allowed to purchase advowsons, as they are already disabled from buying next presentations. At the present time there are nearly 600 livings where the parson is also the patron, besides an unknown number where he is the real though not the nominal patron. Donatives are to be subject to the same episcopal control as other benefices. These eccentric relics of papal times, about seventy in number and mostly of very small value, were origin-

ally chapels which, generally of royal foundation, were freed from the bishop's jurisdiction. The clergyman is admitted simply by a deed of grant from the patron without reference to the bishop. A donative may be sold during vacancy, and in fact admits of almost any disreputable irregularity that may be desired. They have sometimes been used to get a clergyman out of a living whose resignation the bishop has refused. A donative is procured for the man, and thereupon, since he cannot hold both, his former living is *ipso facto* vacated.

There are two valuable recommendations made, one by the Lords' Committee (1874) and the other by the Royal Commission (1878), which were not adopted, I do not know why, in the Bill of 1887. The first is to "make illegal all contracts to pay interest until vacancy upon sums received for the sale of advowsons," thus abrogating Vice-Chancellor Stuart's decision. The other is to prohibit resale for five years after sale, a check which already exists as to the Chancellor's livings sold under Lord Westbury's Act.

No one, I think, can read the Bill of 1887 without seeing that it would prevent many scandals with which we are now familiar, and would render improper transactions much more difficult than they are at present. It would stop a great many holes, but it would be rash to assume that it would stop all, or that simoniacal ingenuity would not succeed in breaking out in some fresh direction. The prescribed forms and conditions could scarcely be complied with so as to carry through a doubtful sale. But the danger is that the very rigour of the new reforms will drive the class of persons who now buy and sell livings in the light of day and under the security of a lax state of the law, into secret underground agreements admittedly illegal, but not perhaps always easy to unearth. The main protection proposed to meet this kind of evil is the strengthening of oaths and declarations against simony. It is a sad fact that it is impossible to regard these as a quite satisfactory guarantee. The elasticity of the human conscience under suitable circumstances is very remarkable indeed, and although I believe the number of people who commit perjury, acknowledging it in their own minds to be perjury, is small, the number of people who commit what everybody else would call perjury is much more considerable. No precautions which the wit of man can devise will ever wholly eradicate simony. We must be content if we can make it so difficult as necessarily to be rare.

In this view I venture to make a suggestion that has at least the merit of dealing directly with the central feature of almost all improper sales of livings—that is, the condition of "early possession." It is that no transfer of patronage should be effectual to confer on the purchaser the right to present on any vacancy occurring within (say) two years from the date of the transfer; but that on any such

vacancy, the right to present should devolve upon, and be exercised by, the bishop, or any other suitable person, except the vendor or the purchaser. I think the majority of transactions by which people buy themselves or their relations into livings would be checkmated, because although here and there a man of a patiently simoniacal spirit might bide his opportunity, as a rule time is of the essence of the bargain. The uncertainty of any particular person obtaining a certificate as a fit purchaser would make it too risky for the vendor to let him into the living on the chance of a subsequent sale to him being authorised and completed. On the other hand, the certainty of two years' delay, and the possibility of a vacancy occurring during that period, would deprive the bargain of all attractiveness to the purchaser who desires "immediate possession." This seems obvious. But I am more concerned to meet the objection that this plan would unfairly hamper legitimate dealings. How far it is permissible to apply new checks, which in their operation will depreciate advowson property, without giving compensation, is a question of degree. I am bound to admit that not only this, but every fresh obstacle put in the way of free sale, almost every section of Lord Salisbury's Bill for example, must detract from the market value of advowsons. Even the public discussion of the subject, and still more the introduction of Patronage Bills into Parliament, has this effect. But the case which will probably occur to the reader's mind as one in which my suggestion might work hardly, is that of a perfectly honourable patron of a living filled by a very old incumbent. The patron may have inherited, or at any rate have long owned, the advowson. His position is an absolutely innocent one. All through the many years that the incumbent has ripened from a middle-aged into an elderly, and finally into a very old man, the patron's property has been ripening too, until now, when the old man is tottering on the edge of the grave, it is at its maximum value. The vacancy is certain to come within two years; under the present law there would probably be plenty of eager purchasers; but if the condition suggested is applied the property becomes completely unsaleable. My answer is this. Why should this honest patron sell? It is assumed either that the dazzling prospect has suddenly become too much for virtue which was proof against the minor temptation of a younger parson, and a therefore less valuable advowson, or also that he is not the right sort of patron after all, but has simply been holding on for a better market just as any stock-jobber might do. If he retains the advowson, he has the turn—that is, he gets what it is the ostensible object of every patron to obtain. The reason why the living with the moribund incumbent is so valuable is because there is a demand for cures with "early possession." That is to say, it would have no special or extra value but for the would-be purchaser, whose aims we all agree are tainted,

and whose endeavours it is the main object of our patronage reforms to frustrate. We cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds; and I confess it seems to me an impossible position to put on check after check for the express purpose of driving away the most numerous class of purchasers, and then to protest against spoiling the market for advowsons. No doubt it may occasionally happen that some one, especially if he have local interests, may buy a living on the eve of a vacancy simply for the good of the parish and the pleasure of presenting the best man, without regard to individual profit. In preventing such exceptional transactions, we may frustrate good intentions; but after all laws must be framed to suit usual and not extraordinary circumstances, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred by stopping sales with "immediate possession," we shall be doing what all right-minded people want to see done.

It may be well, before leaving this part of the subject, to point out that such a condition as I have suggested would not be an entirely new departure. In the reign of George II. the well-known "Mortmain" Act was passed, under which a conveyance of land for a charitable purpose was subjected to the condition that, if the donor died within twelve months, the deed was ineffectual, and the land reverted to his heirs. This was enacted to prevent improvident gifts by dying persons, and so thoroughly has it succeeded, that death-bed conveyances in charity are now never heard of.

There are about 11,000 livings in England and Wales: of these nearly 7500 are in the gift of the Crown, Prince of Wales, Lord Chancellor, Bishops, Chapters, Archdeacons, Universities, Rectors and Vicars (as such) and Trustees. About 2000 others are in the patronage (as to 1400) of Peers and (as to the rest) of other titled persons. Although now and again a nobleman's livings are sold, and even distinguished colleges have been caught tripping in the matter of simony, it is amongst the remaining 4500 livings that almost all the traffic exists. Statistics fail us here. No doubt the majority of these 4500 livings never come into the market, and belong to patrons who recognise their responsibility. What fraction of them have been acquired as to patronage or incumbency by means more or less tainted, it is impossible to say. The "Clergy List" for 1892, however, shows that there are 593 livings where the incumbent and the patron are the same person, and 424 where both are of the same name. A considerable proportion of the parson patrons have, it can hardly be doubted, become patrons in order to present themselves. On the other hand, some of the 593, and a large number of the 424, represent "family livings." As to these it would be inaccurate to say that the living has been bought for the sake of the parson; but in many cases the parson has been ordained for the sake of the living. These figures convey no idea of the extent of the traffic in cures of souls, for very

frequently the name of a trustee is used to conceal the real identity of parson and patron. But it is surely a significant fact, that in something approaching to one-quarter of the benefices in private patronage (omitting the Peers' livings) the patron has presented either himself or a member of his family.

This last observation more directly concerns the question of the conditions and control which ought to be applied before a patron's nominee is finally admitted to a cure of souls. That is the second branch of the subject, and I now turn to it. In theory the patron presents his clerk to the bishop for examination. In fact, if the man is in Orders, and produces formal testimonials of moral character, the bishop has no discretion in the matter. The presentee's sufficiency in learning may be, but scarcely ever is, put to the test. Latin, to a moderate extent, may be exacted. Greek is doubtful, and Hebrew more so. If the bishop oversteps the narrow and rather misty limits of his authority, he will be sharply pulled up by an action in the Queen's Bench or a suit in the Spiritual Court. The result is that, if we compare the patron's and the bishop's authority, the former has a great deal and the latter scarcely any. The patron is virtually master of the situation.

The unfortunate combination of almost absolute freedom in the exercise as well as in the sale of patronage, is a grave evil. The law puts Roman Catholic patrons under disability. But it has none for persons who are only known to the public through disgraceful exposures in the Divorce Court. It has none for non-Christians. Maharajah Duleep Singh, who several years ago announced his lapse into Paganism, is nevertheless entered in the current "Clergy List" as the patron of at least one benefice. It has none even for ex-convicts, gamblers, drunkards, and evil-living persons generally. It has none for Jews, Agnostics, or Mohammedans, and of course it has none for Protestant Dissenters. Even a baby in arms has been solemnly decided by the law to be competent to choose a spiritual teacher for any parish of which it happens to have inherited the advowson. Further, when the choice of any of these persons—none of them surely unexceptionable judges in such a matter—happens to have fallen upon a clergyman of decent life, neither the bishop, nor the parish, nor anybody else, has any power to interfere.

It is here that the scandal—it is nothing less—of parson patrons and family livings is most flagrant. Church patronage is declared to be a trust. It is a rudimentary maxim of equity that a trustee may not make a gain out of the trust estate. Now, although so long as patronage is also property it is impossible to apply this principle strictly, it cannot be right that it should be wholly ignored. I am far from thinking that family patronage is necessarily disposed of unworthily when it is used for the advancement of relatives. I do

not even dispute the possibility of a gentleman feeling solemnly convinced that he can best provide for the spiritual care of a large and richly endowed parish by undertaking it himself. But I do say that it is idle to pretend that nearly one-sixth of the private patrons of England and Wales have exercised their rights in their own or their relatives' favour with the paramount object of promoting the spiritual benefit of the parishioners. No man is a good judge in his own matter, and it seems plain that, if the principle of trust is adhered to at all, as it certainly ought to be, the bishop's authority to check and control the patron's choice must in such cases be a real and not a nominal authority.

The assumption that lies at the bottom of the present system is that every clergyman is not only fit for parochial duty, but fit for any and every sort of parochial duty, which is as unfounded as if one were to assert that all good people are intelligent. The notion, for instance, that a young man of twenty-four just ordained priest, is necessarily competent to undertake a crowded town parish with its manifold agencies, duties and difficulties, is ridiculous. The law works as if age, physical strength, power of voice; energy, intellect, knowledge, tact, ability to preach, experience, earnestness, fortune, and the size of a man's family, were either the same with every English clergyman, or were quite immaterial. The House of Lords in 1887 recognised the necessity of reform in this respect, and following the guidance of Lord Salisbury, asserted the principle that the power of control must, in an Episcopal church, rest with the bishops. Accordingly, the Bill provided that, subject to appeal to the archbishop, the bishop is to have power to refuse institution to the patron's nominee, if less than two years have elapsed since he received deacon's Orders, or if, in the bishop's opinion, he is unfitted for the living by physical infirmity, pecuniary embarrassment, or evil life. This would be a very salutary change from the present state of things in which a bishop has sometimes to endure the misery of seeing the most important benefices of his diocese pass into hands which he knows to be incompetent, without being able to raise a finger, unless indeed he sets to work to examine the presentee in the hope of plucking him. It is said that the late Bishop Wilberforce, to mention no living names, more than once got rid of an unsuitable man by saucily inviting him to compose a Latin sermon in the episcopal study while the bishop looked on. Side by side with the prevention of scandals, and intimately connected with it, is the question of the right of the parishioners to a voice. Hitherto the law has not thought much of the voice of the parish. The persons most directly interested in the character and efficiency of the clergyman, have neither part nor lot either in the choice of the patron nor in his choice of their priest—a singular anomaly in a democratic country. It is said



that a rural parish feels humiliated when the advowson is sold without notice or consideration of the people whose highest interests are at stake. It may well be so, and if Lord Salisbury's plan, already described, of a Board to examine into the fitness of a proposed purchaser should ever be adopted, I suspect that the House of Commons will insist that the two elected members of the Board shall be chosen by the parish in vestry, instead of being nominated by the Lord Chancellor, as proposed by Lord Salisbury. Why the Lord Chancellor should be brought in in this context, and not, let us say, the London County Council, it is not easy to understand. Each has as little to do with the matter as the other. The evils which are incident to a popular appointment of ministers, do not seem to arise when the question is the choice not of the incumbent, but of the patron. I venture to think Churchmen will do wisely if they themselves propose this change, instead of waiting to have it forced on them.

The voice of the parishioners in the choice of their own clergyman is a much more difficult matter. A system of popular election on the lines of a parliamentary contest has existed here and there, but with results so unfortunate that it has no defenders. Again, nomination by a Board, on which the parish is represented by delegates, is now practised in Ireland. It does not work well, as is shown by the writers of several interesting articles on "The Effect of Disestablishment on the Irish Church," recently published in the *Review of the Churches*. The truth is that the range of view of the parishioners is too limited to give them a fair opportunity of choice. That is the explanation of the familiar petitions to patrons to appoint the curate of the late incumbent to his vacant place. It is almost an article of faith with patrons to reject such appeals, and probably they are generally right, though I think I have known cases where jealousy at supposed interference with the patron's right has prevented concession to the general wish, which would have conduced to the real good of the people. The example of the Prince of Wales, who recently presented the nominee of the parish to one of his Cornwall livings, will have a healthy effect if it leads patrons, I do not say necessarily to adopt, but at any rate to consider respectfully, the views and wishes of the people. But there is no need to discuss the desirability of the parishioners appointing their own parson until, which does not seem likely at present, the patron has been abolished. The real question is what, if any, veto or power of protest the parishioners ought to have. Lord Salisbury's Bill proposes to require publication of the name of the patron's nominee in the parish one month before institution, in order that any parishioner may have opportunity to object to the appointment because of the clergyman's physical, moral, or pecuniary unfitness. The grounds of objection are strictly limited,

and it may be said that this is a timid, halting proposal which goes only a very little way. But at least it is a step forward; and until we have seen how it works, I doubt the wisdom of going much further. Any change in this direction requires the greatest caution. For instance, an unrestricted power of protest might be used to promote the candidature of a parochial favourite by opposing every other, however suitable, with results which would be unfair to the individuals, and destructive to the peace of the parish. Well-meant changes might easily introduce fresh evils without removing old ones. But the importance of doing what can safely be attempted in this direction—the all but unanimous voice of the House of Lords is a sufficient guarantee against revolutionary rashness—is urgent in the interests of not only the parishioners, but the clergy also, and most of all the Church herself. If I may venture to say so, the Church will hold the confidence of the masses neither by flattery, nor vulgarity, nor gifts, but by a corresponding confidence. The very words “National Church” imply a partnership. A partnership presupposes mutual trust, and the Church of a democratic nation must mean that the nation is admitted to a real share of the rights and duties of the partnership. It seems politic therefore, as well as just, that parishioners should have a consultative voice in the choice both of the patron and of the incumbent.

It only remains to remind ourselves that the responsibilities of partnership are mutual. The state of things described in this article is not only mischievous to religion, but discreditable to the country. Apart altogether from any question of Establishment, it concerns good government to find a remedy for a condition of affairs which offends against public decency and order, as really as overcrowded dwellings or defective Poor Law. The Church of England, by the Bishops in Parliament, through Convocation, and by the voice of Church Congresses and Diocesan Conferences, has again and again exposed the evil, and asked for its removal. The House of Lords has been active, and, so far as it can be, zealous in promoting reform. It remains for the House of Commons to do its part. The Church shares with building societies, railway companies, banks, and every institution in which large classes of the people are interested, the right to look to Parliament for help, when help, which only legislation can afford, becomes necessary to the adequate discharge of its proper functions. The House of Commons cannot continue to refuse assistance without neglecting its proper business and disregarding its special duties.

LEWIS T. DIBBIN.

## REMINISCENCES OF A JOURNALIST.

**I**N the January number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW I dealt with the question of the kind of preparatory education suitable for those about to enter on the journalistic career. Once in the struggle, they will have the necessary arms and ammunition constantly provided ; but how varied and incessant the incidents which occur in the course of the conflict ! None of them can be foreseen. The preparatory education must be completed and supplemented by the faculty of casting a steady and personal glance, by prompt resolution, and by the gift of an accurate perception of men and things, before the young journalist, who has passed through the schools, can become a journalist of the first rank, and one who possesses the art of making his own convictions acceptable to his readers. In this light, journalism must be regarded as a high duty and the fulfilment of a mission. The duty may be arid and exacting, the mission limited, but such as they are they must be looked at square in the face, with no illusions as to the advantages to be got from them, and a complete acceptance of the numberless deceptions and embarrassments which such a vocation implies. For a journalist's satisfactions are always negative ; they are always troubled by the hostility which he has aroused against himself.

And by the side of these apparent successes, bought by exertions of which the world knows nothing, how many hours there are during which he has, as his only consolation, the memory of ingratitude, treason, or individual miscalculation. And, indeed, how could it be otherwise ? The journalist's work is necessarily public and even resounding in its impression. The smallest wound that he makes increases as it is exposed to the air. And yet every piece of serious information has been obtained at the price of efforts almost always.

out of proportion to the result obtained ; and while the journalist, knowing the trouble he has taken, may very likely exaggerate the value of his work, the public, ignorant of his exertions, accepts with indifference or ungrateful lightness the results which mean to him, so much. In this situation the journalist must make up his mind to require of the public only one thing, once he has taken it, on this or that matter, into his confidence—namely, to believe in his sincerity and veracity. This is his only and his highest recompense, and with this assurance he may remain stoical and indifferent before the dangers and surprises that beset his way—such dangers and foes, I mean, as the vanities which he can never satisfy, the interests which he can never sufficiently serve, the jealousies that he can never appease.

During my long career it has happened to me only once that a public man, a statesman, has testified with any warmth his surprised gratitude at an act of personal discretion on my part done at the expense of immediate journalistic success, when he himself had, so to speak, furnished me the very element of this success.

One evening in November 1875, I happened to be at the Quai d'Orsay house of the Duc Decazes, who was then French Minister of Foreign Affairs. We were in the billiard-room. The Duke was full of spirit. He was playing at billiards with a friend of the Duchess, who was playing so well that she seemed likely to win. Suddenly the door opened. A Cabinet attaché entered and handed to the Duke a small bundle of telegrams. Opening the packet, the Duke began to read one of the telegrams. Suddenly he became red, then pale, and wiped his temples, moist with sweat. Then, as if maddened, with an irresistible movement he took the billiard-cue which he had put down, struck it on the rim of the table, broke it across his knee, and threw the bits into the fire. The persons present, it may be imagined, were in a great state of mind. Suddenly approaching me, his teeth set with anger, he said : “ Do you know what I have just heard ? Derby has just bought 200,000 Suez shares from Ismail, while every possible effort has been made to conceal from us, not only the negotiations, but even Ismail's intention of selling them. It's an infamy ! It's England putting her hand on the Isthmus of Suez, and my personal failure has in no way retarded the act. I authorise you to say what you have just seen. I even beg you to say it, and to add that Lord Derby will have to pay for that.” And he added, half talking to himself : “ Yes, I swear that he shall pay for it.” He then quickly left the room, and I too went out. On the way I went over the scene in my mind, as I have here described it from my notes of the time. I saw instantly what an impression the story would make when told in my telegram, and reproduced throughout the world to the glory of the journal in which it appeared.

But when I took up my pen to write it out, other thoughts

invaded my mind. I saw the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs of England and France pitted against each other, the malignity of certain diplomatists poisoning the wound, and I understood that, after all, I could not tell the story, even though I added that I was authorised to do so, for the mere publication would have all the aspect of a veritable provocation. I saw that it would only furnish arms to the foes of the Duc Decazes, whom so many people desired to overturn, and that this revelation of Lord Derby's cleverness would be gratuitously interpreted as in itself an aggression. I dropped the pen and left the office, announcing that I would not return that night. On the morrow, at eleven o'clock, I was told that there was a messenger from the Duc Decazes. Immediately after luncheon I went to the Quai d'Orsay. The Duc Decazes had just come down to his work, and I was immediately introduced into his cabinet. He handed a telegram to me. In a tone almost harsh he asked: "Why didn't you publish the scene that you witnessed yesterday, as I asked you to do?" I explained to him my reasons for keeping silent. He got up, seized both my hands, looked at me with profound emotion, and said: "You understand that I have just said what I did as a joke. You have acted as a friend of the Minister, as a friend of peace; and never shall I forget what you have done for me—for us; for you have sacrificed a journalistic success to your sense of duty. Believe me, the latter is the better memory."

The Duc Decazes remained two years longer in power, when he was carried away by the electoral storm which burst in the false *coup d'état* of the 16th May 1877. If he ever referred to the purchase of the Suez Canal shares to Lord Derby, the matter has remained a diplomatic secret; the public has known nothing of it, and the spirit of France was not troubled. To-day, Lord Derby and the Duc Decazes are no more. The shares have remained in the peaceful possession of Great Britain, and Lord Derby could feel at his death that he had been the author of one of the most clever and paying acts of patriotism possible; for, besides the immense hold which this act has given to England on the affairs of the Suez Canal, it gets from this possession to-day the enormous sum of seventeen million pounds sterling.

I must add that on two other occasions I saw the Duc Decazes the victim of almost the same anger, and on both occasions he recalled to me the incident of which I have just spoken, and the gratitude which he felt in reference to it. I happened once to be with him at Vichy when the sons of Ismail were stopping there, in the charge of an Egyptian colonel, and a tutor whose name escapes me. One day these princes gave a dinner. They invited the Duc Decazes, and me as well. The Duke sat at the right of Ismail's eldest boy, and I was on the second son's left. The dinner, entirely in the European

fashion, was served by a single *maitre d'hôtel*. The soup had been passed before we sat down to table. The *maitre d'hôtel* first served the eldest of the princes, then the second, then the others (I believe they were four), and it was only then that he served the Duc Decazes, who appeared to be somewhat surprised. But he undoubtedly thought it only a single oversight, and, as he was forbidden fish, he refused the course. But the same thing occurred throughout the dinner. The younger princes were mere children, with good appetites, accustomed to be humoured, like princes brought up by tutors who trembled before them, and they turned and returned the dishes to get the best portions, so that by the time the plate reached the Duc Decazes they presented anything but an appetising appearance. The Duke had become a little pale. He had omitted the second course, as I have said. The following course he had refused so as to make his thought apparent, hoping that that would suffice to call attention to the mistake that was being committed. He was the French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Vichy was French soil; and it was, so to speak, France whom these young foreign princes had invited to their table. All honour was due to France. The dishes ought certainly to have been first passed to the Duke, and only if he had refused to help himself before the eldest prince should the plate have reached him second. But matters went on quite differently. During the entire dinner—and it was a long one—the plates were offered in succession to all the princes, and came back pillaged to the Duc Decazes, who refused them.

I saw his anger rising to his face as the dinner went on. I feared an explosion. But the diplomatist restrained himself, and the gentleman in him found a smile to respond to the prince every time that the latter addressed him, which, however, was not often. When the dinner was over the Duke called to him the officer of ordinance, and said to him quietly, but in a tone of muffled wrath: "You are not very well up in the arrangement of official dinners, sir. I will see that you get better instructions." And while the officer became livid at these words, the Duke turned his back on him, and coming up to me, said: "This time, too, I beg you not to say anything about this ridiculous business; it will be quickly set right." And indeed the result was, I believe, that the unfortunate officer soon lost his situation.

The other time when I saw the Duc Decazes angry, and when he silently recalled my discretion in reference to the Suez shares, was as follows:—France had sent a vessel, the *Orénoque*, to Civita-Vecchia, where it anchored, and for some years was there as a sort of defiance to the conquered unity of Italy. The idea was, that if it were necessary the Pope might find there a refuge in Italian waters as a safe stage in getting away to foreign soil. This ship, anchored

there in constant protest against the occupation of Rome by the Italians, became an object of irritation in Italian eyes. The Chevalier Nigra, then Italian ambassador in Paris, often spoke to me of what he picturesquely called "*une faute d'orthographe obstinée*," which France was committing in her relations with Italy. "But why," said I to him one day, "why don't you speak to the Duc Decazes?" "That's impossible," replied the Chevalier Nigra. "Once I mention the matter to him, we shall have to go up to the very end. In a matter of this sort there is no half-way point, for when a nation has said, 'I beg you to withdraw this ship,' it must soon add, 'I wish you to withdraw it.' But you, when you see the Duke, explain to him what I have just been saying, that he may understand why, notwithstanding the irritation this matter of the *Orénoque* causes, I cannot speak of it to him."

And, indeed, as a result of this conversation I saw the Duc Decazes. "We certainly should have this matter out between us," said he to me; "but it must be quite clear that the conversation is to be purely a friendly one, quite unofficial, and that no written trace shall remain of it, and that all that is said shall be said from me to him, and from him to me."

The conversation took place. I afterwards learned that it finished with these words, uttered by the Chevalier de Nigra: "You will force us to seek the friendship of those who treat us less cavalierly." I had the bad luck to drop in at the Quai d'Orsay just at the moment when the Chevalier de Nigra was going out. The conversation with the latter had exasperated the Duc Decazes, and when I entered his cabinet he was in a paroxysm of anger. I saw it as soon as I entered, but it was too late, and in my embarrassment, not quite knowing what to say, I limited myself to these words, which were quite contrary to my habit: "Eh bien, M. le Duc, qu'y a-t-il de nouveau?" ("Well, Duke, what is the news?") The Duke, who was only looking for an excuse to burst out, roughly replied: "Really, mon cher, it isn't my business to do your correspondence." I got angry in my turn; I stopped suddenly, and replied: "True, sir; but it's a very good thing for my readers that it is not your business." The Duke remained a moment uncertain, but as I started towards the door he burst into a laugh, and getting up, came to me and said: "*Allons*, give me your hand and make peace. You know well enough that I promised never to get annoyed with you." And, indeed, amid all the vicissitudes of time and things, I had the honour of keeping his friendship to the end.

I said one day to Count Beust: "The difference between a journalist and a diplomatist is that the latter must not tell what he knows, and that the journalist must talk about what he doesn't know." And indeed diplomatists have the pride of discretion, and do not readily

forgive being dragged out of their *incognito*. If you have succeeded in obtaining from a diplomatist a confidence or any information, his name must be rigorously kept secret. So long as he knows his identity to be concealed he remains calm and tranquillised; if you do not alarm him, there is no one with whom relations are more delightful. His perfect training, the exquisite attention he pays to you, the affability of his manner, have a special charm, and the Duc Decazes was quite right in saying: "When I perceive that I am becoming annoyed with a diplomatist, I immediately say to myself that I am not at the level of my companion." But if, for one reason or another, a diplomatist's *incognito* is revealed, no being can be more implacable. Twice in my life I have made this mistake, and twice I have bitterly repented it. Once—and everybody knows about this quarrel—I mentioned the name of Count Münster while relating a page of history which I had from his lips, believing, wrongfully as I am aware, that I was authorised to do so. The fury of this man, ordinarily so polite, this gentleman so impeccably bred from an ancient line, was such that he not only denied the narrative related to me—a thing which was perhaps excusable—but in writing a letter to Count Herbert Bismarck on this subject he allowed himself to utter certain expressions which Count Herbert Bismarck, in publishing it, thought he ought to give a lesson to Count Münster by suppressing the rude language used towards me.

On another occasion, and so to speak in spite of myself, I mentioned a diplomatist from whom I had a communication. This diplomatist, who still occupies a highly important post, wrote to me in 1876 as follows, thanking me for an invitation to dinner addressed to him on the intervention of a common friend: "I have now for a long time desired to make the acquaintance of a man whose reputation is based on a journalistic work beyond and above all criticism," &c. We were soon on the best of terms, and I know few persons whose gift of lively, piquant anecdotal talk was so fine as his. One day, while passing through Paris, he fell ill at a hotel. I went to see him, and showing me a copy of a confidential despatch addressed to his Government, he said: "*Sac-à-la-papier!*" (this was his way of saying *Sac-à-papier*) "read that—it would be amusing to publish." I was naturally of his opinion, and he ended by giving it to me, urging me to cut out anything which appeared to me compromising. I went through this work of expurgation most conscientiously. The telegram appeared in a remote corner in the outer sheet of the paper. It did not make the stir I had expected, and, indeed, it was very little spoken of. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs to whom it was addressed noticed its publication, and spoke of it to my friendly informant, who forthwith wrote me a violent letter, as if I had abused



his confidence, quite forgetting that it was he himself who had entrusted the despatch to me for publication.

I have never seen this remarkable and charming man since, and the loss of his friendship is the price I had to pay for having involuntarily stripped him, as regards his chief, of that useful anonymity behind which alone a trained diplomatist manages to preserve the sweetness of his manners and the charming smile of his lips.

Need I recall for the edification of any journalist who reads me, that in his relations with diplomacy he must always remember that the true diplomatist necessarily knows nothing of gratitude, that he regards the journalist as an auxiliary, sometimes useful and always dangerous, and that he will never hesitate to throw him overboard when it suits his ideas of his duty to do so? In this connection I recall a striking and decisive illustration.

It was in 1874, at the moment when the Arnim trial was going on in Germany. Baron Holstein, who had played so curious a rôle in connection with Count Arnim, was second secretary of the German Embassy at Paris. His intervention in this terrible question between Arnim and Bismarck was not liked, and was badly judged here. French public opinion looked askance on the hand of Germany in the interior politics of the country, and Baron Holstein was violently attacked for his rôle in this matter. The *Journal des Débats*, which enjoyed then a real power and influence, was particularly noticeable in its campaign against Baron Holstein, and its attitude was such that, if persisted in, Baron Holstein's stay at Paris must necessarily have become impossible. It was at this time that I received a visit from Mr. Rodolphe Lindau, who was also at the German Embassy, and who brought to me a document justifying Baron Holstein. By very convincing arguments he showed me that I ought to undertake his defence against the *Journal des Débats*. In the then state of French public opinion this was a heavy task; but I undertook it conscientiously as a duty, and I had the satisfaction—always so rare, however—of seeing this paper lay down its arms before my arguments. This took place towards the end of December 1874, and on the 30th of that month Baron Holstein wrote to me, that if he had not been kept at home by an attack of *la grippe*, he would have hastened to come in person to thank me. A week later, on January 8, 1875, indeed, he did come, and thanked me warmly. I had made, he said, by my courageous intervention, his stay in Paris possible. We talked for some time of his personal situation. I told him that I was myself just then in a critical place, not surely knowing whether or no I should succeed Mr. Hardmann as chief correspondent of the *Times*, and that I had, of course, many competitors to whom I could oppose only my devotion and my work. Some days after—that is,

on January 16—a friendly hand sent me a letter of Baron Holstein, sixteen octavo pages in length, bearing the superscription : “Kaiserlich Deutsche Bothschaft in Frankreich,” and entirely written and signed by the Baron’s hand. It was addressed to one of the most intimate friends of Mr. John Delane, editor of the *Times*, and denounced me as quite under the thumb of the Duc Decazes, and as willingly ignoring and concealing from my readers an Orleanist plot which was preparing a *coup d’état*. In this letter the *Times* was urged to send to Paris some clever and impartial person, to keep the paper *au courant* of what was here going on underneath, as well as on the surface.

This letter, I repeat, reached me on January 16, a week after Baron Holstein’s visit of gratitude, and it had been sent on the 12th ! I need not say that I have carefully preserved this curious and instructive document now for almost eighteen years, and if I divulge it to-day, it is because it is so appropriate in these pages, showing, as it does, with what stoicism a diplomatist bent upon his duty rids himself of a weight of gratitude when he thinks that he ought to do so in the interests of a higher cause.

I publish this story to-day because, as I think, one owes truth to the living much more than to the dead ; because Baron Holstein and I are both alive ; and because the moment has come no longer to defer the publication of so striking an example of professional sacrifice performed by a diplomatist devoted to the task which devolved upon him. It will bring a smile to the face of Baron Holstein, to-day very powerful in Germany, and will prove to him that the memory of our friendly but already distant relations is not effaced from my memory.

BLOWITZ.

## THE ACADEMIC SPIRIT IN EDUCATION.

THE feelings entertained by the man of action towards the scholar have never been concealed. The English gentleman of the Middle Ages, the serious business of whose life was murder and rapine, felt towards the scholarly recluse, the man of books, a contempt even deeper than that which he displayed for the men who produced the wealth he stole and squandered. This contempt was, however, qualified, sometimes by superstitious fear, for the scholar might be a wizard and in league with powers of evil not to be contemned, sometimes by religious reverence, due to the patronage of learning by the Church.

These same feelings of contempt and distrust are alive in the present day. Take the most representative modern literature of England, its fiction. A scholar is seldom introduced into a novel excepting as a butt for the humour of the full-blooded hero and his friends. He is there to make himself ridiculous, and he does it : he is dupe to the first impostor who turns up ; he talks a pompous jargon of his own ; he makes love to the wrong person, lets out the secret, and generally mixes up the business of the plot.

I am not speaking only of inferior fiction : Goldsmith, Scott, George Eliot, George Meredith make their Dr. Primrose, Dominie Sampson, Casaubon, Dr. Middleton pretty much after the same pattern.

This is a true reflection of the way in which the business man of to-day regards clergymen, college dons, schoolmasters. His first charge against them is that they are "unpractical." There is something humorous in the complacent way in which they receive this charge. So far from being annoyed, they take it as a compliment. They regard it as testimony to their real superiority ; partly it is the stupidity of common uneducated persons unable to appreciate their more exact and ordered intelligence, partly it is jealousy of the possession of some exclusive culture which sets them above the vulgar herd.

The academic person does not admit he is "unpractical": how should he? He smiles at the charge with an air of conscious superiority. But it is from this epithet that we may best approach the investigation of the academic spirit and its place in education.

Many classes engaged in intellectual work have the spirit in various powers and degrees. Some qualities of it are strongly pronounced in the schoolmaster; the medical and legal professions are not void of special forms; clergymen combine it with a special bias due to the theological training; literary cliques in London and elsewhere show it; but the purest and finest brand of the academic spirit is in the college don.

It is in some sense the business of the scholar to be unpractical, to read and to think rather than to act. Many subjects of study, those which are described *par excellence* as academic, have no direct bearing on life, no "utility" in the ordinary sense of the word. The whole process of education, self-education or the education of others, is "unpractical" in so far as it seeks knowledge and development of mind as ends in themselves. This knowledge, this ability, is capital which subsequently yields interest in "practice," but the academic spirit is rightly unconcerned with this. A mathematician, a literary man, a student of the natural sciences, as distinct from their application to the arts, is "unpractical."

If the imputation of being "unpractical" meant no more than this it would be wholly without sting. So far as the academic spirit is engaged in acquiring knowledge, it is nothing to the point to call it "unpractical." But where it is required to descend from the task of acquiring knowledge to that of imparting it to others, in order to assist in forming other minds for life in the world, where the academic spirit is brought to bear upon the conduct of life, the charge of being unpractical has more force.

Take a number of intelligent beings, remove them from the stress and strain of close continual contact with the average life of working society, place them in a social ring-fence, where all are alike engaged in some kind of "theoretic" work—looking at the ordinary work-a-day world either not at all or through the refracting mirror of books—you have a special environment which must operate upon these men and women not merely as individuals, but as a species. Thus, either in our universities or wherever men and women form themselves into a corporation, a clique, or a coterie for purely intellectual purposes, you get this special atmosphere, the book-view of human nature.

It is often said human nature is slow to change. Nothing, I think, is more untrue; human nature changes rapidly, and is able to assume all kinds of curious new specific forms.

I wish to offer some analysis of this "academic" species, and to

show the bearing of my analysis on present practical questions of education.

When Chaucer offered his advice, "Flee from the press and dwell with soothfastness," his advice was very necessary. In the turmoil of the Middle Ages knowledge could only be cultivated, the intellectual life could only be led in the seclusion of a monastic retreat or a hermit's cell. Philosophy, literature, science, were for the most part the humble starved *protégés* of religion, and were glad to avail themselves of any shelter she might allow. The degradation of this servitude is still visible in a thousand superstitions which cling round our educational theories and institutions. But though the poison of religious patronage still taints the academic life of our universities and public schools, it is not one of the essential academic qualities on which I wish to dwell.

What I wish to make manifest is the effects of maintaining in nineteenth-century England that artificially protected and specialised form of the intellectual life which once was necessary, but is no longer so. The withdrawal of the mediæval scholar from the free intercourse of the world was necessary; the seclusion of the modern scholar is not only needless, but highly injurious.

I have not defined my term "academic." No good comes by forcing close definition; rather by bringing such a term into relation with other words, one at a time, can its real connotation be effectively disclosed.

Academic suggests "armchair" and the "study." "Solitude," as De Quincey finely said, "is essential to man." But so is society. The proper balance here, as elsewhere, is what we want. Excess of solitude is one mark of the academic life. One who draws largely upon books or leads a life of contemplation must be much alone, with the result that what he gains in direct self-cultivation he loses in social experience.

It is an endeavour to live too much alone, and to substitute an artificial society of books for the society of live men and women. I believe the time will come when we shall have advanced far enough in clear notions of education to admit that, taking knowledge as a whole, more can be learned from the smallest person alive than from the greatest dead; that, save within a certain confined region of art, books do not possess a life which can, for real importance in education, compare with that of the men and women who live around us. The same vulgar protestantism which narrowed religion into the worship of one book, has narrowed education into the worship of many books. Academic authority, in colleges and schools alike, is often loud with its mouth in repudiation of this ritualistic view of knowledge and education: in its heart, and in practice, it clings tenaciously to the superstition. A saner, healthier

age than ours will value books more lightly, and, so doing, will get more worth out of them than we do. They will not set growing children to worship these paper gods for eight or ten hours a day at a time when the craving for recreation and free animal life is natural and wholesome. Dickens has not yet done his work. The system of our schools—high, grammar, and primary—is still in the main that of Mr. McChokum Child, whose pupils were “little empty vessels,” always waiting for the knowledge to be “poured in.” Especially is this superstition rife in those establishments for higher education of women where the teachers most indignantly repudiate the suggestion of “cram.” I assert most emphatically that women’s education is not advancing, but is rather going back; that the old era of idle accomplishments, drawing-room embroidery and pianoforte, was less injurious than the congested curriculum of to-day.

All this is part and parcel of a superstitious quantitative estimate of knowledge stored in books, which belongs to the academic spirit. The scholarly solitude and the substitution of dead minds for living act upon the student so as to lower his intellectual and emotional vitality, and falsify his standard of value. What a true picture of the academic mind George Eliot has given in *M. Casaubon*; how powerfully she points the lesson that many books are not only a weariness to the flesh, but a starvation to the soul.

If we turn to books themselves we find that the best and greatest have not come from those who have been great readers, but rather from those who have lived and loved and fought. Such works as those of Homer, Shakespeare, Fielding, Scott, Goethe, Hugo, were not written in the atmosphere of the study.

Not that the academic person is without interest in life—on the contrary, he has many interests; he is fond of hearing many sides of a question, finds them all so “suggestive”; he is a collector of facts and opinions in the world of literature and art; his mind is a museum of preserved specimens in politics, sociology, religion. But if you conclude that such a man has opinions of his own, that any of the movements of the day in politics or religion have a hold of his emotions, that he would lift a finger to help or hinder them, you will be mistaken. His interest in these matters is purely intellectual. I know several such men who are students of social subjects; they will diligently collect information upon the various aspects of the labour movement, upon co-operation, trades unions, figures of pauperism, schemes of relief. They will carefully pack away these facts in the pigeon-holes of their mind, labelled “Information bearing on the condition of the working classes.” There the knowledge will remain; you must not ask them to disturb it. Do not expect them to stir themselves to act or even to vote in order to assist the cause of progress. Not at all. It

would be a degradation of such knowledge to put it to a useful end. Besides, they could not venture to take a side. To form a decided judgment is an act of intellectual rashness which disturbs the exquisite poise of a well-balanced intelligence. The academic mind gravitates to compromise with the same accuracy with which the magnetic needle turns north. In politics the academic person is a "passive spectator," in social questions he is the complacent slave of Mrs. Grundy; in religion he is usually a careless conformist, not because he believes—he wouldn't demean himself by a positive belief—but because he doesn't dare to be an agnostic. This is due largely, however, to a sublime indifference which belongs to the academic atmosphere, where they sit removed from the common struggle of the vulgar life—the holy calm of the Epicurean gods:

"The gods who haunt  
The lucid interspace of world and world,  
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,  
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,  
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans.  
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar  
Their everlasting calm!"

It is not, however, altogether philosophic indifference. It is partly timidity, a fear of committal, carried to a degree often ludicrous. This you will best trace in the academic book; you will observe the constant practice of weighing the *pros* and *cons* of a debated question in such a way as to present an exact balance of the two sides, the intricate avoidance of an expression of opinion which might be twisted into a practical application. The very grammar often reflects this, the continual guard of parenthesis or qualifying clauses with which the English sentence is weakened and uglified, a certain finicking nicety of choice in phrases which screens its feebleness under the pretence of accuracy.

The real reason why this trouble is taken is a fear lest any clear pronouncement of views should suffer the ignominy of application to any serviceable end of conduct. Mrs. Humphrey Ward has given in the character of Mr. Langham an amusing illustration of this aspect of the academic mind, not in the least overdrawn.

This academic pusillanimity is suitably reflected in the academic curriculum of studies. Studies liable to yield practical applications are eschewed. The branches of intellectual exercise which have the most signal and direct bearing upon life, literature, economics, sociology, philosophy, are either left untouched or degraded and devitalised by academic superstitions. I want to make this charge of superstition clear. It goes to the root of the matter. That unreasoning regard for the past, that worship of authority, that ritualistic reverence for visible signs, that dull zest of ceremonial and detailed formality, which is slowly but surely passing from religion, thrives and flourishes

in academic education. Prig, pedant, and specialist have erected an orthodox system of education based on a false and untested scale of values. No nation possesses a richer heritage of literature than England. This literature receives no recognition in Oxford and Cambridge. No staff of professors is appointed to teach it. Students are warned not to waste their time over Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Tennyson, or Browning. What is the true reason of this neglect? It is precisely because English literature is alive with modern issues, is steeped in passions of to-day that are the feeders of present conduct, because as living subjects these do not lie still in the dissecting-room of pedantic scholarship, that they are forbidden subjects to the youths who frequent our universities.

French, German, Italian are still living languages and literatures, and as such are to be discouraged. You must climb to them over all sorts of unnecessary barriers. According to academic authority you must first thoroughly protect yourself by a thorough grounding in the philologic study of "Old High, Middle High, and Low German, Gothic, or Icelandic." To these men literature means philology, the form is more important than the spirit. Dead languages are deliberately preferred to living—not, as is sometimes falsely assumed, because the dead are better. The literature of Greece and Rome may be absolutely superior, though we have no adequate standards of measurement. This is not the reason why they are preferred. They are chosen because they are dead. The dead are safe.

Philosophy is essentially a speculative and a dangerous subject; but its name and associations are too respectable for it to be ignored. It must be taught in the academic way. As it bristles with modern interests and modern questions, the text-books must be ancient. Plato and Aristotle are dead, their works are abstruse and set in vexed terminology, and may be therefore safely studied. Hegel, Spencer, Schopenhauer are modern writers; their meaning is apt to break out inconveniently among the conventions of polite society, to force their way into the vulgar region of the practical in religion, politics and morals. The academic spirit either ignores them or else submits them to judicious interpretation, with the view of extracting any sting or incentive which may be found there. It is this preference for devitalised theories which has led to the saying that German philosophies when they die go to Oxford.

The academic treatment of economics is perhaps the most instructive. The science is so modern, so unyielding to precise and priggish definitions, so amenable to practical applications; yet it cannot be wholly passed over. The academic mind sniffed at it for some time, as a dog might a hedgehog, touching it gingerly at this point and that, not daring to tackle it, yet unable to leave it alone. It has now reduced it to an academic study. For this purpose it



must secure a rigid orthodox structure. This it has sought to secure by elevating Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, and one or two more recent writers to a position they neither claimed nor deserved as authoritative exponents of a cut-and-dried logical system. Here appears a paradox. The academic mind is prone to excess of caution. This very caution has bred rashness in economics. In the nature of things it is grossly improbable that a study involving so deep and delicate a knowledge of the changing social relations and desires of men could be raised into a sound scientific structure in a little more than a century after the publication of "The Wealth of Nations." Yet the academic mind is compelled to seem to have achieved this task. Although the very text-books which are taken as "authorities" bristle with contradiction and antagonism upon the most essential points, yet by a judicious process of word-twisting, selection, and interpretation, a body of dogma has been improvised into a system presenting a specious show of consistency to the hasty observer, who is contented not to peer too curiously behind the scene.

Half their efforts are given to a ludicrous attempt to buttress up by new shifts of language this hasty and imperfect structure; the other half are devoted to approaching the science in what is called the historic spirit. Though some admirable work has been done of this later order by a few students, the bulk of it consists of laborious collection and arrangement of facts and figures which have no appreciable value, either theoretic or practical, but are dull monuments of patience. This last work illustrates a peculiarly humorous trait of the academic person, his effort to be practical. His idea of being practical is to set aside all theory and all human feeling, and to devote himself to a dull collection of human facts, as if these were solid pebbles, to be picked up, docketed, and arranged as geological specimens. Those who know the theoretic-practical man who sits on a Charity Organisation Committee or a School Board, will recognise this aspect of the academic "crank." The academic spirit turned on practical affairs fails from being too purely practical, just as in theoretic matters it fails from being too purely theoretic. On the one hand, it runs to a Mr. Langham; on the other, to a Mr. Gradgrind.

It is this spirit of mingled timidity and superstition which has always made our universities the homes of lost causes and retrograde ideas. Many great men have come out of them; few have stayed there: no genuine progressive force of any moment has been generated there. I have tried to show why this must be so. In educational matters you have a wall of rigid orthodoxy, a worship of authority, and a superstitious scale of values; in other matters, a "mush of concession" and indifference—each a fatal barrier to enthusiasm and to healthy moral and intellectual life.

There are two evils rising from the undue specialisation of intellectual life. Remove the best and ablest specimens of intellectual manhood from the free average society, and set them in an artificially prepared atmosphere, to think and read and write in close communion with one another, and you set up the condition known in the physical world as "in-breeding"; these intellects in-breed, and with the necessary natural result—a sterility which allows no noble issue of thought or deed. This is an inevitable result of a specialised society. Another evil result appears in the over-specialised individual. No doubt this question of specialisation in education is a difficult one. An all-round harmonious development of all human faculties is the ideal from the individual standpoint. The interests of society demand some modification of this individual ideal in favour of a social ideal, which for its attainment requires each individual to devote himself chiefly to some narrower special work. True educational progress must ever move along a line of compromise between this individual and this social ideal, where the free growth of the individual may be secured, and likewise the efficient growth of society. How much of individual development does this mean require to be given up? The true answer is, None; for in the long run the freest, best-developed individual life shall only be found in the strongest and most highly organised society. Although in the more perfect society there must needs be specialisation of the individual effort, still the object and effect of such specialisation will be to allow, if not an absolutely even development of individual faculties, such degree of freedom and exercise of all human capacities as shall make the individual life more valuable than the more evenly grown but stunted harmony possible to an individual who directly seeks self-culture, to the exclusion of public services, in a lower society like our own.

So large a question cannot be settled here. I name it only to lay my hand upon that most distinctive vice of academic thought, excessive intellectualism. The divorcement of knowledge from life—the academic view of knowledge—has led to a preferment of certain *recherché* and formal sorts of knowledge which is the worst result of excessive specialism. It involves not merely an upsetting of the true balance of human activities, but a huge incalculable waste of talent, perhaps of genius.

A single illustration will point my meaning. Visiting one of our ancient universities a little while ago, I called upon one of the leading teachers, a man of whose rare and extraordinary talents I had ample experience, a man capable by nature and early training of the finest work in almost any branch of science or art to which he should apply himself. I found this man devoting his time to the compilation of an elaborate treatise upon "Some apparent anomalies in the use of *μή*." The title is characteristic.

This scholar would not be bold enough to attempt so wide a task as to write upon the laws of the Greek negative. He will deal with exceptions to those laws. He will not call them by so brusque and assertive a title as "exceptions." He will prefer the term "anomaly." Nor will he affirm they are real anomalies. He calls them "apparent anomalies." Finally, he refuses the responsibility of undertaking more than some of these; there may be countless others of which he knows not. Hence the complete academic title, "On some apparent anomalies in the use of  $\mu\acute{\iota}$ ."

I have no desire to pose as the utter Philistine, and to declare such work useless. At certain ages and for certain men such work is defensible, and its apparently slight character rightly reflects glory on the student. The grammarian whom Browning describes, who

"Settled *Ore's* business  
Properly based *Ov*,  
Gave us the doctrine of the enclitic *de*,"

was a necessary worker in the discovery of a new intellectual world. But this does not justify a man in the forefront of modern intellectual life in returning to such intrinsically humble work. It is an excess rising straight from the academic superstition. When knowledge is viewed merely as an end, assessed with no regard to the wider issues of life, each piece of knowledge comes to have an equal value with every other, and is held to furnish as fine a mental exercise in its pursuit. So you come to men who actually pride themselves upon the narrowness of their intellectual endeavours, to the scientist of whom O. W. Holmes tells us in his delightful book, who expressed such genuine indignation at being spoken of as an Entomologist, who blushing refused the narrow title of a Coleopterist, and felt pride to assert his claims to be a Scarabeist. It is easy to see how this academic view of knowledge must bring an utterly false standard of values into education.

But in order to more fully understand the barriers to true educational advance, we must take into account what is called the inertia of vested interests. I am not now alluding specially to the money endowments which everywhere in our country are acting as bounties in support of antiquated modes of education. It is the narrow class interests of established educational institutions and methods which are such evil obstacles.

The Greek controversy is a case in point. Three centuries ago the disciples of the Renaissance had a hard fight to win recognition or even toleration for the Greek language and literature in our schools and universities. All the bigotry and ignorance of the age were arrayed against the new learning. They fought it out, Greek and Trojan, and slowly the liberal Hellenic culture won the day. Now, this Hellenic spirit has hardened into orthodoxy, has bred superstition, has built itself among the clergy and scholars of the

land a vested interest that is at war with the modern spirit which asks for that free competition among intellectual interests, which shall give a fair and equal chance to science and to modern literatures.

• To some this squabble about Greek may seem of slight import. It is not really so. It is a skirmish; the prelude of a larger battle—the battle of higher popular education. Those who recognise the rapidly growing power of the people in politics and industry—above all, those who are professed believers in democracy—cannot fail to see the urgent need of some system of higher national education which shall make an enlightened democracy. The struggle of the “haves” and the “have nots” is not confined to material goods. The vested interests of the intellectual classes are indeed not openly arrayed against national education, but secretly and selfishly they work against it. The “academic” spirit is an exclusive one.

The fight around the banner of Greek indicates this. Those who have got Greek, and have succeeded in “bearing” it in the intellectual market, do not wish to see its value depreciated. Every parson in the land whose meagre stock of “classics” is too often his only claim to culture, will fight hard for his fetish. He is not keen-nosed enough to clearly scent the larger fight, but instinctively he feels that if Greek goes, the narrow superstitious “culture” which has enabled him in the past to mould the higher education of the land will follow. When Greek is relegated to its proper place as a noble study of the literary few, the road of democratic education will be clearer.

When John Bull sees, as he will see, that the hard cash he showers upon technical education (the only practical education as he deems it) is wasted because special skill cannot grow faster than general culture; and when, moreover, he recognises the danger of entrusting to a populace starving on the three R’s the government of the land and the organisation of its commerce, he will perceive that some system of higher education is a national need.

Now, the bearing of our analysis becomes evident. A spirit which is out of touch with the larger life of the community, which severs the student from the citizen, which shuns the free investigation of human problems, which applies pedantic and superstitious standards of intellectual values, which worships books and is the slave of authority, can never do the great work which is before us.

That it should for a moment have seemed possible to entrust the higher education of London to a small self-appointed committee of irresponsible persons, bred in the narrowest educational traditions, even fettered by ecclesiastical traditions, shows a degree of ignorance which is amazing. The ideal which the true democratic university must set before it is not so much the labour of research, the selection

and preparation of students who shall devote their lives to some special branch of learning, though these functions have their importance. It is the citizen-student, man and woman, that must be the chief care of the democratic university—men and women who, in becoming students, shall not relinquish the workshop, the duties of the home, the duties of citizenship, but shall continue to be at one and the same time student, citizen, worker and man. The academic mind does not conceive this to be possible; the student, it imagines, must devote the whole or some carefully fenced-off years of his life to study alone. It is the fallacy, the danger, the futility of this view which I am anxious here to enforce. The academic mind can never be brought to bend to methods of education available to the workman and the citizen. The elasticity, the spirit of thoughtful yet bold experiment, required for educating heterogeneous masses of workers, is repugnant to the prim conception of academic order.

On the other hand, the true democratic education conceives the best intellectual life to be impossible apart from the working human life. It is one function of the human life bearing a vital relation to the other functions, and not to be separated from them. The fallacy of supposing that the rights and duties of studentship can be left to a few—the academic aristocracy—is precisely analogous to the fallacy that the rights and duties of citizenship can be left to the few—the political aristocracy. History has shown the one to be false; it will show the other to be false.

The true ideal university shall make it possible and easy for every man and woman in this metropolis to be a student without ceasing to be a worker and a private citizen. The attainment of this ideal we cannot entrust to an intellectual oligarchy uncontrolled and irresponsible.

Just as many champions of religious freedom have been pig-headed Tories in politics, so many political Liberals are frightened at the notion of handing over education to the people. Education must, they hold, be ordered upon an aristocratic basis. Well, in the long run, this is impossible. All education is self-education, understanding by "self" not alone the individual but the social "self." It is not enough to say we must educate our masters: they must educate themselves. That is to say, higher education, as well as primary and technical education, will be one of the functions of democracy.

Academic authority, narrow autocratic superstitions cannot do this work *for* the people. The incompetence of our universities to properly direct so large and new a work is made amply manifest by recent experiments. The considerable measure of success, which has attended the efforts of University Extension Movements is due, not to the capacity and enlightenment of the universities, but to the fact that the bulk of their members are so apathetic and so neglectful of the

large national duties which their endowments were designed to fulfil, that they have left the administration of this work to a few less academic and more liberal-minded members of their body. I only allude to this attitude of the universities as an illustration of the temper of the academic mind wherever it is found. The intellectually superior person understands neither the need nor the proper methods of national education; but he is in power, he represents a sort of existing government in education—a government which sadly neglects its duties, but still possesses the insignia of office and blocks the way. So thoroughly has he succeeded in stamping on the middle-class mind certain orthodox views of education that many of our freest thinkers in religion and politics still remain hide-bound pedants in education. This shows itself not only among the upholders of classical education. The fear of entrusting education to “the swinish multitude” is turning the tide of liberal thought among our historians and our scientists, and is driving such men as Sir H. Maine and Professor Tyndall into conservatism.

Political freedom and self-government the English people have in some measure attained. Industrial freedom and self-government are growing to be a clearly-voiced demand. Along with it must come a revolt against educational superstitions and authorities for the attainment of full intellectual freedom and self-government.

JOHN A. HOISON.

## ON A RUSSIAN FARM.

**T**HE sight of my friend Alsenstorm was very cheering to me, for it was three o'clock in the morning; the train from St. Petersburg had banded me about since the evening before. I was at a small station on the line to Moscow; from the platform I could detect nothing but gloomy infinities of forest and swamp. No one about the place spoke French, English, or German; my passport was in the possession of the police of the capital; I had slipped away without permission, and had not my friend finally appeared, I should have been in awkward plight.

Alsenstorm is of an ancient Scandinavian stock that has been conspicuous in Russian history since the days of Gustavus Adolphus. He had been educated in Moscow; had inherited vast estates near this station; I had made his acquaintance, no matter where, and had run down to get a glimpse of him and his farming.

The trap that conveyed him, or rather that floundered through the mud under him, was the common peasant cart that is found, in different degrees of modification, from Holland to Siberia, and from the Baltic to the Danube or the Caucasus. With a little increase in expenditure it develops into a gentleman's carriage, though in this case it was so heavily encrusted with thick black mud that I could hardly tell whether the wheels had spokes. The heavily bearded peasant who drove sat on a narrow board in front, his feet resting outside the waggon. At the centre was a cushioned bench for two passengers, and behind was ample room for luggage.

Three tough little native mustangs were hitched abreast to this vehicle. They showed much of the quickness that characterises horses accustomed to pick their own way, and dodged about amongst the mud-holes as cleverly as our Western ones do.

Alsenstorm is the type of a man that Russia needs to-day more than she ever did before, but which she is persecuting with blind desperation. He is a blue-eyed, light-haired, broad-shouldered, inquiring, enterprising giant. He is a sportsman, and stood before me with his trousers inside a pair of long boots; a much-bepocketed blouse, belted at the waist; a cartridge-belt over his shoulder; a sporting-rifle in his hand; a loose grey military cloak open about his shoulders; a grey felt hat suggestive of our cowboy. The twinkle of his eye, the warm grasp of his hand, the firm way in which he stands squarely on both soles at once, all his attributes, are attractive to me, and I marvelled that he should live in such a neighbourhood.

"Glad to see you," said he in excellent English. "Here is a caviare sandwich, and here a flask of Madeira. Put them inside of you immediately, for we have a long drive before breakfast."

I obeyed.

Alsenstorm read my thoughts as we thumped and bumped through the mud. From my intercourse with him in another country I had been led to expect something better in the way of an estate than what he was inflicting upon me now. There was an awkward silence. He then said to me:

"Since living here, I have become charitable to suicides—I become desperate with the desire to talk honestly and freely." He looked at me a moment with pathetic earnestness, then, in the manner of a man that determines upon a great risk, he said: "I think you are safe. Listen.

"My family is Russian, if two centuries on Russian soil can make it such. Our name has never been absent from the Government list of military or civil servants of the Czar—our family has served the Czar with loyalty. But since the present rule we have become 'suspect,' because our blood is not Slav, our religion is not Greek. My blood remains Scandinavian, my religion is Protestant, and until I renounce my creed I shall continue to be regarded by the priests, the peasants, and the police as one incapable of genuine loyalty to Russian ideas.

"While studying at Moscow I knew that I should inherit the vast landed estate which constitutes all our wealth to-day. For the purpose of fitting myself to take charge of this property I went abroad and studied in Germany the best methods of irrigation, cattle-breeding, engineering, bridge-building, &c. I was fired with the ambition of making my estate a centre of information for the surrounding villages. I adored the Czar who had freed the serfs; I looked upon the Russian peasant as a regenerating force, the unspoiled, generous, progressive element that would take advantage of its liberty, would build primary schools, would lift itself into power, and act as a wholesome check upon official corruption and centralised tyranny.



"You see, I knew my peasant only from novels, as some philanthropic Americans knew the negro before your great Civil War. I came to my great estate full of zeal for the rights of man, the dignity of labour. I was determined to show my Russian neighbours that the emancipated serf becomes a self-respecting farmer if treated with consideration.

"Accordingly, my first act was to call the elders of the peasants together, and to tell them that henceforward they were to be treated as free men, and that the last vestige of serfdom was to be abolished. They appeared apathetic, but I believed it to be for their good, and they consented.

"In my father's time, even after 1861, when serfdom was abolished, the peasants all continued their old relations, preferring to work on shares rather than pay rent. With my advanced notions of liberty, this smacked of mediævalism; I wished to pay in money for the day's work of a free man. Consequently, the peasants bought themselves loose. Under the Emancipation Law they received a certain amount of land to work on their own account; the purchase price was advanced to them by Government, and was to be repaid out of increased taxes. I received from the State a lump sum for my land, and this money I promptly applied to improvements. Bridges and roads were repaired; I started a brick factory, so that I might have better material for my proposed new buildings; the outlook was splendid; and the crowning happiness was in the thought that henceforth I was to deal, not with serfs, but honest and industrious freemen.

"Early in the spring I had more labourers than I needed, but as the year wore on towards harvest they became lazy, and some of them disappeared. This did not worry me, for I was confident that the great majority were bound to me in gratitude and loyalty. One fine day, however, I was asked to step outside, that the peasants wished to speak with me. I came to the door and said, in my most friendly manner: 'Well, children, what is up?' They behaved respectfully, but I noticed that they had a dogged appearance. 'Please, your honour,' said a black-bearded one, who acted as spokesman, 'we can't work any longer at the present rate; the peasants twenty versts from here are getting twice as much, and we must have the same.'

"In such a case my sense of justice spoke for the peasants. The story they told was a lie, but I did not know it at the time, and in order to show them that they had in me the right kind of an employer, I answered without hesitation:

"'Certainly, children; you shall have as good wages, and I hope you will now work twice as hard.'

"'That we shall,' shouted they earnestly; but they did not move.

"'Anything more you would like?' asked I, with some irritation.

"Then the long peasant with the black beard spoke for the

crowd. 'We cannot go to work unless you pay us half the wages in advance.'

" 'Nonsense!' said I. 'You will only go to the rum-shop with it.'

"But they doggedly insisted. I saw my beautiful fields ready for harvest, and recognised the painful dilemma in which I was placed—either pay these dishonest peasants or risk my whole crop. So I paid them the stipulated half, and they went off to work full of zealous promises.

"A short time after this I rode out to the fields and could not see a single harvester. The overseer came to me wringing his hands :

" 'My God, my God!' he said; 'the scoundrels heard of a Church festival three hours from here; they have all gone; I can get no one to take their place.'

"I saw that nothing could be done. They had broken their contract, and the law allowed me to sue them. But that would not save my crops! I returned to the house with shaking convictions regarding the value of 'free labour,' and waited a few days until they returned and had recovered from their prolonged spree.

"The next time I met my peasants they were sitting in a ditch, passing a brandy-bottle from mouth to mouth. With difficulty they found their feet. Of course I gave them a strong lecture on their dishonesty, and threatened them with the legal consequences of their breach of contract. This lecture made not the slightest impression; but when I was done, the long black-bearded spokesman again came forward, and told me that it was impossible for them to do any work unless I paid them the other half of their wages in advance. At this I was furious, and rated them soundly; they listened good-naturedly, but, like children, repeated their request—finally saying, flatly, that it was impossible for them to go on with the harvest unless they had their money in advance.

"I was in their power: there was no labour to be had excepting the former serfs; my fine crops were lost unless I could have them immediately harvested. So I once more yielded. They received now their full pay in advance, and for a couple of days worked like happy children. On the third day, however, a large share of them disappeared, and by the end of the week I had not a single one. Half of my crop was left rotting in the field, to be finally buried by the snow.

"Meanwhile I noticed from time to time that planks and beams were missing from my bridges. At first I sought to replace them; but finally gave the matter up, and we now plash through the streams as best we can. The peasants stole the wood for fires rather than bother to cut it for themselves, and had not the slightest interest in keeping the highways open. I tried to catch the thieves, but

the peasants hold together like a secret society, and all my efforts failed. I did learn, however, that the peasants who had taken my money and broken their contracts were not far off; so I had the spokesman arrested for the sake of an example, and he was locked up for five days—five happy days to him, for they were passed in complete idleness.

"A week after this came a grain-dealer from Moscow, and I signed a contract for the little crop I had harvested at a fairly good rate. The grain was to be delivered on sleds in two days, and I figured that with the proceeds of this grain I should close the year with only a small loss. As I was figuring, the overseer burst into the room with a shout:

"'The barns are on fire!'

"'It cannot be,' I said quietly; 'you are mistaken.'

"But I was soon convinced. The guilty one was never brought to trial; no one could be found who knew anything about it. But in the villages every man, woman, and child was telling how the long black-bearded spokesman had taken his revenge."

The story of Alsenstorm I have told because it is a common one all over Northern and Central Russia, and because it explains the "down at the heel" condition of agriculture in the Czar's dominions. Had it not been pointed out to me, and explained by competent authority, I should still have suspected that something was very rotten about a system that produced millions of peasants who lived like animals—not animals of much value either, for from the Black Sea to the Gulf of Finland, whether in Bessarabia or Kieff, Kovno or Novgorod, Volynien or Poland, wherever I have seen a well-thatched hut, a well-fed cow, a well-dressed mother, or a well-made road, I have usually had to learn that it was owing to exceptional circumstances, or that it was a German or "Kurland" colony.

In Russia nothing is done without violence and police assistance. Nothing develops, nothing ripens, nothing grows from little beginnings. When the Czar wanted nobles, he ordered them as he would order a regiment; the social grades of Russia have been regulated by Imperial edicts and with no reference to grades above or grades below. The noble was placed above the serf, and so long as the noble held a knout in his hand the serf worked fairly well. Thirty years ago, however, the Czar took the knout out of the noble's hand, and told the serf he could do as he pleased. Since that day the condition of the landed proprietor has become steadily worse; but, what is more to the point, the condition of the peasant has not improved. In one county of the province of Moscow, said my friend, out of 208 estates, 188 have been allowed to go to rack and ruin—no cow, no horse, no workmen to be seen. In the same province, out of 298 estates, there are only eighteen on which the owners live the greater part of the year. If this is the case in a province holding the second city of the

empire, what can the state of things be in other and less-favoured parts? The Russian Government gives us no reliable figures from which an economist can draw exact conclusions; but Alsenstorm, who knows what he says, tells me that the state of agriculture in Russia is deplorable, that Moscow is typical of the whole country, and that the present condition of things shows no sign of improvement. To understand Russia, one must go into the hut of the peasant, exactly as one must know the cabin of the negro, before discussing politics, south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The Russian peasant is worth a diagnosis, for his class represents about nine-tenths of his vast country. Profoundly ignorant and helpless—for reading, writing, and arithmetic are occult sciences to him—he must always lean up against some one else. He knows only what he is told by his priest and equally shallow neighbours, and is infinitely credulous and superstitious. He will believe any smooth-tongued scoundrel who promises him something nice, but is very suspicious of an educated person who encourages him to work and lay aside. Work of any kind he dislikes, particularly if it requires consecutive energy; and agriculture is the kind of work he likes least—his taste is more for trafficking. He has no love for the soil on which he has been raised, is restless, fond of change. His main pleasure is gossip in the tavern over a glass of brandy. He is without moral character, addicted to petty thieving, lies fluently, has no aversion to begging, and is constantly expecting that some happy accident will better his fortunes.

This is the man to whom the future of Russia was entrusted thirty years ago, and history sadly confirms my friend Alsenstorm in stating that the peasant of to-day is, if anything, more devoid of moral character, more shiftless, more drunken, more dishonest, more ragged even than in 1861. The record of elementary education in Russia proves that the peasant cares little for the means of raising himself. He has exchanged masters and made a bad bargain. To-day he is the slave of the man who has advanced him a little money on his crop or his cattle; of the tax-gatherer; and of the village community. The peasant to-day is a pauper; he is constantly in debt, and hounded by creditors more merciless than the most brutal of his former masters. He has not the fuel to warm his house in winter, he huddles his whole family and himself on to the stove at night, and when that does not keep warm he fills his hut with cattle to raise the temperature. His life is as hopeless as that of the dumb brutes he consorts with, and the vodka he drinks gives to him the only paradise he is capable of grasping.

The serfs worked because they were flogged if they did not. Many philanthropists believed they would work harder as free men than as slaves. The knout was abolished; but they stopped working. As serfs the master was bound to see that they had good houses, that

they were well-clad, that they had proper medical attendance. He punished the idlers, but he had a direct interest in having on his estate only the strong and healthy. Now the sickly peasants rot in their cabins, and no one cares. The harvest fails, and no granaries have been filled. There is no one to insist upon rational methods of agriculture, and consequently the soil is exhausted, and short-sighted selfishness plays havoc on all sides. The landed proprietor, on the other hand, is violently deprived of labour he has counted on in the past, he is left with a large tract of land surrounded by peasants, who lay siege to him as to a declared enemy. The landed proprietor is regarded as one whom every peasant can rob without offending the moral sense of his class, for so great is the gulf between the late serfs and their landowners that as yet every attempt to identify their interests has failed. The late master, finding his life intolerable in the country, sells his land to estate agents, or disposes of it in any way he can, and, wherever possible, lives in town, or solicits some small salaried post. In this way the only people who have the means and the intelligence to raise agriculture are gradually disappearing from Russian country life, as they have from Ireland, as they have from the Southern States. Their places are taken by shrewd agents, who have no interest but to line their own pockets by squeezing what they can out of the estate and the peasantry round about.

The Russian nobleman never was the ideal farmer, any more than the Russian peasant can be called a good farm-hand. Both have, however, been the victims of such legislation as would probably have harmed the agriculture of any country.

If a German devil had stalked through Russia and scratched his head for the purpose of devising the greatest mischief that could be done her, I fancy he would have hit upon the present system of peasant community. The Czar who signed this wicked law meant to do good, but he gave another illustration of the great danger that Governments run when they permit the caprice of a philanthropist to override all practical experience of industrial and social development.

The Russian peasant of to-day is something of a Communist or Socialist. He is one of a community owning land in common. In most local matters affecting the little village of one or two hundred souls he has a voice, and the government that affects him most nearly is that of the elders whom he has helped to put in power. Out of the common land he receives a share proportionate to the size of his family, and this share he is supposed to cultivate with public-spirited zeal. Every few years the elders declare a new partition of land, owing to changes in the community caused by deaths, marriages, births, or emigration to other parts of the country. This re-partition of land sounds very just, and even practical; to one who has never seen the peasant. As a matter of fact, it is the one feature of modern Russia that makes improvement impossible; for is it likely

that you or I would work hard upon a piece of land if next year it were to pass out of our control? Is it reasonable to suppose that an ignorant peasant is going to carefully manure a patch, the benefit of which is to be reaped by his neighbour? In the Russian village system the peasant who has done his work well often finds that he has to exchange his good field for the neglected one of a neighbouring drunkard. Little by little the energy of the most public-spirited evaporates, and each seeks to get what he can from the soil with the least possible expenditure of work. In the days of serfdom there was a master who looked to it that the fields were properly tilled and the soil not exhausted. To-day there is no such check upon the peasant's idleness.

Whoever reads this, no doubt says to himself: "But why does not the peasant shake himself free from this stupid community, and buy land and raise himself to the position of an independent farmer?"

Oddly enough, not only does the peasant not do this, but he does not even show the desire to emerge from the slavery of his fellows. The old landlords are only too glad to make easy terms of purchase for any one who will take their acres, but, so far, the only purchasers are speculators and land-sharks from the towns, who traffic in estates with no reference to increasing their values. Occasionally a peasant has shown sufficient energy to get possession of a little patch adjoining that of his "communistic" one, but the village elders eye such a proceeding suspiciously, and his fellows are apt to boycott one who pretends to be better than the rest. If the energetic peasant proposes to manure his property, the elders interfere and order him first to manure the one he holds in common; the village elders exercise an almost absolute control in their community, even to the extent of sending to Siberia any peasant they regard as "unsafe." Nothing in their eyes is so "unsafe" as to show a disposition to rise above the common level of the communistic herd, and such an one they are able to ruin, if they bear a grudge against him.

For the Government in Russia does not tax the individual peasant; it ignores him completely, and notices only the village elders, who represent a community of about 200 souls. Their elder chief is responsible to the Government for the taxes, and his authority is unquestioned so long as the tax-collector is satisfied. Obviously, the community at large looks with hatred upon any member who expends any part of his energy outside of the community, and many other reasons conspire to force the peasant to remain stuck in the mire, even had he the training, education, and blood of the German. Perhaps of these reasons the most potent is, that no peasant can move from his village without the consent of the elders, and this permission cannot be granted unless the peasant has paid his obligations, both at the village store and the tax-office. The Russian peasant resembles the Southern negro, in that both are quick to seek

credit of the usurer, and both averse to settlement, the consequence of which is that the Jew of Alabama or Georgia bears a close resemblance to the village elders of Novgorod or Kieff.

"In spite of what I have suffered at their hands," said Alsenstorm, "I cannot help feeling sorry for these poor Russian peasants. They cling to a communism that has made them little better than wild beasts or paupers; they court ignorance, and are the prey of a besotted priesthood; they have all the faults of children, and scarcely a virtue that we associate with man. Let me tell you something else:

"One fine winter's morning sleigh-bells jingled in our village. A police captain and his lieutenant made their appearance, wrapped up in furs. Behind them was a mysterious bundle covered with a cloth. This all happened before I settled here, but the impression is fresh still. The peasants gathered quickly about the strangers, anticipating nothing good from the appearance of a police officer in their midst. The captain alighted slowly from the sleigh, eyed his audience sharply, while he calculated the amount he could wring from them; then said sternly:

"'Where is your village elder?'

"'Here, your grace,' answered a white-haired, venerable peasant, bowing abjectly.

"'Your name?' continued the police captain.

"'Ivan Ivanovitch, your grace,' answered the old man, bowing again almost to the earth.

"'Ivan Ivanovitch,' said the captain impressively, addressing the congregation of trembling peasants, 'a terrible crime has been committed close to this village on your land.'

"'In God's name, what?' asked the old man, turning pale.

"'See, then, for yourself,' said the police captain; and with that he threw off the cover and revealed to the panic-stricken gaze of the simple villagers the mutilated body of a dead man. 'This is a frightful crime,' continued the captain, 'and there must be a dreadful retribution. Your community is responsible for this murder, and must bear the consequences. There must be a Commission sent here; the matter must be investigated.'

"'Anything but that!' begged the village elder piteously, stroking and kissing the captain's coat. He knew too well that such a Commission meant ruinous fines, to say nothing of floggings for every witness. The peasants with one voice joined in the appeal: 'Anything but a judicial inquiry.'

"'But the matter is very serious,' said the captain; 'an inquiry must be held.'

"'But perhaps you can help us out of the trouble,' said the elder persuasively.

"'Perhaps!' mused the captain. 'But it will cost me a lot of money.'

“ ‘What do you want us to pay?’ asked the elder.

“ ‘One hundred roubles may do it,’ said the captain.

“ ‘One hundred roubles!’ screamed the desperate peasants. ‘We haven’t got so much in the whole place; you want to ruin us!’

“ ‘Take fifty,’ pleaded the venerable elder.

“ ‘What, you rascals! do you take me for a beggar, that you seek to dicker with me? However, you seem to be poor; I shall insist only on seventy.’

“The peasants agreed sadly to the bargain; the money was paid; the captain and his lieutenant climbed into the sleigh once more, and drove away with the corpse to the next village. Here they repeated the same performance, and as long as the cold weather lasted that corpse represented at least fifty roubles out of every village community it visited. Of course, that particular trick will not be repeated in our lifetime; but others just as brutal will take its place, for the peasants are always ready to be fooled and fleeced by any one who comes along dressed either as a policeman or a priest.

“Speaking of priests,” continued Alsenstorm, “there are priests and priests. Ours are mostly coarse and corrupt, and not essentially different from the peasants they are supposed to elevate. They do not get proper pay from the Government, and unless they are industrious and work their land very thoroughly, they cannot make a very good show at the end of the year. There are, however, a great many indirect ways in which they make this deficit good, and where their flocks are far from the main line of travel they have many temptations to line their own pockets under the pretence of collecting for their church. Of course they make quite a little trade by funerals, weddings, and the like; and vastly more by blessing cattle and crops, and frightening away devils and plagues. With a peasantry so credulous and helpless as that of Russia, the post of village priest is one of great power and considerable profit.

“Somewhat to the eastward of us is a village where they have what they call *Black Day*. It is not well for me to designate time and place too closely; I only add that this village is inhabited by very poor peasants, who, somehow or other, have slipped away from the gentle ministration of the Greek Orthodox Church.

#### A MISSIONARY TALE.

“One fine day, when the sun was shining kindly, the flowers smiling sweetly, and the birds proclaiming the goodness of God, a panting lad rushed into the place shouting, ‘*Black Day*.’ The peasants flew from their huts to learn more of the sad news; mothers clutched their babies, fathers clenched their teeth, even little children realised that danger was near.

“ ‘What have you seen?’ asked the mothers.



“ ‘A priest with a district inspector in one waggon, and another waggon full of police.’

“A thick cloud of dust appeared between the last houses of the village, and soon the two waggons drew up in the centre of the wretched place. Out jumped the priest; behind him stood the soldiers, one of whom held a rope.

“ ‘Here, you,’ said the priest sternly, pointing to the nearest villager, ‘show me your certificate of having come to communion.’

“ ‘Dearest father,’ answered the peasant, ‘I haven’t got it.’

“ ‘You dog,’ continued the Gospel messenger, ‘why did you stay away from communion?’

“ ‘The harvest—hard work—my wife was ill. Oh, forgive me, dear little father,’ cried the wretched man. . And falling on his knees, he clutched the hem of the priest’s robe.

“ ‘I’ll teach you to find time,’ said the priest significantly. ‘Twenty-five will suit him—eh?’ said he, turning to the district inspector, whose military cap, rows of brass buttons, belt, boots, and sword gave a strangely military character to the missionary enterprise.

“The inspector had been a non-commissioned officer in the army, had served in the Turkoman campaign, and understood the Oriental methods of earning money by official means. He and the priest were working this route on joint profits, and there was no danger, therefore, that the secular arm of the law would be raised to shield the crouching heretic from the sentence of the ecclesiastical one.

“The priest’s query was answered by an approving nod, and the police servants promptly produced from beneath the second waggon a bench constructed with particular reference to the dimensions of a human body. The peasant was roped down to this with a dexterity born of constant practice, and a police soldier commenced to lay on the blows with a heavy lash. At the ninth blow the back of the priest’s victim suggested the meat on a butcher’s block, and at the tenth, he roared out:

“ ‘Dearest father, have mercy; I will pay what I can.’

“The police inspector ordered a halt, and the priest asked gently:

“ ‘Well, what will you pay for your sins, my sweet child?’

“ ‘Five roubles,’ groaned the victim.

“ ‘That’s a fine joke,’ laughed the police inspector. ‘You take us for fools. Ha, ha! only five roubles. Go on with the flogging.’ And the hissing lash cut deeper into the peasant’s back.

“ ‘You shall have ten,’ roared the peasant.

“ ‘Nonsense; go on with the flogging,’ answered the police inspector.

“ ‘Twenty,’ finally came from the half-dead body on the butcher’s bench.

"The priest leaned his mouth to the poor fellow's ear and said insinuatingly :

"Let me intercede for you ; make it twenty-five—that is a nice round sum ; it breaks my heart to have you suffer. Shall we say twenty-five ?"

"The peasant could only nod his head feebly in sign of assent. The soldiers unstrapped him, his shirt was thrown over his bleeding body, and away he staggered to his hovel. The little money he had saved in the hopes of buying a cow, or perhaps paying off arrears of taxes, was taken from him, and put into the pockets of the priest and his official partner. That night was a bitter one in the hut of that poor man and his family. His only crime had been to worship God as he saw fit. He had harmed no man, had violated no law which a civilised man can respect. That poor peasant is too poor to emigrate, too ignorant to change his occupation, too helpless to avoid the petty tyranny that presses upon him. His cries never reach the outer world, for to him *Heaven is high and the Czar far away*. No newspaper correspondents penetrate to his miserable corner, and if they did, they would never have gone back alive. Priest and police can do there pretty much as they like. No questions will be raised, so long as the Government receives the amount of taxes it has reason to expect."

Alsenstorm's story made me feel sick, for it went on to tell me how the clerical beast went on from one peasant to the other, flogging each in turn, until he had squeezed out all the money that could reasonably be expected. Afterwards the cabins were searched in turn for any images or emblems that might be unorthodox, and when the visitation was completed, the peasants stared blankly at one another, as people over whom a devastating blizzard has passed. Of course, I suggested to my friend that the case he mentioned must be very exceptional indeed.

"Exceptional !" exclaimed he excitedly. "I wish it were. The Greek Church, backed by the Third Section, is visiting every village of the empire, in the same spirit, if not with the same instruments, that I have referred to. The Protestants of the Baltic Provinces, the Finns, the Poles, the nonconforming Russians in every part of the country, the German colonists in Bessarabia—all are the objects of persecution to the very fullest possible extent. The more remote the heretic, the more brutal are the means employed for his conversion. In communities where the people are educated the priests have to be careful, but the spirit that underlies the war-cry of "Russia for the Russians," is the same that watched the flogging of that bleeding heretic to the eastward of us. The Russian Church improves nothing ; it can only drag down, flog, and exterminate. Give it time, and one day we shall lose the little light that still glimmers in Poland and along the Baltic."

At the close of our long drive I was amazed to find a village whose streets were clean, whose houses were substantially built and in good repair. The little children looked as though they had prosperous fathers and mothers—in other words, it did not seem like Russia. The fields I had passed showed good husbandry, the cattle looked strangely sleek; in short, all the signs were such as I thought to have left behind me when I crossed the frontier.

“I meant to give you a shock,” said Alsenstorm, “and now I will tell you about it. The people you find about me now are from the Baltic provinces of Kurland and Livland—countries settled originally by Germans; I have attracted them to this wilderness by giving them the opportunity of purchasing a portion of my land on reasonable terms, and spreading payment over many years. They are all peasant-proprietors, these Kurlanders, self-respecting, thrifty, industrious people. Their blood is not German, but their people have enjoyed centuries of German civilisation. They are Slav, and would be as dirty and shiftless as their kinspeople of Russia, had they known no other government than that of the drunken elder or the county police. In the land they come from the roads are well-made and maintained; every village has a tidy school-house. The fields are well-drained and cultivated; the nobles live upon their estates, and exercise an excellent influence about them, in the administration of justice and the maintenance of local institutions. The people belong mostly to the Lutheran Church, and everywhere you find well-educated clergymen, who do their duty conscientiously, foster liberal education, and cultivate their land thoroughly. The people of these Baltic Provinces have been loyal to the Czar throughout the two centuries that they have belonged to his empire. They have enjoyed a large measure of local self-government, and it is this that has made them so superior to the rest of Russia. Their towns are centres of commercial and intellectual activity; no schools in Russia compare with those which the Germans maintain there, and the University of Dorpat is far beyond anything dreamt of by a Russian. The people of these provinces were emancipated from serfdom nearly a generation before the Russian edict was promulgated. The Czar’s Government has produced misery and mischief by its measure; the German provinces effected the change so simply and wisely that it has resulted in blessings. The Russian emancipation created a vast gulf between the noble and peasant, which thirty years has only widened. The emancipation along the Baltic has created an excellent class of independent farmers, who regard their interests as identical with those of their former landlords, and who take the liveliest interest in protecting their present system of education and administration against the demoralising influences of the Russian priest and policeman.

"The Baltic nobles discussed the question of emancipation long and thoroughly in the first half of the century. They deliberately voted the measure as an economic necessity, although there was amongst them a large party that thought they would be ruined by the transaction. They had, however, to deal in these provinces, not with a peasantry debased by centuries of ignorance and oppression, but with a set of sturdy people who had been gradually raised to a high religious and educational standard. The nobles voted that each estate should alienate the majority of its acreage to such peasants as chose to purchase at a valuation fixed by law, and in payments covering a long series of years. Other arrangements, such as working on shares, were also made. The peasant thus not only became at once a free man, but earned the right to purchase, on reasonable terms the land on which his family may have thrived for centuries past. That the peasants of Kurland and Livland have availed themselves at all of these practical provisions shows, not only that they are intelligent and industrious, but speaks equally well for the good sense of the proprietors who voted the laws. More than half of the land of that country is in the hands of independent farmers, and every year the number increases."

I stopped my friend here to ask him if Kurland and Ireland had anything in common.

"The Irish question is the easiest in the world, if you will only stop agitation and study it practically. The great difficulty in Ireland is, however, that the Roman Catholic peasantry is grossly ignorant, and has quite lost touch with the only men who are in a position to help it—namely, the landed proprietors. So far as I can see, the dispossessed Irish are about as shiftless and helpless as the Russian peasants, and perhaps for the same reason—centuries of neglect and superstitious priestcraft.

"If the peasants you see about me were of German origin you might attribute their prosperity to that fact. But they are not, and that is the interesting feature of the problem. It shows conclusively that the Russian Government has degraded and pauperised its own people, and that it will do the same for those of the Baltic Provinces, when it succeeds in undoing what German patience has to-day achieved."

"But if the people of the German Provinces are so happy at home," I queried, "why do they emigrate to Russia?"

"If I were a Yankee," answered Alsenstorm with a laugh, "I would answer you with another question—Why does America get her largest emigration from the best-governed and most prosperous countries? Why do Germany and Austro-Hungary send you together nearly 200,000 in one single year—for these are two countries of enormous wealth and representing a well-administered and prosperous area. Why

should they leave their homes and the advanced civilisation that surrounds them, and go away to battle with the hardships of a new country? Of course they go to make money; but then, why do not other countries emigrate in the same proportion? How happens it that these two countries send annually to your country more emigrants than Russia, Turkey, and, I might add, the rest of the non-European world, where wages are very much lower, and the lot of man infinitely harder? I say nothing of England and Ireland, for they speak your own language; yet is it not odd that England alone sends to America quite as many emigrants as Russia? Is it that wages are lower in England than in Russia? Of course not. The Russian peasant is too dull, too drunken, to make the necessary effort. The emigrant is the man who has saved something, who is prepared to look ahead, who will work hard to achieve independence. The German emigrates more readily than the Russian, because he is a better-educated and more self-reliant man.

"I am now answering your question. The peasant of the Baltic Provinces comes to Russia because the landlords here offer him their acres at vastly more profitable rates than he can secure in Kurland. It proves that land is hard to get in Kurland and comparatively cheap in Russia. It proves further that the Baltic peasant has much pluck and self-reliance, or he would not venture here, amongst a population that hates him for his creed, hates him for his supposed German affiliations, and finally hates him for getting on in the world. The Russian peasant, in a country where land is sold for almost nominal prices, finds himself crowded out by a strange people, who convert swamps into meadows, and become rich on land which they have always regarded as waste. The Kurlander's farm is an oasis in a desert of Russian retrogression. The Russian landlord prays for his arrival. He knows that every farm prospers when a Kurlander takes charge. But Kurlanders are hard to get. They feel themselves in the enemy's country when their future rests with police and priests of Holy Russia. It is bad enough to battle with the malice and dishonesty of the Russian peasant, but it is a little too much to have the priest and police also on the side of barbarism."

Alsenstorm is making the experiment. He will probably fail in this, as he did in the first, and we shall perhaps soon hear that he and half his colony have been shipped to the salt mines of Kara for spreading ideas that are dangerous to society. He is at present doing the one thing which the Russian police cannot pardon: he is teaching the people about him to desire something better than they have known before.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

## THE LIMITS OF COLLECTIVISM.\*

UNLESS the democratic movement is a merely temporary phenomenon, it is manifest that the people, as they advance in knowledge and power, will demand democracy in industry as they are demanding it in politics. The notion of hundreds of men being dependent on a master for the means of living is utterly alien to the democratic idea, and will most assuredly in some way or other be got rid of. If men are considered fit to determine who shall administer the affairs of the State, it is inconceivable that they will permanently put up with autocratic rule in the mill or the workshop. This principle, as a principle, is not seriously contested by any person who has thought about the subject, whatever may be his solution of the problem. Whether he favours the complete State assumption of industrial processes, or the co-operative principle, or industrial partnerships, or the small independent owner—in each case alike he admits the democratic theory. It is obvious that, in the realm of the great industry with which alone collectivism is concerned (because from it alone can collectivism be born), either the capitalist must rule, the workman must rule, some working arrangement between the two must be effected, or a third power must control and supervise. As a matter of fact, modern society is coming to see that this latter method is the one way out of the *impasse* into which modern scientific contrivances have brought us.

So long as industry was carried on by the aid of simple tools which almost any man could easily command ; so long as distribution and communication were effected by the simple methods of the ages before the steam engine and electric telegraph ; so long as vast tracts of

\* Being in substance a paper read at the Social Reform Circle of the National Liberal Club.

surplus land were procurable with comparative ease—in that state of things it may be admitted that individual ownership might easily furnish a solution of the social problem. But, given modern industrial conditions, the outcome of scientific invention, and this is no longer the case. The small cultivator could take his produce to the market in the neighbouring town in a cart, which he could buy out of his savings. But the modern method of taking produce to market involves the use of a contrivance called a railway train, with a locomotive engine costing from £3000 to £5000, which can only travel by prescribed methods. And no small cultivator could command this, even by the savings of several lifetimes. The handloom weaver could, with the aid of his family, produce a tiny stock of cloth which he sold to the dealer, receiving in return what it is usual to call “the full fruits of his labour.” But all the handloom weavers of old Lancashire put together could not have paid for the building and machinery of a single modern mill.

Now, unless we are prepared, like the people in Mr. Butler’s amusing romance of “Erewhon,” to destroy all our machinery and deliberately to revert to the economic conditions of the middle of the last century, the individualist protest against collective control is without avail. No one assuredly cares for regulation merely for its own sake; but if we accept modern inventions, we must accept their inevitable results, on the good old principle that we cannot eat our cake and have it. Those results, in a word, substitute collectivism for individualism in the instruments of production and distribution. This fact, brushing aside all the difficult questions of value, of economic rent, &c., is the foundation of modern socialism; and no criticism as yet has been able seriously to shake it. For the results of invention mean, and must mean, the aggregation of capital, the increasing complexity of industry, the substitution of co-operative effort towards a joint product for the simple working on one’s own account. And this necessarily involves interaction of human beings, and consequently regulation, and the fading away of independence before interdependence. Not all the Liberty and Property Defence Leagues in the world can prevent this new industrial growth from ripening into a different social order—always assuming that society is not rent in pieces by some cataclysm.

If regulation must be, shall the private capitalist regulate? That of course would mean absolute plutocratic despotism. If one wants to know its fruits, he has only to study the English Blue-books, which give an exhaustive account of the industrial conditions of England before the era of mining and factory legislation.

*Per me si vu nella citta dolente* might have been inscribed over the portals of every factory, or at the yawning mouth of every mine in England at that tragic time, as the great Florentine inscribed those

fateful lines over the gates of hell. But need we concern ourselves with the question as to whether the capitalist shall have unlimited control? For the modern world has decided that he shall not. Whether he is a mill-owner, a railway director, a mine-owner, a ship-owner, the law has irrevocably decided that he shall not carry on his business exactly as he likes, but that he shall carry it on only under certain conditions. The thing is settled, and all the gnashing of teeth on the part of individualists will not alter it. And it is settled, not for any arbitrary cause, but simply because experience has proved that a capitalist is no more fit for arbitrary power than a king.

But is the workman any more fit? Are we to hand over the Oldham cotton mills to the Oldham operatives? or the London docks to the dockers? or the coal mines to the National Federation of Miners? or the farms to the agricultural labourers? This was the old unscientific communist answer to the question which was always haunting the minds of the Red Republicans of 1848. Such a strike as that at the Carnegie mills at Homestead reveals the fact that this is still the dream of many working-men. By one of the ironical paradoxes with which history abounds, it is evidently the view of modern individualism which is here at one with the quack communism of half a century ago. Mr. John Morley, *e.g.*, informs the working-men of Newcastle that he heartily favours the shortening of the hours of labour, but is absolutely opposed to State regulation of the question. Now what does this mean? Mr. Morley cannot suppose that all the workmen in the country, one by one, will be able individually to induce employers to restrict hours of toil. Assuming Mr. Morley to have thought the question out, he must mean that he is in favour of the workers in any particular industry, through their Trade Unions, imposing, by means of a strike or any other agency, their terms upon the capitalists engaged in that industry. Let that action be repeated again and again, all over the land and in every branch of trade, and the result would be the complete control of each several industry by the workers employed in that industry, which is just the communist solution. It is curious to see how the individualist, spurning collective control, throws himself into the arms of an effete group of economic cranks.

The collectivist contends that the London docks do not exist for the dockers, but for the people of London; that the working of the coal mines in Great Britain affects every human being who requires artificial heat; that the operations of the Oldham cotton mills are as truly the concern of the poor woman who buys a yard of calico in a country shop as of the people who spin cotton inside the mills. These and all other forms of industrial production do not exist for particular groups of workers any more than for particular groups of capitalists. They exist for us all, and they are only properly controlled



and utilised when the general well-being is the object which is aimed at.

Precisely the same objection applies to any working arrangement of capitalists and workmen, though with less force. It can easily be conceived that some such arrangement might be effected in some industry, that enjoyed a monopoly, by which both capitalist and workman would profit hugely, but by which the consumers suffered. The consumers would either have to pay an enhanced price, or determine to do without the product in question; and in either case, they would suffer. But apart from this, the growing intensity of the industrial struggle is forcing the reluctant admission from most observers that no *modus vivendi* between capitalist and workman is likely to be voluntarily effected. Smooth after-dinner orators speak of the interests of both classes being identical, and the next day reduce wages, and order a lock-out when reduction is resisted.

We turn then to the last alternative—public control, expressed through the local or national instruments of the State. Modern political thought discovers no other basis for the social bond than utility. Not, indeed, the crude balancing of pleasures against pains, which is a mere shallow delusion, unless we are to give to these words a quite new connotation. But there is a larger utility; the utility of a social order which exists for the purpose of giving every one of us a better opportunity for expansion, for becoming wiser and more many-sided than we possibly could, left each to himself. Whatever conduces to that end is good and politic; whatever makes against it is bad, and in the end impossible. Modern society, therefore, moved by this idea, has substituted the community, in place of either workman or capitalist, as the rightful controller. To a great degree, this has not been done altogether consciously, for we may be moved by ideas of which we can neither give a complete explanation nor, indeed, recognise with any deliberate consciousness. Especially has this been the case in England, where the average man thinks an ounce of practice better than a ton of theory. We began our factory legislation in a tentative, almost haphazard way, never thinking to build up the complex code we now possess. But this very fact affords the stronger testimony to the inevitableness of State regulation. It shows that we have not been working on any mere *a priori* theory, but that we have invoked and secured State aid because State aid was necessary. The community represents, as Matthew Arnold was never tired of preaching to anarchical philistinism, the "larger self" of every individual, and it is the community alone which can secure the common interests of everybody.

The fact of this increasing State action, so terrible to individualists, can no more be denied than they can deny the existence of an atmosphere, for it is too patent. We used to be told that this State-

action was peculiar to old European despotisms, but impossible in new countries. The facts are dead against any such notion. It is precisely in the most backward countries in Europe (industrially considered), such as Russia, Spain, Portugal, that the least interference with industry exists. It is also in the newest and most democratic country of all, Australia, where we find the largest amount of public ownership and control. One might indeed almost grade the semi-socialistic legislation of the various European countries by their extension of democratic institutions.

The great error of "administrative nihilism" consists in picturing to oneself a number of originally free people being gradually enfolded in the octopus embrace of some monster called the State. Sir James Stephen, *e.g.*, when defining liberty as the "entire absence of restraint," gives a perfect expression of the individualist notion. That definition may do for a lawyer; it will not pass the tribunal of philosophy. In opposition to it I take the definition of the greatest of modern philosophers, Hegel: "The destiny of the spiritual world, and—since this is the *substantial* world, while the physical remains subordinate to it, or in the language of speculation has no truth as *against* the spiritual—the final cause of the world at large we allege to be the *consciousness* of its own freedom on the part of spirit, and, *ipso facto*, the reality of that freedom." \* Its own development, or as Hegel has it, itself as its own object of attainment, is the sole aim of spirit. What a profound conception as compared with the trite platitude of the English lawyer! From this point of view we see that man was not originally free. The "noble savage" of the last century was a perfectly mythical person. Until he began to co-operate with his fellow-men, he was absolutely at the mercy of wild beasts and the dreaded forces of Nature. And as co-operation necessarily involves some regulation, some subordination of one's ordinary self to a good which is general, it follows that freedom really began in what is called restriction; the truth of history being exactly the opposite of that taught by Rousseau and the eighteenth century individualists. But we need not go back to primeval man to see the falsity of the individualist conception. Take the nineteenth century working-man. How often do we hear some one say respecting this personage: "I am against all interference with the liberty of the working-man to work for as long and for whatever wage he likes." The assumption is that the working-man starts free, which, as our old friend Euclid says, is absurd. Rigid adherence to fixed rules is of the essence of factory work. No one could run a mill if all were free to come and go when they chose. How could the members of the Liberty and Property Defence League travel about the country to lecture against State interference if railway employé's could do as they liked about

\* "Philosophy of History." Introduction.

taking trains out? No; the workers must be held to their duties under social penalties. And, just in proportion as machinery becomes more costly and more complex, must the liberty of every one to do as he likes become more curtailed.

In Sir James Stephen's sense, therefore, the development of society means, and must mean, the decline of liberty. But the truth of course is that "absence of restraint" has not necessarily anything to do with liberty at all. It is not in the absence of restraint, but in the presence of opportunity, that freedom really consists. And if we compare the English artisan or mechanic of 1892, I will not say with Neolithic man, but with the workman of a century ago, we shall see that his freedom has increased to a marvellous degree. The workman at the beginning of the century was formally "free" to make his individual bargain with his employer, and was exempt by statute from Trade Union "tyranny." At the same time, the said employer was in a position to impose any conditions he chose, any hours of labour, any wage, any wretched den as a place of work. Parliament did nothing, no inspector interfered, no machinery was fenced, there was no regular weekly pay-day, the only shop in the district was owned by the employer, and the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated, "the men dying off like rotten sheep," as has been said. The working-man and the employer alike have lost this formal liberty, and are restricted in many ways. The present-day workman in a large mill has his 56½ hours a week regulated by Act of Parliament, his Trade Union interfering with the sacred right of working on any terms any person chooses, his employer hedged in by legal obligation, and liable to be examined at any moment by a public official as to what goes on inside the mill. "Absence of restraint" has entirely disappeared; but every one outside Colney Hatch or the offices of the Liberty and Property Defence League is aware of the fact that substantial freedom has increased. It is indeed manifest that, given modern industrial conditions, increasing public control means increasing substantial freedom as contrasted with mere formal liberty for the mass of the people. The most enslaved part of the community is precisely that which has not attained modern industrial conditions; the large class of casual labourers and small workers. These are not at all under restraint of a legal nature, but they are the slaves of poverty.

Such being the case, we must infer that public control will spread, and that its spread will be for the public well-being; the more so since it proceeds from a genuine demand from the working classes themselves. It is indeed now the possessing classes who are for formal liberty, the working classes who are for public control. In the realm of economics the old notion of formal liberty with its accompanying dogma of *laissez-faire*, was based on a doctrine of

supposed harmonies enunciated by Bastiat, which declared that if each man followed his personal interests he would work for the general good. A soothing doctrine for the burglar and the absconding bank cashier! But in material things, if one man possesses an article another cannot possess it at the same time. And as the great mass of men think the possession of material things to be their chief good, it follows that Bastiat's notion of an economic harmony is a delusion. There is, it is true, a real harmony, but it is latent, not actual; it is an ideal to aim at, not a material fact to start from. *Laissez-faire* then, in the nature of things, must break down as a working hypothesis in a complex industrial State, and every one knows that, as a matter of fact, it has so broken down. Carried to its logical conclusion it leads to anarchism; and one sees, therefore, the dishonesty of the propertied "individualist" who marches along to join the Ravachols and the Mosts, and yet, in a most cowardly fashion, draws back when he sees what anarchism really involves.

The tendency, therefore, to intenser industrial collectivism is inevitable. This is not due to agitators, to meddling statesmen, or to the necessity of securing votes. It is due to the nature of capitalist industry, or, in other words, it is a part of the evolution of human society. The hopeless economic breakdown of the *petite bourgeoisie* is the leading economic fact of our time. The ring, the syndicate, is an inevitable form both of producing and distributing machinery. In the United States there has been a certain amount of anti-Trust legislation passed in obedience to temporary and ignorant demands. But in every case the Trust has evaded this legislation by merely reconstituting itself in a different manner, so that the law does not touch it. The development of the syndicate is not specifically due to greed, for the large capitalist is less greedy than the small. It is your small man, used to petty transactions and small economies, like the French peasant proprietor, who, more than any other class, acquires the spirit of greed. Along with the concentration of capital goes the narrowing of the area of investment as a chief factor in the destruction of the *petite bourgeoisie*. The rate of interest has fallen so heavily that people cannot live on the small capital they formerly could. Profits now must be spread over a large scale of transactions if a business is to be kept going. The area of investment is and will be immensely restricted through the acquisition by Government or municipality of such monopolies as gas, electric light, water, tramways, railways, docks, harbours, &c., all peculiarly safe and desirable modes of investment. This fact will force investors into more risky and speculative fields, with the result of such widespread ruin as the Panama smash has involved in France, or as the Baring crisis would have involved in England had not artificial and very doubtful methods been resorted to in order to avert calamity. The abolition of the American public

debt, which will, before long, be a realised fact, the tiny interest on the British debt, and the probable—in some cases certain—repudiation of European debts, will render it hard indeed for the small investor to live. We see that capitalism itself, therefore, is evolving a new social order, that it is a powerful revolutionary agency. The outcome will be the economic depression of the hitherto dominant middle-class and the survival of the great capitalists. Facing them will be the great federated Labour Unions, constantly becoming more international in character. Like it or not, no one who is not blind can doubt the tendency. Aggregated Capital will face organised Labour; and what solution of the problem is possible but the mediation of the larger self, the State, as against either exclusive capitalist or exclusive proletarian domination? That is to say, collectivism, with its control of the forces and natural agents of production in the great industry seems the only possible means of advancing the progress and preserving the real freedom of society.

Are control and ownership to be co-extensive? It is obvious that this is not necessary. Manchester, *e.g.*, owns her water supply, but her mills are merely controlled by general legislation, which will become tighter and tighter, but which will not *ipso facto* pass under public ownership, until a point is reached at which the capitalist, thus controlled, finds that his mills no longer pay, that it is not worth his while to keep them going. As there is no other guiding principle but utility, or the general interest of the whole body, it is impossible to draw any clearer line between those forms of production and distribution which are rightly subjects of both public ownership and control and those which are subjects of control merely. A nation may have (every nation, as a matter of fact, has) three distinct forms of industry existing simultaneously within her borders: (1) industries which are subjects of both ownership and control, as gasworks or railways; (2) those which are merely subjects of control, as cotton mills; (3) those small survivals of a past economic era which are subjects of neither ownership nor control, as, *e.g.*, a small shop where no assistants are employed and no licence is needed. It would obviously be much easier for the British Government to own and manage the railway system than for the Municipal Council of Oldham to own and manage the Oldham spinning mills. But it may certainly be expected that, with the development of electricity and perhaps of hitherto undreamed-of forces of Nature, the forms of one category may be constantly passing into another, just as management is more perfected, capital more concentrated, and methods of working more automatic.

There are commercial and even industrial forms which will disappear at once or gradually as the State becomes increasingly collectivist; forms which are the necessary products of a commercial civilisation,

and which could not survive in any other. The Stock Exchange, for instance, is a product of our present civilisation which in an even approximately complete collectivist community would become an anachronism. It would be absurd for the State to acquire any such form, because it could not manage it, because there would be no more demand for its products or services than there was for stage-coaches after railways girdled the land. And here, let it be said in passing, care must be exercised in considering the desire expressed for municipal workshops. These ought not to be established merely because people are out of employment. That was done in Paris in 1848 with disastrous effects. It must be considered whether the products of such workshops are needed; they must meet a real demand, otherwise they will of course merely cause a glut, producing what no one will take, whereupon they will be closed, and the last state of the people thus turned adrift will be worse than the first. In general it may be said that the immediate line of collective effort lies in the direction rather of appropriating rent by taxation, and of such rational control as shortening the hours of labour and providing more complete inspection than in direct assumption of industrial processes. The exception to this lies in the municipal ownership of those natural or artificial monopolies which are prime necessities of life. As necessities of life extend themselves—people needing in common certain things to-day which they did not dream of requiring half a century ago—and as management is more centralised, one after another monopoly will, I venture to submit, pass from the category of mere control into that of ownership.

So far, then, collectivism holds the field. But is it to cover the whole of life's varied relations? Is there to be no sphere in which the individual can turn about as he thinks fit, in which free association and purely voluntary effort will be supreme? In his work on the "Impossibility of Social Democracy," Dr. Schaeffle has pronounced against democratic collectivism on the ground that it affords no free scope for spiritual energy, for individual character, for voluntary union. Let it at once be admitted that, if collectivism makes every human being a mere function of the whole, a mere pin in the wheel, a mere end to others' purposes, then it is impossible; for every strenuous ardent mind will rise in revolt against it. A mechanical uniform civilisation, with complete centralisation and tremendous intensity of working power, with the general conditions of life very much as they are now, with the exception that no one would starve, would be a very close approximation to hell, whether closer or not than the present system of society I am not prepared to say. We all want to see physical suffering, whether of starvation or overwork, ended. But the finer minds among us are even more distressed by the intense and growing vulgarity of life. This is the real danger

of democracy, not the anarchy and insecurity which Sir Henry Maine in his superficial work on "Popular Government" imagined. As a matter of fact, a democratic government like that of the United States is immensely strong; and it is in the quasi-monarchical governments that we find weakness and confusion. When a whole people back up a government of their own choice and furnish it with modern weapons of offence or defence, its strength is tremendous. No, it is not anarchy, but vulgarity, the sway of the commonplace, which has to be feared. It is the complacent satisfaction with a low level of attainment that is democracy's besetting sin. Dr. Schaeffle thinks that collectivism would be quite feasible if an aristocracy or an able bureaucracy could direct the collective action. But any reversion to class rule may at once be set aside as out of the question. We must take both democracy and collectivism as factors given in the problem; and we must ask ourselves whether, on this basis, man's whole life will be covered by the regulations and standard of the collective authority.

Now I contend that it is machinery, scientific invention, mere mechanical produce and effort which will be inevitably regulated by the collective will; and further, that as time passes, all that side of life will consume a smaller and smaller proportion of the time of every human being. The present age is scientific, desiring the extension of phenomenal knowledge and the satisfaction of bodily needs. The social expression of this organisation of knowledge and satisfaction of elementary needs in a rational way is what I understand by collectivism. In itself, collectivism is no more a Utopia than is commercialism: it is merely another and, as things are, a better way of doing business. It embraces the machinery of life, and so gives the higher self, the real individual, a freedom for self-development and artistic expression which individualism can never furnish. It does this because it releases the mass of men from the pressing yoke of mere physical needs. It is not itself the artistic or spiritual expression, but it gives opportunity for that expression to manifest itself. Here then is the real limit of collectivism; it is co-extensive with the machinery and the lower part of life; it furnishes in a right way the physical basis on which the spiritual structure is to be reared. For the first time in the history of the human race there would be freedom for *all*. The ancient Eastern monarchies, says Hegel, knew that only *one* was free; the States of classical antiquity that *some* were free; the modern world knows that *all* are free. The modern world knows this as an idea, the abolition of chattel slavery and of serfdom being a recognition of formal liberty. But only when the people own or control the necessary instruments of production in the large industry will the formal be translated into substantial freedom. The necessity of work in order to live is a

decree of Nature, and is no real abridgment of freedom so long as work is certain and not burdensome. And when the necessary mechanical toil is over, all will be free to pursue the higher ends of their being. The limit of collectivism will have been overstepped and the sphere of free individual energy and initiative will have opened itself.

Now, the kind of activity which man will display outside the domain of collective authority will be spiritual and æsthetic. As the mere mechanism of life would run with less friction, as all men would have more and more leisure, another and a grander realm may be conceived as unfolding itself, not to a chosen few, but in process of time to every human being. This is the realm of the imaginative reason, of pure thought, of the deeper affections and apprehensions, the world of art and the spiritual. This is the world adorned, to use the superb imagery of Plato, with the patterns of earthly things laid up in heaven, into which it may be the destiny of the human race to enter. Not necessarily that art will express itself exactly in the same forms as in the past. Consider what an immense vista is opened up by music to humanity. We are all apt to be deceived and carried away by the almost exclusive domination of physical science over our age. It is a mere interlude in the history of mankind. Art and the spiritual expressed in new language will again emerge and prove to be the great permanent factors in men's lives. Almost every one, excepting either persons of great imaginative power or very deep historical culture, is so affected by his environment as to find it difficult to conceive of forces quite other than those surrounding him operating with deepest power on the world. And yet nothing is more certain than the fact that there have been whole epochs in human history when the dominant forces were not at all those which impel us most strongly to-day. Physical science is the great fact of our time, and the Philistines all chant its praises because its results are obvious and tangible. The most stupid blockhead living is impressed by a Gotthard Railway, a Forth Bridge, or an Edison phonograph. But place him before Titian's "Assumption," and he will only see a woman in an improbable garb standing on empty space. Let him hear the "Sinfonia Eroica" and it will be to him mere sound. But to the higher minds of the race the more subtle and delicate creations of philosophy and art (I use the word art in the German sense of *Kunst* to include all the forms evolved by the imaginative reason) must ever take higher rank than mere physical science. The age of dissection, of criticism, of analysis, is as necessary a stage in human progress as the age of art, religion, synthesis, of which it is an essential preliminary. But it is nothing more than that. And if human progress is to continue on this planet we may be certain that this scientific period will be followed by a great creative epoch—an



“epoch of rest” William Morris calls it—when the satisfaction of man’s æsthetic and imaginative nature will, bodily needs being satisfied through collective effort, be the main incentive.

Now it is here that we perceive the value of democracy and of the results it has brought about. The greatest gain civilisation has achieved is not material at all, it is the gain of liberty of speech, of thought, of teaching; and this liberty prepares the way or opens up the conditions for free spiritual and æsthetic activity. Democracy will, when once material conditions are properly organised, give opportunities for that activity which monarchy and aristocracy could never give. For it is only democracy which can afford to allow perfectly free association within the State so long as such association does not actively conspire against the existence of the State itself. In all other political conditions there are avowedly special interests with whose preservation the State is identified. But there is no private interest possible as against the common good, and however imperfectly this idea may at present be realised, it is distinctly the *idée mère* of democracy. Consequently, in the sphere of the intellect, individual opinion will reign. We permit, and shall continue to permit, the expression of every kind of opinion, no matter how absurd and erroneous. No laws against blasphemy or for the protection of any special form of religion should be retained. Let every individual or group be free to express, as he or it chooses, man’s relation to the universe. Here lies the answer to the problem Ibsen concerns himself with in his dramas. Ibsen stands for pure individualism, and for the negation of the State. If the State could be destroyed, which is in the nature of things impossible, the true individual would be destroyed also. Anarchy would ensue, and the majority would rush to some “saviour of society,” who, to maintain his power, would suppress every criticism on his own rule; and thus the world would fall back into the old ruts of despotism or oligarchy from which democracy has rescued us. Ibsen’s solution is no solution at all. The true solution lies in the conception of the twofold function of the collectivity: the control and organising of the material necessities and mechanical side of life, and the preserving from bigots and fanatics of a free field for the development of æsthetic and spiritual activity, and the spontaneous and imaginative side of every individual.

Why cannot the collective body organise and control the æsthetic and spiritual, as it can and will organise the material activity of man? Let me say at once that there are doubtless many things in the domain of art which can be so organised: all those things in which the common artistic feeling is so developed as to make a demand possible, and to render an answering supply efficient. Well-built school edifices can be reared, and town-halls can be decorated by artists, while the awakened taste of the public already calls for more artistic furniture

and houses. But all this is but a tiny fraction of the realm of *Kunst*, the higher forms of which will never be in general demand in their innovating stages. This is why the really great artist can never be maintained by the people, by the collectivity, while he is actually engaged in producing. It is usually only when he is old or dead that his work is generally recognised. We must, in short, distinguish between *wants* and *needs*. Wants are consciously felt, and can often, though not always, be supplied. Hence their supply is capable of being collectively organised. Needs are deeper than wants, they are often not felt; nay, the greatest attempts to meet the deepest human needs have been rejected by mankind with scorn. Sokrates was needed at Athens, Dante at Florence; but the one was poisoned by public decree, the other exiled. No country ever needed spiritual food more than England needed the "Lyrical Ballads" at the beginning of the century. But did England *want* them? Not a bit of it; they were scoffed at by the foremost critics and neglected by the mass. The Pre-Raphaelites, to whom the new quickening impulse in English art is due, met with the same fate, trained artists thinking them lunatics. Even in Germany, special home of music, Wagner had to depend on the private friendship and generosity of a king supposed to be mad. Could the State of New York have been depended on to maintain Whitman when he was composing his "Leaves of Grass"? Or the British taxpayer to help Carlyle to pour his magnificent satire on the head of poor John Bull? No; the very deepest needs are those which the community does not feel, and will not provide for. But the community is growing in knowledge and intelligence? Assuredly; but the great innovating thinkers and artists will always be ahead of it, and if they were not, they would be of no value. As long as the world lasts the greatest minds, when they furnish men with a new revelation in religion, art, philosophy, will be ignored, despised, persecuted, perhaps detested, I do not say merely by the majority, but by the clever, cultivated, essentially superficial people one meets in drawing-rooms or at clubs. And therefore it is that *Kunst* can never be organised by the collectivity as railways, docks, or food supply can be organised. All that the State can do here, it seems to me, is to give perfectly free scope for the artist or the thinker; and this democracy will do. The mass and the clever critics will content themselves with jeering at or ignoring the new Wagners and Wordsworths; poisoning and crucifying, even imprisonment or exile, will not be established methods of dealing with genius under the *régime* of democracy.

There remain certain other results of the general principle urged at which I can merely glance for a moment. If the province of the collective authority lies in organising man's material needs and wants, and in securing to him a free scope for the play of his higher being thus

rescued from the petty, wearing misery of getting bread to eat and clothes to wear, in uncertainty as to how long they will be forthcoming, it follows necessarily that in one of the highest and most delicate of life's relations, the sexual union, there should be the *minimum* of collective control. Whatever may be the ultimate effects on society of the union of a man and a woman, they consciously unite for one another, and their free union is their own affair. Facility of divorce on equal terms for both sexes, and no legal commands or restraints apart from the formal State registration of the union in question, should be the guiding principles. It is assumed that there is no force. When force is used, as in the case of abduction, let it be dealt with *as* force, not as related to the sexual relation. So long as sexual desire remains a factor in life so long will tragedy of some kind growing out of it be inevitable. But it is the kind of tragedy which the clumsy machinery of law can never convert into a comedy. And as so much of the present unhappiness between man and woman is bound up with the twofold fact that marriage is closely connected with pecuniary considerations, and that it is indissoluble excepting on one ground, we may reasonably hope that freer conditions would lead to freer choice, less artifice and deceit, and therefore to far greater happiness than is at present known.

The case of children is different and more difficult in some respects. The liberty of children must always be curtailed for the sake of the child itself, and we have, after a long period of shameful neglect, discovered that the liberty of parents and guardians must also be restrained. Both kinds of restraint would be lessened in a well-organised collectivist community, but neither could be entirely abolished.

To come to crime and the criminal. In a collectivist State crime would obviously decrease, for the majority of crimes are connected in some way with property, or they arise out of poverty and bad social conditions. This is the conclusion of such experts as Lombroso. And as the opportunity to make money by dishonest means would be more and more restricted at one end of the scale, while at the other end abject poverty would be done away with, it follows that at least half the crimes which now occupy the attention of our courts, and which are purely artificial, would disappear. But as collectivism is no Utopia, but merely a better business arrangement than now exists, crime may be expected to persist, though in more subtle forms. As to the general treatment of the criminal, the old notion of a definite punishment inflicted by external authority is a mere relic of barbarism. There is no rational relation between stealing from a shop and being locked up in a cell for twelve months. The criminal knows this, and he comes out usually much the same kind of person as when he went in, prepared for new depredations. One cannot take up a

newspaper any day in the year without seeing instances of this. Sentence is piled on sentence, with the result that we are deliberately engaged as a nation in the manufacture of criminals. Real punishment comes from within; it is self-inflicted; it lies latent in the deed. The collectivity cannot properly usurp this function. Whatever good it may have done in the past, its work will be less and less useful in this regard in the future, because as men advance they will be keener and more sensitive in relation to suffering, they will need no external power to punish, but will feel the interior anguish, the self-degradation more and more.

"Ritorna a tua scienza,  
Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta,  
Più senta 'l bene, e così la doglienza."\*

The collective authority in the future can and will do two things: it will restrain socially objectionable practices by a period of confinement, and it will set itself to effect a moral cure of the criminal.

The most difficult subject comes last: the relation of the collective authority to education. Our present educational system is certainly not final; some would say, with Mr. Frederic Harrison in a recent article, that it is a mere makeshift. No very great change can be made in primary education so long as our industrial conditions remain as they are. The teaching in platoons is inevitable under the Board School system, but it is not education in the highest sense of the word, since among hundreds of children uniformity must be the order of the day, and you can never penetrate to the individual. The ordinary private school will, of course, disappear, and very properly so, no one being permitted to teach who is not thoroughly competent, and the element of commercialism being entirely eliminated from education. But the wholesale imparting of information will, as the people enjoy more leisure, and as the labour of every person under fifteen is absolutely forbidden, be supplemented perhaps by a higher kind of teaching conveyed by those who have special capacity to selected groups. Parents, too, when the scramble for existence is over, will perhaps also take a direct part in the training of their children; and thus a closer tie will bind parent and child, as is generally the case when both share in a common intellectual life. The universities and higher colleges should be left a good deal to themselves. For generations to come subjects will or should be taught in these, the utility of which is not perceptible to the mass. If, *e.g.*, a direct popular vote were taken on the mathematical teaching of Professor Cayley, the chair of Pure Mathematics at Cambridge would probably be suppressed. Such institutions should be reasonably provided for, and then left very much to themselves, and to the

\* "Inferno," Canto vi.

guidance of experts. The demands of the students and the irresistible influence of the *Zeitgeist* will tell upon them and will lead to the placing of subjects in the order of their relative importance. For confirmation of which view one needs only consider the attitude of such a university as Cambridge towards natural science during the last forty years, or the remarkable development of teaching in economics at Harvard. Both are due to reforms from within, influenced by the intellectual pressure outside. The special schools which are now arising over England and America for imparting higher education through the best teachers indicate what the universities of the future will be like. They will far more closely resemble the University of Paris in the Middle Ages than the aristocratic English collegiate system of later times.

I now sum up the conclusions of a paper suggestive rather than dogmatic. I venture to submit: That the tendency to collectivism is inevitable, since it proceeds from the growth of scientific invention, and can only cease when invention ceases. It is a good tendency, since it leads to greater substantial freedom, while curtailing in some ways mere formal liberty. It is, in the main, confined to organised material industry, carried on by machine labour on the large scale. It leaves untouched the intellectual conquests of civilisation, and gives every person opportunity for free range in the spiritual and æsthetic spheres. Under these conditions art will receive an immense impetus, and the new era will be dominated by artistic rather than by scientific conceptions, by synthesis and imagination rather than by analysis and calculation. Outside the purely industrial sphere man will be more free, both in form and substance, than he ever was before, while the restraints necessarily imposed, as on children and criminals, will be educational, consciously designed with a view to helping them on to a larger freedom afterwards. All this, I repeat, is suggestion, but all suggestion, so far as it is founded on knowledge, thought, and sympathy, is in a way prophetic. It is the endeavour to see into the reality of things, to discern the essential human tendencies, to become, however feebly, a voice of the "prophetic soul of the wide world, dreaming on things to come."

WILLIAM CLARKE.

## COUNT TAAFFE AND AUSTRIAN POLITICS.

‘Das ist der Fluch des edlen Hauses, dass es immer dem halben Ziel, mit halben Mitteln, auf halbem Wege zaudernd entgegen geht.’—GRILLPARZER.

“**H**AVE you no laws at all, then, in your country?” inquired a French Republican of the Russian Governor-General who had been boasting of his power to cause men and women to be flogged, fined, imprisoned, and banished to gratify his personal spite or carry out a whim. “Laws!” replied the kinglet; “now that tickles my fancy; why, man, we possess over fifty folio volumes of them!” I received a somewhat similar reply from an Austrian friend who, having once complained in my hearing of the arbitrary measures of the present Government, was asked: “Have you not a Parliament?” “A Parliament!” he returned scornfully; “we have twenty-two Parliaments in the Monarchy. Heaven knows that is enough. What we have not, and are not likely to have for many a year to come, is Parliamentary government.”

This assertion, which certainly has the air of a paradox, is the embodiment of a sober fact, and is but one of the numberless equally paradoxical facts of Austrian politics which try the patience of the curious foreigner, who endeavours to understand the mechanism of government in the Habsburg Monarchy, as sorely as that of the American “ile-king” was tried, who, having attempted to grapple with the subtleties of Browning’s poetry, in wild despair flung the precious volumes into the fire. Thus, at the present moment, Austria possesses, on the one hand, a most constitutional monarch, a “Liberal” Prime Minister, and several conflicting groups of Parliamentary politicians; but, on the other, has no Parliamentary majority, no Governmental party, no real Opposition, no homogeneous Cabinet, and no political programme. The Government, consisting of Ministers appointed by the Crown, eschews all “political” questions, and relies for support, for its administrative, economical, and financial measures,

upon the casual coalition of a number of fractions, some of which absolutely deny the right of the Parliament to legislate for them.\* Should it be beaten, as it was in December last, upon such an important question as the Appropriation Clause, it simply refuses to regard the result as tantamount to a declaration of want of confidence. On the other hand, when the Budget comes up for discussion—this being the only question on which it must necessarily stand or fall—the Opposition, dreading to thwart the Minister who could inflict upon them a loss of some twenty seats at the ensuing elections, and eager to testify their respect for the wishes of the monarch, never dare to reject it, or even to abstain from voting.

A visit to the magnificent Parliament of Vienna is an interesting object-lesson in Austrian politics, which materially assists one to form an idea of the complexity of constitutional government there as compared with the simple mechanism of the House of Commons or the *Chambre des Députés*. Thus, in the course of a single sitting, the visitor may hear impassioned speeches delivered in Italian, German, Croatian, Bohemian, Ruthenian, Roumanian, Slovenian; he may see a member called to order for an unparliamentary expression made use of on the previous day; he may hear an orator, during a debate on a vote of censure, discuss eloquently, for over an hour, the respective merits of German and Bohemian poets, novelists, and literary men; and may drop into sweet slumber while a wordy politician is slowly reading a prosy discourse without even a pretence to speak *extempore*. As to parties and fractions of parties, it is almost as difficult to classify them, even with an Austrian politician at one's elbow, as to describe the points of resemblance and difference between the countless particles of sand on the seashore. The Belgian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Frère Orban, tells the story of his visit to the Vienna Parliament some years ago, when, looking down from his place in the gallery on the members in the arena below, he requested Count Taaffe to point out to him where the Liberals sat and where the Conservatives. "They are scattered promiscuously all over the place," was the somewhat unsatisfactory reply which the Minister-President was forced to give his visitor; for there are Government Liberals and Government Conservatives, Opposition Liberals and Opposition Conservatives, and Liberals and Conservatives who, like

\* The so-called Landtage, or Diets, are in reality Parliaments competent to issue laws binding on their respective provinces on all matters not expressly included in the fourteen points reserved to the central Reichsrath. For instance, in Tyrol and Vorarlberg, certain questions affecting the military defence of this province are decided by the Landtag, not by the Parliament of Vienna. On the other hand, many of the laws enacted by the Reichsrath are only sketched in broad outline by that body, and require to be finally shaped by the Diets before acquiring obligatory force. It is thus that the "Imperial School Law," passed by the Parliament of Vienna, could not be applied in Tyrol until last year, because the Liberals and Clericals in the Landtag were divided on the question, and unable to come to any agreement.

the egotistic angels stigmatised by Dante, are neither for the Government nor for the Opposition, but exclusively for themselves."

Parliamentary currents and undercurrents are so numerous and perplexing, the conflicting interests of nationalities and religions and politics cross and recross each other so bewilderingly, that most foreigners abandon in despair the task of analysing them, and turn their attention to some more promising subject. Thus, there is a strong and truly imperial Polish party who demand further extension of the principle of autonomy to Galicia; there is an old Ruthenian party who seek to free their people in Galicia from the hegemony of the Poles, and obtain for them self-government; there are Young Ruthenians who sympathise with their own people but vote with the Poles; there are Young Czechs, or Bohemians, who will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of the Austrian Constitution, such independence for themselves as Hungary enjoys, and a strongly pronounced Russophile foreign policy. These are again split up into two parties, the Realists and the Idealists; both of whom vote solid against the Government, and appeal for encouragement to Austria's enemies abroad. There are Old Czechs who strive after the same ideals, but hope to realise them little by little by dint of bargaining with the State. There is the German Left; the most numerous party in the Reichstag, which upholds the Constitution, refuses to entertain the subject of Bohemian autonomy, and looks askance at the Roman Catholic clericals. There are Dalmatian Slavs who only ask leave to grind the Italian element of the population into powder, and to coalesce with other provinces into a South Slavonian kingdom. There are Italians who would gladly make mincemeat of the Dalmatians; German Nationalists who, with longing eyes turned towards the Fatherland, proclaim that they do not exactly love Austria less, but that they love Germany more; anti-Semites, who conscientiously hold that hell is not hot enough for the Jews, whose torments ought, in strict justice, to begin in this life and be continued in the next; German Clericals who, being Catholics first and patriots afterwards, clamour for the establishment of a theocracy in Austria and the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope in Italy; Christian Socialists who burn to regenerate the Monarchy by applying a few ready-made principles which would make a clean sweep of history, traditions, treaties, and legislation; and last, though far from being the least, come the Croats, who agitate for the re-establishment of "Zvonimir's Kingdom," consisting of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. All these groups air their grievances and plead their sacred causes in season and out of season, and endeavour to wring concessions from the Ministry in return for occasional support. To conduct the government of a vast empire by means of a clumsy parliamentary machine put together of such



heterogeneous parts, as these that can never be made to dovetail, is almost as hopeless as to set about repairing a chronometer with a crowbar. And yet such is the problem which the Hiberno-Austrian statesman, Count Taaffe, undertook to solve some thirteen years ago, and has been perseveringly tackling ever since.

When Count Taaffe assumed the reins of power in February 1879 the Austrian Constitution, then but twelve years old,\* was already completely out of gear. From the moment it had been first proclaimed, two diametrically opposite tendencies had made themselves felt throughout the Monarchy—the centripetal, the ideal of which was one central parliament for all Austria, exclusive of Hungary; and the centrifugal or federalist—*i.e.*, which sought to break up the empire into several autonomous fractions, each more independent of the whole Federation than Bavaria actually is of the German Empire. The Slavs identified themselves with the former tendency, while the German Liberals consistently upheld the latter. The territory on which this struggle was first begun, and on which it will undoubtedly be fought out to some final issue, was Bohemia, a province† of 5,804,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,641,000 are Bohemians, or, as they are generally called, Czechs,‡ and 2,159,000 Germans—the former considerably less instructed, less cultured, less prosperous, and more pushing than the latter. As the future of Austria, and likewise something more than the mere ethnographical colouring of the map of Europe, depend upon the outcome of this fight for supremacy between the two peoples and principles, it will not be amiss to survey the position, and weigh the prospects of the combatants.

The Bohemians,§ like most northern Slavs, are a gifted, enterprising, versatile race, utterly lacking in political tact, and so intent upon gaining the ends in view as to lose sight of the desirability of adjusting prudently and analysing ethically the means they employ to obtain them. Though always treated with fairness, they were never loved or respected by their German fellow-citizens, who honour their patriotism but abhor their tactics. The latter allege, and history countenances the assertion, that after the Revolution of 1848, while the Schwarzenberg-Stadion Ministry was in power, and cruelty and terror raged throughout the land like an epidemic, the Czechs were the *Garde Royale* of the reaction and worked hard to earn the hatred of the other peoples, especially of the Hungarians and

\* Count Taaffe himself in his capacity of Minister of the Interior signed the Imperial decree establishing constitutional government.

† In the eyes of Austrian Federalists the word "province" is considered heretical as containing an implicit repudiation of the federalistic principle, so that whereas German Liberals talk of "provinces" all the Slavonic populations speak of "kingdoms" or "crown lands." Thus Bohemia is a kingdom, Croatia is a kingdom, &c. Moravia and Silesia are Bohemian crown lands.

‡ Pronounced almost identically with the English word *checks*.

§ The two terms "Bohemians" and "Czechs" I use synonymously to denote the Slav population of the province, although the German inhabitants have an equal right to the name.

Germans. At Court, their nobles, familiar with the back doors and private staircases of the Hofburg, were all-powerful; in the army, their generals wielded dictatorial power, which neither incompetence nor defeat could weaken; and both nobles and generals made use of their position to plan and execute deeds of cruelty not only inexcusable but absolutely irrational. At the other extreme of the social pyramid, among the lower orders of the people, Bohemian hail-porters and servants-of-all-work were zealously discharging the functions of the "eyes of the Government," seeking political "crime" and finding it, and sowing the seeds of sorrow and suffering broadcast among the population. Even at the present day the memory of these deeds rankles in the minds of the good-natured Austrians, and the workman of Vienna takes little pains to disguise the feelings which he harbours towards the "Böhmak." The sentiments of the Hungarians for the Czechs could not be better illustrated than by the story told of a Bohemian judge in Hungary who, having artistically performed some classical pieces on the violin at a soirée in a private house, was thanked by his delighted hostess, who enthusiastically but inconsiderately exclaimed: "How charming! Then it is true that every Bohemian is a musician or a thief!"

From the moment the present Constitution was proclaimed a quarter of a century ago, the Czech inhabitants of Bohemia resolutely declined to acknowledge the dualistic principle underlying it, and stubbornly refused to appear in the central Parliament of Vienna. Taking their stand on a document written in a moment of weakness by the soft-hearted Emperor Ferdinand, amid the tumult and confusion of the revolution, they vehemently protested against the independence of Hungary, summoned the "now reigning monarch" to submit to be crowned King of Bohemia, and required him to assent to the only conditions upon which they could permit his coronation—viz., the union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia in one autonomous kingdom, invested with all the rights and privileges enjoyed by Hungary; and when their demands were rejected, they solemnly proclaimed their intention to abstain from every act which could be construed as an acknowledgment of the Constitution. That was in 1868.

The first Constitutional Government, known as the "Citizen Ministry" (December 1868–April 1870), employed every constitutional means to compel the Czechs, and held out every conceivable inducement compatible with the integrity of the Empire to persuade them to combine with their fellow-citizens for the weal of the nation. But firmness and suasion, instead of shaking their resolution, intensified the vehemence of their resistance, which from passive and constitutional soon became aggressive and illegal. Tumults, disorders, attacks upon unoffending Germans in the streets, conspiracy indoors, and the explosion of petards without, although the work of a limited number of excitable individuals, cast a dark and doubtlessly undeserved

shadow upon the party and the nation, and afforded a pretext, if not a reason, to those who advocated repressive measures, and described Czech patriotism by a less euphonious name. Their gifted leaders who, unfortunately for their cause, trusted more to energy than to prudence, resorted to tactics more varied than efficacious, and like the village patient suffering from the toothache, who employed mild homœopathy and drastic allopathy simultaneously, swallowing the tiny globules of Mattei and having the molar extracted by a blacksmith, they appealed as friends and loyal subjects to the State, against which they also plotted as enemies. Thus, they are accused of having humbly petitioned his gracious Majesty to sanction their indefeasible rights, and of having kept up relations with his Majesty's presumptive foreign enemies; of having loudly clamoured for political justice in Bohemia, and of having eulogised more loudly in Warsaw, as clemency, the diabolical cruelties of the Russian soldiery who were engaged in "restoring order" in Poland; of having grossly insulted their fellow-subjects under the protection of the Prussian cannons of Königgrätz, and when Prussia failed to realise their hopes of having forwarded a secret memorandum to Prince Napoleon teeming with present disaffection and hinting at future treason.\*

The refusal of the Bohemians to attend the sittings of the Vienna Parliament, and the inimical feelings they manifested against the Constitutional Government, were sources of extreme uneasiness to that model of constitutional monarchs, Franz Josef, who doubtless more than once recalled to mind the significant fact that during the Italian war 6 per cent. of the entire Austrian army were taken prisoners (15,000 out of a total of 250,000), and that these *unwounded* soldiers were mostly members of the dissatisfied nationalities of his empire.

\* This memorandum, signed by the Czech leader, was energetically repudiated by him, until the *Neue Freie Presse* published the text *in extenso*. After having inveighed in this document against the conquering tendencies of the German race, and against the "so-called Austrian Ministry," the author continues thus: "Once independent, Bohemia will keep North and South Germany apart so that a French army may be more rapidly thrown into Bohemia than a Prussian army could be drafted into the Upper Rhine Province. Our interests in this matter are identical with those of France. The Bohemian nation, with its highly advanced civilisation, far more developed than the Hungarian, can in a very short time effect a rapid diversion in favour of France. The dynasty is on a wrong track which may lead it to its fall, by sacrificing Slavs to Magyars and Germans, so that the exasperated national sentiment, if translated into action during a war, could cause the Monarchy to fall to pieces." The true significance of this memorandum will appear, when we recollect that it was written in 1869, when France was contemplating war with Germany, and Austria might be suspected of a disposition to join her neighbour against France. And yet the Monarchy which was so nearly being shattered to pieces was governed with the help of this party until two years ago.

Since 1869 the Czechs, who, to do them justice, possess the courage of their convictions, have changed neither their sympathies nor their "foreign policy." In the Delegations at Budapesth, last autumn, they vehemently protested against the Triple Alliance, and supplied the Pan Slavists of Moscow with many a text for sermons against the continued occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. In an article published a few days ago, by their most accredited organ (*Narodni Listy*), they declare without ambiguity that the entire Bohemian people is vehemently opposed to the Triple Alliance, and that its sympathies for Russia are not merely Platonic but political and real (*Cf. Narodni Listy*, January 11, 1893).

One of the principles of government to which he holds fast, through thick and thin, is that no injustice shall be done to any of the nationalities that acknowledge his sway ; and when all other means of conciliating the Czechs had failed, he signified his resolve to carry out their programme, to allow himself to be crowned king in Prague, and to inaugurate that federalistic system of government which had proved so disastrous to his empire a few years before. In accordance with this determination, Count Hohenwart, who is still the leader of one of the most important parties in Parliament, was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry, and the Czech leaders were summoned to Vienna. The new elections, arranged by the Minister, resulted in a federalistic majority, which voted an enthusiastic address to his Majesty ; a national Czech Ministry was formed, on paper, ready to come into office on the proclamation of independence, and the monarch's reply to the address, solemnly conferring autonomy upon Bohemia, was duly drawn up by Count Hohenwart, and only awaited the Imperial signature. Had that signature been appended to the document, the Monarchy of the Habsburgs would have been an historical reminiscence to-day.

It would, as we have already seen, be a grave mistake to imagine that the province for whose sake Austria was thus about to be remodelled, is a compact nation, consisting exclusively of Slavs who desire federalism ; in truth, it is split up into two peoples, the most cultured and prosperous of whom are Germans, and detest federalism. Moreover, in Bohemia proper, the German inhabitants number no less than 2,159,000, while the Czechs amount to no more than 3,614,000 ; whereas in Silesia, which was also to be incorporated in the new kingdom, the former constitute a clear majority\* of the inhabitants. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that the Czech plan included not merely the supremacy over, but likewise the gradual Slavonisation of, the Germans, and also implied the complete autonomy of Galicia, to which 2,750,000 of Ruthenians objected, and the re-establishment of a Croatian kingdom, rather than consent to which Hungary would fight till it was annihilated. But no mere process of *a priori* reasoning could alter the direction of the current that had set in ; the Emperor had made known his intention, which the Parliament had warmly applauded, and in a few days it would go forth to the world in the form of an Imperial charter, and the Monarchy of the Habsburgs would be transformed into the United States of Austria.

Fortunately, however, since the centre of gravity of the Empire was removed from Vienna to Budapesth, the Hungarians, by their political tact, foresight, and indomitable resolution, have more than once kept the ship of State on the right course, and never more opportunely than at this particular conjuncture. They, too, have their

\* It is only fair to state that in Moravia, the second of the "crown lands" of the Bohemian kingdom, there are 1,590,513 Slavs, and only 664,168 Germans.

Slavonic question, with which they deal in an admirably statesmanlike spirit, marked by a judicious mixture of adamantine firmness in essentials and friendly compromise in secondary matters, which few other nations of ancient or modern times have rivalled. The impending triumph of the Czechs and Slovenians in the Austrian half of the Monarchy unduly raised the hopes of the Slavs in the Hungarian half, the Croats became restive, and an insurrection broke out in the so-called military borderland. Count Beust, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, then besought the Emperor in a lengthy memorandum not to break up the Monarchy; but it was not until Count Andrassy, in the name of the Hungarian Government, bluntly declared that if federalism were substituted for dualism, Hungary, for one, would not swell the number of the united States, that Franz Josef definitively abandoned his intention. disappointed the Czechs, dissolved Parliament, and preserved the empire intact. This political drama, which was begun under such favourable auspices in February 1871, was thus unexpectedly interrupted on the 20th of November of the same memorable year.

A German Cabinet was then formed under the presidency of Prince Adolf Auerberg, and the new elections resulted in the return of a pronounced anti-federalistic majority. This curious phenomenon of public opinion veering round from north to south at a moment's notice to suit the varying exigencies of the Government, is satisfactorily explained by the cunningly devised electoral laws which allow a score of feudal nobles, who are absolutely amenable to Court influence, to determine the politics of the Parliamentary majority.\* For

\* The law which deals with the election of the 353 members of the Austrian Parliament is based on the principle of class interests. Thus, there are (1) representatives of landed estates (*Gross Grundbesitz*), or, in Dalmatia, where there are none, of the most highly taxed class; (2) representatives of cities, market-places, and industrial centres; (3) of Chambers of Commerce; and (4) of rural districts. The voters elect their representatives directly in all classes except the last-named, where an electoral college is first chosen, which then elects a deputy. To enable the reader to form an idea of the extent to which the Vienna Parliament represents the people, I may say that the Chambers of Commerce and feudal landlords are allowed a comparatively large number of representatives to ridiculously small constituencies. The Chamber of Commerce of Lower Austria, for instance, elects two members and possesses but 48 electors; that of Styria has two members to 64 constituents; that of Galicia contains 87 electors and sends three deputies to Parliament. The owners of landed estates are also highly privileged: in Galicia 108 of them elect one member of Parliament; in Moravia, 19 send one member; and in Bohemia 19 feudal landlords elect one Parliamentary representative. As the votes are recorded, not for each candidate singly, but for the entire list, it is evident that the displacement of one vote may make all the difference between the election or rejection of two score Czech or German deputies. And the power to effect this displacement can be exercised by the Government at all times. A curious incident illustrative of the methods of Austrian Parliamentary elections took place in 1885 in the populous city of Lemberg. The mayor had convened a meeting inviting candidates to come forward and in accordance with usage, propose themselves; and after a few individuals had made their profession of faith, a candidate arose and developed a new but interesting and not unappealing programme. His criticism of the Government was especially clever and trenchant and was warmly applauded by the electors, who asked each other who he was. It was only on the following day that the truth came out, when the caretaker of the Lunatic Asylum, who had been looking for the escaped madman, discovered and claimed him for his own.

eight years the German Liberal party governed the country with tolerable success; the Bohemians persistently refusing to attend the sittings of the Central Parliament. But the inherent weakness of the German party, which likewise constitutes its principal source of strength—viz., genius for analysis—began to manifest itself in most serious blunders. Admirable legislators, conscientious officials, exact and honourable accountants, and gentlemanly opponents, the members of that group lost themselves in the petty details of administration, and proved incapable of rising to the level of a great Imperial party, which discerns and safeguards the manifold interests of the whole Empire. Doctrinaires who, like Archimedes, are more solicitous about their politico-geometrical circles than about the issue of the momentous conflict waging around them, the mistakes they committed in matters involving the welfare of the Empire, had they not been corrected in the nick of time, would have entailed disaster upon the Monarchy. Thus, in January 1879, they refused to sanction the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later on vehemently opposed an indispensable military Bill, and voted for the rejection of the Treaty of Berlin, their own Ministers taking sides against them. On this occasion the Polish party, who in respect to political tact and discipline are to Austria what the Hungarians are to Transleithania, voted for these measures, and contributed to save the Empire. This onesidedness sealed the fate of the German Liberals, who have never since been in power, and opened the door to the Clericals, Bohemians, and Count Taaffe, who at first accepted the post of Home Secretary, and in 1879 combined with it the office of Minister-President, both of which he has continued to hold down to the present time.

Count Taaffe, or to give him his Irish title, Viscount Edward Taaffe of Corren and Baron of Ballymote,\* is a descendant of one of those numerous Irishmen whom the *Times* once described as eminently qualified to thrive and prosper everywhere but in the country of their birth. In former times it was probably somewhat different; for few family records are so rich in distinguished names as those of the Taaffes, which genealogists assert can be traced backwards to the reign of Edward I. They bristle with descriptions of noteworthy deeds, martial and religious, of the brave warriors, eminent bishops, pious abbots, and austere monks and nuns, who bore the family name; and the death of one of the most celebrated of them all—Archbishop Taaffe, the Primate of Ireland—in 1288, is lamented by the flattering old chroniclers of those days as an irreparable loss to the Irish Church. The Taaffes were related to the O'Haras, Dillons, Plunketts, and other well-known families, whose stirring deeds impart a flavour of variety and interest to Irish history. In the first half of the sixteenth century we find them already in Austria doing battle against the Turks; they fought bravely at the siege of Vienna, and contemporary military

\* Conferred by Charles I. in 1628.

historians averred that in one memorable battle defeat was turned into victory by the personal prowess of one of the Taaffes. In 1667 a gallant member of the family won the title of Count of the Empire, inherited by the present Minister-President; and ever since then they have played a conspicuous and singularly honourable part in the ranks of the so-called Court aristocracy of Austria—as distinguished from the feudal nobility\*—one of whose representatives is credited with the profound philosophical apophthegm that, properly speaking, mankind begins with the baron and ends with the monarch. But the two distinctive traits which, during all the vicissitudes of a chequered existence, eminently characterise the Austrian branch of the family of the Taaffes, are Celtic loyalty to their Sovereign and unshaken fidelity to their Church. The present Count's father, who was honoured with the absolute confidence of the Emperor, was President of the High Court of Appeal in Hungary at the time when a high-handed attempt was made to Germanise the Hungarian people, and the perseverance with which he carried on the arduous and dangerous work, appointing to Hungarian courts German judges who were unable to express themselves in any language but their own, and himself daily administering justice in the same obnoxious tongue, was an eloquent testimony to the abundance of his zeal and to his utter lack of political tact.

As a boy, Count Taaffe was a playfellow of the present Emperor, sharing that distinction with Counts Falkenhayn and Coronini. As a young man, after having finished his studies at the Law Faculty of the University of Vienna, he was one of the first students to pass his examinations on the strict lines prescribed by the new University laws; after which he entered the civil service, beginning at the lowest rung of the ladder, rising with a slowness scarcely distinguishable from stagnation, and scorning to utilise the intimate relations that had so long subsisted between himself and his Sovereign to lighten his labour or hasten his advancement. He was still at the base of the administrative pyramid, occupying a very difficult and unenviable position, when the Emperor, then on a visit to Linz, met him by chance, recalled the days of their childhood, and questioned him about his position and prospects. After this his promotion was remarkably rapid, until, in 1867, when scarcely thirty-four years old, he was removed from the post of Statthalter of Upper Austria to that of Minister of the Interior under the famous Beust, and in the following year he occupied simultaneously the important positions of acting Minister-President, Minister of the Interior, Minister of the Police, and Minister of the Land Defences. That was a trying time for Ministers and Cabinets; the conflicts between Czechs and Germans, Clericals and Liberals, Federalists and Centralists, paralysing all

\* The Liechtensteins, Schwarzenbergs, Hohenwarts and Windischgrätz are among the best known representatives of the feudal aristocracy of Austria.

attempts at useful legislation. In spite of his Liberal surroundings, Count Taaffe was always a Federalist at heart, less, however, in virtue of any abstract theory than because he regarded the extension of the principle of autonomy as the only satisfactory solution of a difficult and dangerous problem. Eager to establish peace between Czechs and Germans, Count Taaffe presented a memorandum to the Emperor in February 1870, in which he and two of his colleagues strongly recommended a change of policy in the direction of autonomy and federalism. The majority of the Cabinet at once drew up a counter-memorandum, protesting against any change, whereupon Count Taaffe and his two colleagues resigned. He returned a few weeks later, on the formation of a new Ministry, but when this too broke down after a short spell of ten months, he withdrew from parliamentary life, and accepted shortly afterwards the post of Statthalter of Tyrol, which he retained for seven years. In February 1879, after the lamentable breakdown of the German Liberal Cabinet, he was appointed provisional Minister of the Interior, with which office he combined, a few months later, that of Minister-President, both of which posts, in spite of the confident predictions and steady opposition of the German Left, he has contrived to retain without interruption ever since.

Count Taaffe is one of those rare public personages who cannot well be brought under any one category, but constitute each one a class to himself. He may be said to be in politics what Jean Paul Richter was in literature, *der Einzige*. There are more aspects to his life and work than there are sides and angles to a cube; and the impression one retains after having carefully analysed them all is that if one could only obtain a glimpse of the man from some further point of view, say, from that of a psychological fourth dimension, the conception of him might possibly be correct, but it would unquestionably be totally different. One of the most important of these aspects is his social talent—the source of that abundant oil which he continually keeps pouring upon the waves of the tempest-tossed sea of Austrian politics. To every Prime Minister, it is an indispensable condition of success. The celebrated Count Beust, who, when first appointed to this post, was decidedly unpopular, appeared one night during the Carnival at a ball in the Redoute, and heedless of the scandalised countenances of his colleagues, offered his arm to a pretty comic actress,\* who enjoyed a “wide reputation,” and requested her to give him a dance; next day he was the most popular man in all Vienna. Count Taaffe has never had recourse to any such heroic expedients; he has only to open his mouth, and his hearers are enchanted. He is past-master in all the little *arts d'agrément* so prized in courtiers and diplomatists as serving to lubricate the wheels of the social machinery of a Court. He can tell a story with a gusto

\* Mademoiselle Gallmeyer, of the Theater an der Wien.



which Charles Lever might have envied, and can invent one with the ease of an ancient mariner. His exquisite sense of the ridiculous, his exuberant fancy and ready wit, are as decidedly Irish as his name ; and the felicity with which he sums up a man's foibles in a single nickname would have endeared him to the heart of Sir Key. Unfortunately his conceits, stories, and *bons mots* are not suited for English consumption ; certainly not for that of contemporary Englishmen. Wycherley might have put some of them in the mouth of Dapperwit or Horner, but even Wycherley would have found it needful to exercise some discretion in the selection. His remarkable dramatic talent, had it been cultivated in time, might have obtained for its possessor a niche in the temple of Melpomene. His command over his features, which he is able to distort into the semblance of an enemy or a friend, would make the fortune of a professional comedian ; and some of his feats of mimicry enable one to realise the almost incredible achievements related of Garrick ; while his control over his feelings is so perfect that he could summon a smile to his lips on the rack, or, like Scarron, crack a last joke on his death-bed. His voice is as docile to his will as his facial muscles, and he can imitate beasts, birds, and bawling babies to perfection, while causing their moving forms to appear in shadowy outline upon the wall. These varied gifts and accomplishments are not usually reckoned among the indispensable qualifications of a contemporary English statesman ; but they cannot be said to constitute useless ballast in Austria, where they have frequently enabled their possessor to score a solid triumph denied to his saturnine opponents, who consider him to be, like Mr. Podsnap, a "too, too smiling man." It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that the members of the German Liberal Ministry (the so-called "Citizen Cabinet") should have themselves requested the Emperor to appoint Count Taaffe to be their President, or that the monarch, while turning his back upon his Ministers, Herbst and Giskra, in order to mark his condemnation of the bungling way in which the insurrection in Dalmatia had been put down during his absence abroad, should have shown himself unusually affable to their colleague, Count Taaffe, who, as Minister of the Land Defences, was technically responsible for the imputed mismanagement. But no more striking proof of his extraordinary powers of suasion and his gift of raising vague hopes could possibly be instanced than the smile of satisfaction with which certain of his political opponents have left the precincts of Parliament, after having listened to his disparaging remarks about them and their ways, firmly convinced that his speech was a mere sop to Cerberus, all the more necessary that he cordially sympathised with them in his heart.

His own countrymen are hopelessly divided in their estimates of Count Taaffe and his work. Many of the politicians who see him only in Parliament, where, like Mrs. Fezziwig, he is always wreathed

in smiles, take him for a Hiberno-Austrian Ogniben, so bland, self-possessed, and serene does he appear even in the face of difficulties that would drive any other statesman to desperation. Those who know him only from portraits and paintings fancy him to be an insufferable Sir Lucius O'Trigger, whose arms are mere bluster and bravado. Strangers who have noted for the first time the spare form, the marvellously black hair, the elastic step, and the mercurial gait of the Prime Minister as he enters the House, the agility with which, when an opponent rises to speak, he springs upon his table letting his feet dangle over his chair, and the smile in which bitterness is sufficiently blended with pity to harmonise with pose and figure, can scarcely dispel the illusion that they are in the presence of a perfect embodiment of one of the chief characters of Goethe's principal drama.

No better statesman could have been chosen to inaugurate a policy of conciliation; and no wiser policy could have suggested itself to a Government, whose peoples are so bitterly prejudiced against each other that trial by jury for political offences is found to be an impossibility. Count Taaffe possessed numerous points of contact with all parties, and had definitively broken with none. As a pronounced Catholic, he was popular with the Clericals; as a Minister who had voted against the Concordat, he was respected by the Liberals; he had worked together with the German party in the "Citizen Cabinet"; had won the heart of Bohemians, Croatians, and Poles by his outspoken advocacy of a federalistic policy, and even the anti-Semites, naturally disposed to harbour a grudge against the statesman whose ubiquitous Mentor and *alter ego*—M. Blumenstock—is a Jew, fancied that they could rely upon his sympathy and hope for his support.

But he himself regarded, as a far more solid qualification for the rôle of peacemaker, his conception of what government in Austria should be. Above all things it should discard all theories. Political principles Count Taaffe condemns as a weakness; and his friends and enemies are at one in declaring him free from any stain which the possession of them might be supposed to imply. The nationalities of Austria, although, or because, mostly Christians, cordially dislike each other, and can only be induced to cultivate affection for a *tertium quid*, who is the Emperor; the only union possible being, therefore, one of the head, not of the heart, he holds that the power of the head should be strengthened till it becomes practically absolute. As the weakest element of the population never wholly loses the power to inflict serious injury to the State—the richest province of Holland was once ruined by a rat which burrowed a hole in a dyke and let in the sea—no nationality or class should ever be heavily trodden upon or forced to turn. Lastly, Austria, never having been one and indivisible, cannot be governed as if it were an organic whole; consequently, how imperative soever the need for unity, no system of

government can hold out long which is based upon the negation of federalistic principles.

The tactics which the new Minister employed, in order to obtain a fair trial for these maxims, were well adapted to time, people, and circumstances. Count Taaffe is a clever, practical psychologist of the most pessimistic type, who takes an incredibly low view of human virtue, which he is continually tempting into crooked ways, and he seldom discovers any grounds to question the correctness of his theory, or doubt the infallibility of his rules. His memory is a store-house of the weaknesses, hypocrisies, and delusions of other men; his intellect a repository of cunning little devices for setting them in motion. But he never poses as a censor of morals; only as an appraiser of motives. He affects, and probably feels, surprise at nothing. He could listen calmly, nay, with seeming benevolence, to the reasoning of the President of a Taaffe Assassination Committee, and find some plausible pretext for paying him a compliment or making him a concession. One day a mass meeting of over ten thousand workmen assembled in the streets of Vienna to discuss politics and propagate Socialism. As this was the day fixed for the opening of Parliament, the meeting was *ipso facto* illegal; but Count Taaffe, although in possession of information for a fortnight before, had taken no preventive measures. The orators were dangerously outspoken, the crowd excited and restive, and shouts were heard that the Prime Minister should be interviewed and called to task. Count Taaffe agreed to receive a deputation of three, to whom he accorded a most gracious reception, asking them to confide to him their troubles and formulate their wishes. They could not, they replied, be satisfied with less than complete freedom for Austrians to meet, speak, and publish what they think, the introduction of universal suffrage, the disbandment of the standing army, and immediate pledges that their demands would be complied with. Count Taaffe listened attentively to the utterances of the reformers, nodded his head knowingly at the proper places, came to the help of the speaker occasionally with a suitable expression, and in reply told them that they had formulated their views with admirable clearness and coherency, and as the realisation of their scheme entailed very comprehensive changes which could not be carried out by him alone, he would not lose a moment in laying the matter before the Council of Ministers. The Socialists went away delighted. What took place, however, on the following day, was not calculated to feed their hopes or tempt them to repeat their tactics in future.

The manner in which he receives disagreeable deputations affords one of the most typical illustrations of his method. The spokesman, painfully conscious of the seriousness of the situation, appears at the head of the delegates, who march solemnly, silently, and resolutely into the presence, determined to compel the Government to bend or

break. Count Taaffe receives them with the usual beaming smile, strokes one affectionately on the shoulder, takes another familiarly by the arm, offers them all cigarettes and cigars, volunteers a witty remark on the latest topic of the day, tells some piquant anecdote in connection with it, then seizes upon an observation made by one of the delegates to start a fresh subject, which he illustrates with another strongly flavoured story, and so keeps up a running fire of small talk till the worthy deputation is laughed out of its resolution, as Munchausen's bear was tickled out of the forest. His suasive powers, when brought to bear upon a limited circle of hearers, are of the miraculous kind attributed by Irishmen to Cormack McCarthy, the Lord of the Blarney Stone. As a public speaker, he is one of the most dismal failures that ever addressed an audience. His tongue is generally a knife to cut his head off. Hence, in his public speeches, as in Joe Gargery's private utterances, "I meantersay," recurs with painful and bewildering frequency; the incautious wording or hasty expression of intentions or desires calling for limitation or toning down. The present Parliamentary and Ministerial crisis is the direct outcome of one of these spontaneous outbursts of public oratory, occasioned, but by no means provoked, by a speech of Prince Schwarzenberg. This time the ensuing "meantersay," which was carefully written down and read out with due emphasis, not being found to tally with well-known facts, was received with incredulity, and the crisis was the result.

In his dealings with political allies and opponents, Count Taaffe is flippant and cynical to a degree. He transacts the most important business as if it were a practical joke. If politics were a comedy and political life a schoolboy's entertainment, the tone he adopts would be perfectly in place. He seems constitutionally incapable of treating the most momentous questions in a serious, sober spirit. This tone, which he has succeeded in imparting to others, constitutes an essential element of his tactics; it renders politicians more tractable and compliant, accustoming them to make light of the concessions they are called upon to make, and to minimise the advantages they neglect to secure. But, in truth, this levity and cynicism are but surface deep. The few who know the real man as he appears when the parliamentary mask of folly is laid aside, find the contrast pathetic, almost tragic; solicitude for the well-being of the Empire is audible in his every word, visible in his every look, and to the mind of the observer who had been comparing him to a cavalier of the Restoration, reminiscences are suggested of the heroism of Junius Brutus and the energy of Schiller's Fiesco. Attachment to his Sovereign and his country is the one moving force of his being, and its intensity is that of the old Highland clansmen, or of the extinct Irish wolf-dog.

This is the real key to his living and working. What difficulties, disappointments, and dangers he has to contend with will never be

revealed. I have seen him at times when he evidently believed himself alone, and I shall never forget his expression, in which intense agony, wild defiance, and utter despair seemed fighting for the mastery; it was most painfully suggestive of the last look of the doomed fox, as it stands at bay a moment before the end. "You in Austria," wrote Adolph von Herzog to the celebrated Minister-President Schmerling, "require to be governed by a man possessed of a head of flinty hardness and a soul of the toughness of copper wire." And, he might have added, devoid of the slightest trace of selfishness; for the coin in which eminent Austrian statesmen are usually paid has little resemblance to gratitude. The official class which summed up Radetzky's brilliant services in the epithet "old ass,"\* cannot well be expected to show itself more appreciative of the merits of a political galley-slave. One of the most successful of French statesmen once remarked to his friends, who were explaining his feverish pulse and sleepless nights as the result of anxiety about the destiny of Europe and solicitude for the welfare of France: "The few square feet that constitute the king's bedchamber cause me more trouble and anxiety than all the battle-fields of Europe." Whether, and to what extent, Count Taaffe could endorse this statement, had best be left to his future biographer to determine. Certain it is that, burdened as he is with a peck of private sorrows of his own, racked by a painful disorder, attacked by indefatigable opponents, thwarted by political allies, toiling and moiling day and night, Sunday and holy day, without respite or rest, his labour will be his sole reward. When his heart is withered like grass and his days consumed as smoke, the most appreciative epigraph he can hope for is a dry statement of the melancholy truth that

"Death wipes blame away."

Holding with Sir Robert Walpole that every man has his price, and having discovered for himself that many men simply give themselves away, Count Taaffe hopefully entered into negotiations with the Czechs for the purpose of inducing them to send their representatives to the Parliament of Vienna. The task, however, seemed utterly beyond his powers. For abstention from Parliament has been the trump card of sulking Austrian nationalities ever since the constitutional charter was conceded. Moravians, Ruthenians, Croats, Poles, Germans, and Roumanians had played it in turn. It was one of the most efficacious weapons wielded by the Hungarians in their struggle for independence, and it had brought the Czechs themselves within an ace of the same goal in 1871. Their determination not to swerve an inch from this beaten track was therefore not easily to be shaken. But, like the Pied Piper of Hamelin,

\* Grilne, the Emperor's favourite and *alter ego*, wrote to Gyulai, who modestly hesitated to take command of the Italian army: "If that old ass, Radetzky, managed it, surely you can accomplish it."

Count Taaffe had only to strike up one of his lively melodies on his magic flute, and the grown-up children followed him unquestioningly to the side of Koppenberg Hill. Being above all things practical, and the last man in the world to rig out an expedition against the south wind, he never attempted to argue against their principles, content to leave them the shadow, if only they would concede to him the substance. He told them that they might enter the Reichsrath under protest, and thus obtain for their people a share of the good things in the gift of Parliament without forfeiting such advantages as their federalistic standpoint was calculated to afford them. The Czechs yielded to the tempter, and having solemnly read a vigorous protest in both Houses, categorically denying the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Bohemia, they quietly took their places and assisted it to legislate, and have assiduously frequented its sittings from that day to this. The Minister might well sum up the work of that epoch in the words, *Veni, vidi, vici*.

No doubt the Czechs had their own price, and Count Taaffe paid it without a murmur, contenting himself with compelling them to take half a dozen bites of each cherry that he set before them. The Germans, whose orchards were being despoiled in order to supply all these cherries, were naturally dissatisfied, but they have only their own wilfulness to thank that the Czechs made such an advantageous bargain. Instead of accepting office in Count Taaffe's Cabinet, or seizing the other alternative and offering a strenuous opposition, they spent their energy in predicting the Minister's speedy fall, and then waiting, like Micawber, for something to turn up to verify the prophecy. They have remained in a minority from that day to this, unable to carry or prevent any measure except a fundamental change in the Constitution, to effect which a two-thirds majority is indispensable; while the Czechs and Poles had each a national Minister in the Cabinet, who carried a list of desirable concessions in his pocket.

Among the numerous fractions of which the Reichsrath was, and still is, composed, three parties deserve especial mention by reason of the influence they exercise upon the policy of the Government, or the importance attaching to the ideas they represent in the country—the Poles, the Clericals, and the German Liberals, who have each a separate parliamentary club in which they determine beforehand among themselves the attitude they will adopt towards each new development of Government policy. Of all parliamentary parties the Poles are without doubt the most thoroughly disciplined, the most politically developed, and relatively the most influential.\* Without ever losing sight of their own national programme, they are the staunchest supporters of a broad, imperial, Austrian policy in the Reichsrath. Whatever the private predilections or individual idiosyncrasies of the

\* The Polish Club numbers at the present moment 57 members.

members, they seem never to ruffle the harmony or hinder the unanimity of the party which upon all critical occasions votes as one man for the Government. It was they who saved the Treaty of Berlin from being rejected, who advocated increased military expenditure, who voted for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who taxed their own people in order to contribute the requisite funds. It was a Polish Minister of Finance who a couple of years ago introduced the first Budget without a deficit, and one of the first financiers and most statesmanlike politicians of the House at the present day, M. Szczepanowski, is a member of this party. Count Hohenwart's Club,\* also known as the Conservative, is a conglomeration of a number of loosely joined groups who for the time being have agreed to disagree. Their general tendencies, however, are distinctly Federalistic, Clerical, and Slavonic; their tactics consist in maintaining a friendly attitude towards Count Taaffe, whose policy they regard as the bird in the hand, and their leader is the feudal nobleman whose principal claim to the title of statesman is to be found in the cheerful readiness with which in 1871 he undertook the work of carving up the Empire and delivering over the Germans to the Slavs. The German Liberal Left are the most numerous,† and would also be the most powerful party in the House, were it not that they are lamentably deficient in enterprise, energy, and practical logic. Consisting of officials (past, present, and to come), bankers, landlords, and lawyers, many of whom are the nominees of a score of constituents, they are characterised by their horror of all extremes. Fighting, so to speak, for their lives, they put on enormous boxing-gloves lest they should accidentally inflict a serious injury upon their assailants, like the humane mother who administered anæsthetics before whipping her child. They offer a determined opposition to the Government upon all questions except those upon which the Government stakes its existence. The natural champions of all that is most respectable in Austria, they have unfortunately no considerable following outside the Reichsrath and no genuine enthusiasm within themselves. The Minister has it in his power to deprive them of some seats in Moravia, and altogether to reduce their number by about twenty members; and for fear of driving him to this extreme measure—which, as it would procure them a certain degree of popularity in the country, would in the long run prove a blessing in disguise—they content themselves with harassing, without defeating, the Government. In a word, the members of this party may be appropriately described as being in politics of the feminine gender, in intellectual culture of the masculine, and in religion of the neuter.

Of all parties in the Reichsrath the German Liberals were, and still are, the most serious advocates of the constitutional *status quo*

\* The Hohenwart Club has 72 members.

† The German Left has 109 members.

in Austria. All the others gracefully acquiesce in, or loudly clamour for, the reorganisation of the Monarchy on purely federalistic lines. Count Taaffe's twofold task was to conciliate these jarring elements and utilise, so to speak, the electricity generated by their friction for the purpose of strengthening the hand of the Government. The latter problem he has solved in a masterly manner, and whereas independent Hungary is now a truly constitutional State, in which the power of the monarch is scarcely more considerable than that of the King of the Belgians, Austria is become absolute in everything but the name. When Count Taaffe assumed the reins of Government in 1879 the people was the political god and the parliament its prophet. The parties kept constantly turning towards their constituents for guidance and encouragement, as the sunflower turns towards the orb of day. At present, every political group, except the thirty-five Young Czechs, is infinitely more solicitous about the goodwill of the monarch than about the approval of the population. Formerly, the Parliament revolved round the democratic earth, at present it turns round the imperial sun; and Count Taaffe, were vanity one of his failings, might boast that he has realised that ideal form of government which Count Hartig, years ago, declared to be the only one suited for Austria, in which the "Emperor hears, weighs, and commands; his subjects desire, talk, and obey."

It would ill become a foreigner to inquire too curiously whether this peaceful revolution is at bottom an evil or a boon; \* it would be

\* But the foreigner cannot fail to be struck with the enormous difference between Austria and Hungary in other most important respects: he is continually being tripped up in the meshes of the bureaucratic net spread over the Cisleithanian half of the Monarchy, while he is as free as the wind of the Puszta in Hungary. Two typical instances which may serve as warnings to Englishmen travelling in Austria will illustrate the state of things to which I allude. Last summer a friend of mine, on his way to Hungary, was arrested in Vienna for leaving the train two seconds before the other passengers. Admitting the fact—he was in a great hurry, as he had important business to transact—he showed his passport on demand, pleaded ignorance of the law, and declared his readiness to pay whatever fine was fixed by law. He was told, however, that a "protocol" would first have to be drawn up, and all the usual formalities observed. He was then taken to the "Commissary" of the police, who, being in *négligé*, kept him waiting fully twenty minutes during his toilet operations, and then detained him over an hour, inquiring about the exact place where he was born, the Christian names of his wife, the bent of his theological opinions, and whether a Non-conformist could not be correctly described as a member of the Church of England. The official then released my friend, after having fined him two florins, and inflicted upon him the loss of over a thousand, for he could not start for Hungary that day, and was compelled to break all his engagements. Another still more curious case. An Englishman, about to start for a village on the Southern railway, six hours distant from Vienna, forwarded a telegram to his future host to have horses sent to meet him. The telegraph office demanded a deposit of a small sum to cover the messenger's fee, which, they said, would in no case be more than one florin; but my friend not happening to have one florin, deposited five. When, a fortnight later, he demanded the change, he was told there was none. "It has all been spent." "Surely not on the messenger?" "No." "In what manner, then?" "Oh, in telegrams. You see, we wired *next day* to inquire whether your telegram had arrived. The office there replied, but their message was somewhat obscure, so we despatched another telegram *some days later, containing forty-one words*—in fact, we exchanged messages until the money was spent." "But the money was a deposit, which I gave you no authority to spend." "We needed no authority." "And if, instead of five florins, I had deposited ten or twenty, would you have gone on spending them in like manner?" "Very likely we should." "Will you give me a written account of how you disposed of my money?"



impossible, however, to blink the fact that a comparison of the Austria of to-day with the Empire of 1879, in a military, economical, and financial point of view, shows a considerable balance in favour of the current year, and presses home the conviction, that while the crew were quarrelling or fraternising below, the captain and his officers were at their posts on the bridge, and the ship making headway against wind and waves.\* To this consoling result the Minister's colleagues materially contributed; and this is another proof of Count Taaffe's eminent qualifications for the work. His gift of discovering the right man for the right place is as unerring as the unconscious power of the oyster to extract from the water the various elements from which it forms its shell. He may with truth be said to possess one of the best staffs of higher officials of any Government in Europe, every man of whom has been directly chosen by himself.

In his task of conciliating the conflicting nationalities he has been much less successful; although even here it must be admitted that the mere fact that all the peoples of the Monarchy have consented to send their representatives to Parliament is a step in the right direction. But beyond this he has failed to advance, and to-day, as thirteen years ago, we find ourselves in face of the question—which has been merely put off, not finally solved—Is Austria likely to become Federalistic and Slavonic? Will she emerge from the struggle of nationalities as an outpost of the Russian Empire, or as a dam to prevent the Russo-Tartar flood from inundating Europe? For it is useless to disguise the fact that the hegemony of the Czech element in Austria means neither more nor less than the Slavonisation of the German element, and the subordination of Austrian interests to the ends and objects of Russian diplomacy.† Now one of the principal factors in the solution of this question is the distribution of

"Yes." And he did. My friend then sent a *registered letter* to the chief of the telegraph service, narrating what had taken place, enclosing a copy of the bill (now in my possession), and respectfully requesting the inspector to say whether the law allowed the money to be spent in a manner disapproved by the depositor, or whether this was an exceptional case. The inspector never replied to the letter. I should add that the telegram did not arrive in time. It took 14½ hours to travel a distance which the train performs in six. This was in summer when the line was perfectly free. I have told this story to various political persons in Austria, asking them what the Englishman should have done to obtain satisfaction. They all smiled significantly, and some of them volunteered to tell me "much more curious things than that." Now in Hungary, such abuses are simply inconceivable. If a foreigner noticed an abuse in any part of that kingdom, a few lines from him to any newspaper, or to any member of Parliament, no matter of what party, would result in it being swept away in twenty-four hours, and the loss, if any, made good. But then, Hungary is the heart and head of the Monarchy of the Habsburgs; and to institute a comparison between it and Austria would be utterly unfair to the latter country.

\* A very exhaustive article on the economical work done by Count Taaffe and his Finance Minister Dunajewski is to be found in the *Ekonomista Polski*, over the signature of M. Stan. Szecepanowski, himself one of the most competent authorities in the monarchy. Vol. i. pp. 1-38. Lemberg. 1890.

† Some well-meaning Germans who think no guile, and whose optimism led them to deny the possibility of a Federalist Ministry, until Count Hohenwart took office, are disposed to hope rather than believe that the Czechs are merely coquetting with Russia in order to intimidate Austria. But the deliberate assurances of the Czechs, corroborated by their deeds, sweep away all ground for such hopes. Their solemn declaration and vote against Count Kalnoky's foreign policy in the Delegations last

languages. In Austria, where many of the most intelligent champions of the Czech cause bear German names, language is absolutely synonymous with nationality. And languages are shifting like the moving sands. The late M. Renan declared, several years ago, that if he possessed sufficient funds, he would undertake to create a new religion in Asia. In like manner, Count Taaffe might boast that having wielded sufficient power for thirteen years, he has succeeded, if not in creating a new nationality, at least in resuscitating some that were dead, to the future discomfiture of his countrymen. For he has left absolutely nothing undone to restrict the domain of the German and open up that of the Slavonic languages, especially the Czech, thereby weakening one of the two steady, industrious, and prosperous elements of the Monarchy.\*

Now without any assistance whatever from the Government, Austria naturally manifests a very decided tendency to become Slavonic. Even as it is, the Slavonic element is predominant. Adopting the figures of the latest census, and estimating the entire population of the Monarchy, including the occupied provinces, at 24,300,000,† we find that the Slavonic element amounts to 15,500,000, while the Germans are less than 8,500,000. This, of itself, is a startling fact to begin with; but it is by no means the most significant. The Germans are in many instances scattered over the empire, forming ethnographical islands, surrounded on all sides by Czechs, Slovenians, South Slavs, &c., by whom they are being gradually absorbed.‡ Places which a generation ago were exclusively German are now entirely Slav; nor is it merely the extent of territory thus denationalised which strikes one; the numerical ratio between the two races in all mixed districts is becoming yearly more and more unfavourable to the Germans. Where the latter are still in a majority, that majority is too often dwindling away, whereas the Slavonic element is rapidly increasing; where they formerly possessed a large minority, they have now virtually disappeared. Thus, in 1856 Prague contained 73,000 Germans and 50,000 Czechs. To-day there is not a single Teuton in the Town Council, nor a single German representative of the city constituencies in Parliament: they are all Czechs.§ The Germans formed an overwhelming majority of the

autumn, and the many suggestive arguments they have supplied to the Russian Pan Slavists against Austrian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are calculated to open the eyes of these optimists. Every triumph of the Czech population in Austria is a new source of alarm to the peace-loving peoples of Europe, and nearly every act of Count Taaffe's Government is a triumph for the Czechs. \* The Poles are the other.

† Cf. "Oesterreich. Statist. Handbuch," Wien, 1892, p. 8; also "Statistische Skizze der Oesterr. Ungar. Monarchie," v. Brachelli, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 58, 59.

‡ Cf. Held, "Das Deutsche Sprachgebiet," von Mähren & Schlesien, Brünn, 1888, pp. 7, 8; also Hainisch, *op. cit.*, p. 4. For instance, in Slovenian districts there are 61,689 Germans to 868,177 Slovenians. In South Tyrol, 8885 Germans to 344,283 Italians; in the Coast Land, 12,579 Germans to 199,124 Slovenians, 121,870 Serbo-Croatians, and 276,603 Italians. Cf. Herbst, "Das Deutsche Sprachgebiet in Böhmen," 1887, p. 52; and Hainisch, "Die Zukunft der Deutsch-Oesterreicher," Wien, 1892, p. 32.

§ Cf. Schlesinger, "Die Nationalitäts Verhältnisse Böhmens," "Forschungen z. Deutschen Landes- und Volkskunde, II. Bd., p. 11.

population of Pilsen in the same year; they are but a waning minority of no political importance to-day. To these results, it must be admitted, they themselves contribute materially. The German burgher hires Czech servants, confides the care of his children to Czech nurses, sends German foundlings to Czech baby farmers,\* and employs Czech clerks and assistants in his office and workshop. But, worse than all else, the laws of Nature seem to be enlisted on the side of the Czechs, and while the annual increase of the population in German districts is represented by 5·17 per 1000, it amounts in Slovenian districts to 7·73 per 1000, and in the North Slavonic districts to 10·17 per 1000. In other words, the yearly ratio of increase of the Slavonic population is nearly double that of the Germans.†

Now the Government has it in its power to hasten or retard this process of Slavonisation by means of the law regulating the employment of languages in mixed districts. It has only to declare a village, town, or city to be inhabited by a "mixed" population, and the official use of the two languages obligatory, and forthwith the place begins to be Slavonised; for the number of educated Germans who can read and write Bohemian, Slovenian, &c., is naturally small in comparison with the number of educated Slavs who know German. The consequence is that German officials are replaced by Czech and Slovenian; Czech schools spring up like fungi, aggressively national teachers and priests commence operations, and a few years suffice to complete the work of denationalisation. Fancy what would happen, if a law were passed in Great Britain enacting that in future no persons should be eligible for posts in the civil service in Scotland unless they could read and write Gaelic.‡ Now Count Taaffe has systematically made use of this law to the manifest detriment of the German population, proclaiming villages, towns, and cities to be

\* It is a very curious and characteristic fact that while the Hungarians have Slav foundlings brought up as Hungarians, the Germans allow children of German parents to be farmed out to Czechs and Slovaks, and brought up in perfect ignorance of the German language. Several cases have lately come to my knowledge in Pilsen and Grätz.

† Cf. Hainisch, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

‡ It is difficult to conceive the degree of confusion to which the question of languages occasionally gives rise in Austria. One or two cases in point may assist the Englishman to form an idea. In 1869, Ministerial orders were sent to the Viceregal Chancery in Lemberg concerning the two Universities of Galicia. They were written in German. On their arrival in Lemberg, they were immediately done into Polish. But the professors, many of whom were ignorant of that tongue, were obliged to pay a competent translator to put them into German again. Take another case: A thief is caught in a Polish district near the Hungarian frontiers; but his accomplice has escaped into Hungary and the Austrian authorities are eager to have him arrested. The simple and natural way to accomplish this would be to ask the Hungarians, whom they meet every day, to take him into custody, and this they could do in German, as both parties understand this language. Instead of that, however, a demand is sent in Polish to Vienna, where it is carefully done into German, read over, and compared with the original. The German version is then translated into Hungarian, and despatched to Budapesth. The Hungarian judge replies in Hungarian to Vienna, where his answer is duly put into German, and forwarded to Galicia, where it is forthwith done into Polish.

"mixed" on absurdly insufficient grounds. The following is an instance of his *modus operandi*. The city of Klagenfurt in Carinthia contains 18,134 Germans, and only 723 Slovenians; and yet the Minister decreed a few weeks ago that the population was sufficiently "mixed" to justify the official use of both languages, notwithstanding the curious fact that a large contingent of these 723 Slovenians were not ordinary citizens of the place, but rustics come to patronise the civilising institutions of the hospital and the prison.

The sting of the matter lies in the fact that the Czechs, being mostly indigent and pushing, are continually moving about from place to place in search of work in mines, factories, &c., while the Germans, who are better off, better educated and more domestic, remain at home contented with their lot. Hence every year new places are becoming "mixed," and therefore entering upon the first stage of de-Germanisation. And it would be impossible to deny that Count Taaffe, in employing the administrative machinery to hasten this highly undesirable process, has gone to the utmost limits of what even the too patient Germans consider endurable.

Three years ago, desirous of stemming the torrent that was thus sweeping them away, the German Liberals entered into negotiations with the Minister-President and the Czechs for the purpose of having a line of demarcation, based upon the actual distribution of languages, drawn between the two nationalities. German districts were to remain German, Czech districts to remain Czech, each possessing its own language, while both languages were to enjoy equal rights in the districts then really mixed. The Emperor himself was strongly in favour of this compromise, and Count Taaffe took it in hand and arranged conferences between the two parties, who at last agreed to a compromise which was duly signed. The document being only drawn up in outline, some of the points agreed to required to be definitively shaped by the Diet of Prague and embodied in laws laid before that body for its decision. And this formality could have been easily observed, and the compromise enforced, had Count Taaffe taken time by the forelock. But his dilatoriness destroyed the fruits of all this labour. Half a dozen extreme Czechs (Young Czechs) who had not been invited to take part in the conferences, preached a crusade against the compromise, talked of high treason and of rising up in arms with such pathos and fire that the people took their side, the Diet did not sanction the agreement, and the Moderate, or Old Czechs, lost their heads, their courage, and their seats, leaving their adversaries in possession of the field.

At the ensuing elections the moderate Bohemian party, which had theretofore formed part of the Government's "casual" majority, was completely annihilated, the Young Czechs taking their places and defining as the minimum of their demands the re-establishment of the kingdom of Bohemia, and the coronation of the "king" at Prague.

This turn of affairs left the Ministerial following in a minority, the Poles and Conservatives together amounting to no more than 129 members. As it thus became necessary to induce the German Liberals to abandon their opposition tactics, and desirable to obtain this concession as cheaply as might be, the shifty Minister introduced into the Emperor's speech from the throne an earnest appeal to the patriotism of the principal parties, and besought them to support a purely business programme, including economical, financial, and administrative reforms, and rigorously excluding questions of politics and nationalities. To this the Germans agreed until they discovered that the no-politics restriction was intended to bind their hands, while leaving the Minister free to carry on his Czecho-federalistic policy homœopathically as before. The compromise between the two races in Bohemia, which the Government had sanctioned and guaranteed, was not carried out; German interests were sacrificed to the Czechs; the Liberals naturally manifested their dissatisfaction, and the parliamentary machine commenced to creak. The new Currency Bill was passed with difficulty, and things went from bad to worse, until Count Taaffe, in an unlucky moment, made an uncalled-for speech, showing his cards so ostentatiously that the German Liberals, refusing to support the "business" programme any longer, went into opposition, whereupon parliamentary work has come to a standstill. At the present moment the Minister is carrying on negotiations with the three chief parties of the Reichsrath (Conservatives,\* German Liberals, and Poles) with a view to drawing up a programme—this time a genuine political programme—which shall prove acceptable to them all. The rôle of a political prophet is peculiarly invidious when the events of a few days or weeks are certain to verify or belie his predictions; but one must be a veritable Candide to imagine that a union or coalition between parties whose fundamental principles mutually exclude each other, can possibly be of long duration. Of the Poles, who are animated by a sincere desire for the welfare of the Empire, and are therefore ready to sink their own demands in any truly Austrian programme, I say nothing. But the leader of the "Conservatives" is that same Count Hohenwart who in 1871 proclaimed *urbi et orbi* that unless independence be granted to Bohemia, and the principle of federalism frankly accepted, there is no salvation for Austria. It was he who, at the head of a Separatist Ministry, prepared to cut up the Austrian Empire into independent kingdoms and principalities, and whose hand, like Abraham's, was stayed only in the very nick of time. Nor has he ever modified his views from that day to this. On the other hand, M. Plener, the leader of the German Liberal Party, who himself is a Bohemian,

\* It is curious that in Austria the designation "Conservative" should be reserved for the party whose one aim and object it is to abolish the *status quo*, nullify the Constitution, and dismember the Empire.

holds that, to render Bohemia\* independent, and to hand over the large German minority there to the tender mercies of the Czechs, would be to ruin the Monarchy in the literal sense of the word. Again, the Conservatives regard the establishment of purely Catholic schools, under the exclusive management of the clergy, and the extension of clerical influence generally, as conditions *sine quâ non* of the welfare of the people; while the Liberals maintain that the worst of Austria's foreign enemies never inflicted half the injury upon the Empire that was caused by the Catholic clergy and the Concordat. To hope for a cordial union, or even a tolerable coalition, between two such discordant elements is to expect peace and concord between a playful mouse and a hungry cat. At the same time, it is difficult not to admire the courage, and envy the optimism, of the shifty Minister who has undertaken to provide the political programme which shall satisfy them both.

The question of dualism, as it exists, or federalism, as it is projected, is by no means a matter of local importance only. Hungary, Germany—nay, all peace-loving Europe are, in varying degrees, interested in the issue. Not that there could be any rational objection to federalism as such, if it implied no more than a looser connection between the provinces that compose the Austrian Monarchy. As a matter of fact it actually flourishes there to a much larger extent than is commonly imagined. The seventeen Diets are, at bottom, genuine parliaments which make and unmake laws, deal with the finances, and carry on the government of the provinces. Even the Delegations, which meet once a year at Vienna and Budapesth alternately, to discuss all matters relating to foreign policy, the army and the navy, are composed of members chosen upon federalistic lines; and Austria's sixty delegates have to include representatives of each of the nationalities of the Empire.

But federalism in Austria, or what comes to the same thing, the re-establishment of the "kingdom of Bohemia," with its own special charter, involves neither more nor less than the Slavonisation of the Germans of Bohemia and the permanent adoption of an abjectly Russophile policy,† which would qualify Austria for the position now occupied by Poland. And the recognition of this fact and all that it implies, by those who are most deeply interested in preventing it, is the surest guarantee that for the present, at least, there is no danger of its realisation. A month has scarcely elapsed since a leading member of the German Reichstag, replying to Count

\* It should not be forgotten that Bohemian independence involves the incorporation of Moravia and Silesia in the new kingdom, as "lands of the Bohemian crown."

† Even now a Russian Minister, general, or journalist has more influence upon the Czechs than the arguments and appeals of all Austrian statesmen put together. For years the Pan Slavistic Russian press has been impatient to organise a crusade against Austrian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina; but the data failed. Last summer the Czechs rigged out an expedition to those provinces in order to get up a case. A second expedition is announced for next May.

Caprivi's utterances, categorically declared that Germany had a decided interest in protecting the Germans of Austria from the Slavs on its own frontier. Neither a week nor a day passes that the Russian press does not clamour and intrigue for the concession of the Czech demands. The circumstance, therefore, that the vital interests of too many important factors would have to be sacrificed in order that the aspirations of a few millions of good-hearted but light-headed Czechs should be realised, constitutes the safest guarantee of the *status quo* in the Habsburg Monarchy—*until the coming war*.

The grave danger of Count Taaffe's system lies less in its immediate effects, however calamitous they may appear, than in its inevitable fruits, which the first serious international disturbance may suddenly bring to maturity. It was at the conclusion of the war of 1866 that Hungary won her independence, and what may take place after the coming war will, to a considerable extent, depend upon what seed has been sown during the present peace. To fancy that in Austria itself there is any force sufficiently strong to resist the Czech demands, supposing all other conditions to be propitious, is to live in a fool's paradise. In 1871 Count Hohenwart experienced no difficulty in getting together a parliament which, by more than a two-thirds majority, declared itself in favour of Bohemian independence and federalism. His Majesty had no hesitation in approving the demands and promising to comply with them. Count Hohenwart is still a political personage, the leader of a numerous party, and hand-in-glove with the Government; and a month has scarcely elapsed since the present Parliament solemnly censured a German member for accusing the Czech Federalists of treason against the State. If, therefore, any great international disturbance, such as a European war, were to destroy or momentarily weaken those other forces which alone effectually guarantee the unity of Austria and the preponderance of the steady, peaceful elements of the population, an equally complaisant majority could be sent to Parliament to-morrow, and the Habsburg Monarchy transformed into the United States of Austria before the summer solstice. This danger, ever vividly present to the minds of statesmen of the German Empire, affords a satisfactory explanation of their reluctance to burn down the bridge that leads to Russia. The enormous advantages of political power, moral influence, and efficient organisation, which the present Minister has for thirteen years been systematically conferring upon the federalist Czech party, who openly avow their resolve to use them to the full when the opportune moment arrives for the dismemberment of the Empire, proclaim the serious danger and provoke emphatic condemnation of the "conciliatory" policy of Count Taaffe.

E. B. LANIN.

## NOTES ON THE HOME RULE BILL.

### I. CLAUSE NINE.

THE Home Rule Bill is a far better scheme than that of 1886; it is in a much stronger position, and we may confidently expect it to pass the House of Commons. A week of powerful debating has strengthened its position, and has not weakened it in any unforeseen way, whilst the text of it has blown out of the water the main objections of its critics. Mr. Chamberlain, with wisdom as well as fairness, pointed out how different is the ripeness of this question in 1893 to what it was in 1886. Even he is in favour of Home Rule in his own sense. Thus the sting of the Liberal Unionist opposition is gone. The exclusion of Irish members from the House of Commons, and the land clauses for purchase, were the great stumbling-blocks of the former Bill. These are both out of the way. Mr. Chamberlain and his friends still oppose so large a measure of autonomy for Ireland, and foretell enormous disasters in a conceivable future. All Unionists denounce *any real* Home Rule Bill: that is inevitable. But they have not found in this Bill any new cause of offence, nor any defect which we have not heard of a hundred times before.

It would seem, then, the duty of all who seriously desire the pacification of Ireland to hold together in this last great opportunity. If the majority were larger and more homogeneous, if the difficulties outside the House of Commons were fewer, and if this were not, in one sense, a last effort, there might be something to be said for conscientious attempts to "improve" the Bill. But "improving" the Bill is now the almost certain method of delaying any real settlement, in all probability, for the rest of this century. If Home Rule is to become law, it must be done by Mr. Gladstone; and if Mr. Gladstone is to do it, the Bill must be passed by the Commons this session.



So that, even if the Bill were not a thoroughly matured and well-considered scheme, to risk its complete wreck would be treason on the part of any avowed supporter of Home Rule.

But the scheme is matured and considered: and what weak sides it presents arise from the curious cleavage of parties and the antagonistic interests which it inevitably affects. Governments promoting a constitutional change are not philosophers imagining an ideal state; and even the strongest ministry must count the numbers of the separate groups they control and the set currents of opinion in the people they govern. It may be true that Irish Home Rule should be accompanied by a settlement of the Irish Land question. But the country has positively refused to pay the price of settlement. It seems unfair that an Irish Parliament should not be able to legislate for Irish trade, as our colonies do. But Free Trade will permit no blasphemy against its Ten Commandments; and so that matter for the moment is disposed of. The strong point of the Unionist case in 1886 was the exclusion from Westminster of Irish members. Mr. Chamberlain and his friends insist on the same point still. Scotch, Welsh, and some Radical English groups are equally opposed to it. In the face of an opposition so strong, so complicated, and so dangerous Mr. Gladstone gives way.

To take that single point as an instance. Unionists have been loudly exulting over the anomalies, the difficulties, the dilemmas involved in the clauses for the retention of Irish members at Westminster. It is obvious that there are very real objections to them; and Mr. Gladstone has very fairly set them forth. But he had no choice. He was set by public opinion a task impossible to solve without anomalies of one sort or other. The keenest part of the opposite side, and the noisiest part of his own side, made the retention of Irish members a *sine quâ non*. The bulk of the Irish party incline to that view for the present. British opinion in 1886 had been so marked that the exclusion of Irish members had then to be dropped. Mr. Gladstone frankly explains the dilemma; he not obscurely declares his own judgment. But, in face of all that has occurred, and in view of the state of feeling on both sides of the House, it would have been to court defeat, if he had begun by excluding Irish members from Westminster.

But that is only the first difficulty. An equally loud outcry is raised, and again on both sides of the House, that Irishmen ought not to control Irish affairs all to themselves, and at the same time to interfere in British affairs as well. The contradictory demands are not unequally balanced; and either of them is strong enough to wreck the Bill. The dilemma, then, is this. The Imperial Parliament, we are told, must and shall remain the supreme legislature throughout the three kingdoms. Each of the three kingdoms must and shall

be represented in the Imperial Parliament. Yet the representatives from Ireland must not and shall not legislate for Englishmen and Scotchmen as such. And these three conditions must be satisfied without creating any "anomalies." Mr. Gladstone very fairly said the task passed the wit of man to solve without great inconveniences. He took the only course left to him. He accepted the inconveniences: did his best to neutralise and reduce them, stated them fully and frankly, and left the decision to the House and nation.

None of his opponents or his critics, on either side of the battle, have proposed any better scheme *under the conditions imposed on the problem*. All that they do is to dilate on the "anomalies" and to invent hypothetical dilemmas. But the anomalies and dilemmas are inherent in the terms set by public opinion and the state of parties. Some weak Home Rulers have been vaguely hoping to have their cake and to eat it. Let them return to the philosophy of the nursery, and rest content that in politics the only way out of insuperable dilemmas and contradictory requirements is by resorting to anomalous devices and inconvenient makeshifts. The best proof that the dilemma is otherwise insoluble is this—that no one on either side has suggested a better makeshift. Then, cry the angry Unionists, it proves that Home Rule is impracticable. No! The necessity for Home Rule is the first antecedent condition of all. The country has pronounced for it; the party are pledged to it; there is an organised and growing majority resolute to pass it. Unionists oppose Home Rule in any form: we all know that. But they have shown no anomalies in the Bill before us which are not inherent in the conditions imposed by the state of public opinion. In the end Unionists will vote against the Bill, and Home Rulers will vote for it, anomalies and all. And the latter have an adequate majority of the United Kingdom.

But the "anomalies" are not at all so unexampled as they wish to make out. English legislation and practical administration are full of cases of similar restrictions. The Local Government Act of 1888, passed by Lord Salisbury's last administration, imposes a limited power of voting in all County Councils, where a particular division is not assessed equally with the rest of the county [Section 35 (6)]. Under this clause a councillor is restricted from voting or acting on any matter before the council, in respect of which his constituents are not equally liable. This applies to the representatives of the City in the London County Council. Lord Rosebery, who was formerly one of these representatives, is personally familiar with the practice, which is a matter of constant occurrence. He was obliged to quit the chair, and his colleagues had to stand out of all debates and votes in the Council, where the City was specially exempt from liability; and the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues do the same now. It is done all over the country where County Councils

exist. It is familiar practice in other local bodies. And thus the monstrous anomaly of members who "pop in and out" is an invention of the last Tory Government, one which is daily practised all over the kingdom, and which no one has ever found it difficult to work.

We can all see the inconveniences involved in the restricted power of Irish representatives; and it may well be that a little experience of these may incline all parties to drop one or other of the contradictory conditions they impose. But whilst they insist on contradictions, they must swallow the inconveniences. Home Rulers must not be listened to in enlarging on the inconveniences, unless they can suggest a better solution under the imposed conditions. In the mouths of Unionists these inconveniences only represent their general aversion to Home Rule. The whole matter resolves itself into this—either find some better way of reconciling the incompatible, or declare against Home Rule altogether.

It is the Irish, not the British, who have a right to complain of the serious burdens imposed on them by the terms of Clause 9. Ireland, with her meagre resources taxed to the utmost at the start of her new political life, will have to elect three sets of representatives under three different constituencies, and more or less consisting of three classes of persons. And one of these sets of representatives will have to act in another country and under variable limitations. Multiplied elections, complex constituencies, intermittent functions, and continual journeyings, will press heavily on Ireland, both in men and in money. It is very hard on them; and it is proof of long-suffering and a conciliatory spirit that representatives of Ireland accept it as they do. Mr. Redmond sees all the dangers of it; and perhaps Mr. Redmond may convince his colleagues. It seems inevitable that Ireland will be hard put to it to find adequate representatives to attend at Westminster, or else that their attendance will be very perfunctory.

The serious part of it is that the richer and Unionist members for Ireland will have abundant time and money to be always in their places at St. Stephen's; and they will make all the noise at the centre of the Empire, whilst the Nationalists are busy at work unheard of amongst their own people. Mr. Arnold Forster and Mr. T. W. Russell will be never missing at Westminster, and, indeed, never silent. What would be the fate of the House of Commons, with eighty gentlemen—not "from Ireland"—but carpet-baggers, resident in London, yet duly authorised to represent Ireland in the Imperial Parliament?

It can hardly be doubted that sooner or later what will happen is this. Ireland, being strained in every nerve to find men and money to carry on the novel task of governing Ireland in Ireland, will commission gentlemen, with some leisure and plenty of spirit, to represent

her in London, just as a foreign newspaper keeps its correspondents here. These men would be Londoners, wholly unconnected with Ireland, even ignorant of Ireland. They need not be Irishmen at all, nor need they be in touch with the people of Ireland. They would have instructions from Dublin by telegraph; and they would turn up at Westminster as occasion might require, cast a solid Irish vote on matters, about which the Irish people had never heard, and on which their eighty representatives had no particular opinions, except so far as the wire conveyed their instructions. It is an alarming prospect for a British Parliament. *Tu l'as voulu, Joseph Chamberlain!* Why should Ireland do otherwise, if to satisfy punctilio as to the Imperial character of Parliament, Englishmen and Scotchmen insist on keeping Irish members at Westminster, where Irish members have no great desire to stay?

Perhaps in Committee it will be found inevitable to make some modifications in Clause 9; and, provided no occasion be taken to embarrass the Government, there seems no real reason against it. There seems a conceivable compromise which Conservatives might push, and which, if Nationalists and Radicals could stomach it, would disarm much opposition. The objections to Clause 9 are: (1) the admitted difficulties of working restricted membership; (2) the burden on Ireland of having three sets of representatives in two Parliaments and two countries; (3) the uncertainty of Irish members at Westminster being real representatives of Ireland; (4) the uncertainty of their being regular attendants, if they were; (5) the dangers of having at Westminster so large a body as eighty members, who would remain more or less outsiders, and an incalculable element on divisions.

It would be a conservative policy to make the Irish Legislative Council of forty-eight *ipso facto* members of the Imperial Parliament without restrictions at all. They, at any rate, would not be "carpet baggers," but real representatives of Ireland, in touch with the Irish people, and having legislative functions in Ireland. They would be elected by a limited constituency, invented to calm the terrors of the minority and to soften Conservative wrath. They would not be men who could fairly be suspected of plotting to obstruct British legislation, or to make impossible the Government of the Empire. It would free Ireland from a triple election, and their much smaller number would diminish the fear of their interference in England.

It is urged that the Legislative Council of Ireland will command no respect and will not attract the more able men. But if a seat in the Council implies membership of the Imperial Parliament, it would do both. Though there would be no need for continuous attendance at Westminster, the principle of Irish representation would be adequately guaranteed. And the reduced numbers would diminish the risk of any factious combination. Under the First Schedule to

the Bill, the Protestant influence might count on securing about one-sixth of the Legislative Council; the territorial influence might secure another sixth. And not more than two-thirds (or about thirty-two) would be secured by the Catholic and Nationalist influence. A British House of Commons, of 567 members, need not be thrown into panic at such an addition to its body. Such a modification of the Bill would much simplify its working, both from the Irish and from the British point of view. But it would be a Conservative amendment, and could not fail to meet with Radical and Nationalist opposition.

It is mere waste of ingenuity now to inveigh against the "anomalies" of the Bill, or, indeed, to justify them. Anomalies there must be under the impracticable conditions imposed by the competing interests. Anomalies there are in all constitutions, and such there are likely to be in any formal constitution. The most stupendous "anomaly" in the whole range of public law is the British Constitution. The position of the (so-called) Sovereign, the privileges of the House of Lords, the legal functions of the Privy Council, of the Cabinet, of the Premier, with his foreign title and indefinite authority—these and twenty other cardinal features in our system are huge abnormal incomprehensibilities to the eye of scientific jurisprudence. Publicists, journalists, and orators, might produce volumes in ridicule of any one of them, if they stood as clauses in a Bill. You might drive a coach-and-six through any written Constitution in the world. "Anomalies" matter little in practice, where there is an honest determination to give a constitutional reform an honest trial.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

## II. THE MUTUAL SAFEGUARDS.

THE secret is out at last, and the first and most natural thought of most people will, I think, be, why was it made a secret at all? If the main features of Mr. Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill had been before the electors last July, the majority in the House of Commons would not to-day be oppressed by the shadow of the House of Lords, which cast its gloom over all the debate upon the first reading. As we see the Bill now, its moderation from an English, and its comparative thoroughness from an Irish point of view, it is difficult to believe that a knowledge of its leading provisions could have diminished the Liberal polls. It is, however, a useless task to speculate now upon this matter. The second Home Rule Bill has been kept a secret; the secret is now out, and though it is safe to assume that the measure will pass triumphantly through all its stages in the House of Commons, it is, I fear, equally certain that, at any rate at the first time of asking, the House of Lords, with its permanent Tory majority of several hundreds, will give it short shrift, and condemn it to speedy execution. What will follow upon that rejection by the House of Lords no one can say, and it is idle to speculate. For the moment our hands are full. Our immediate business is to discuss, amend, and pass the Bill through the House of Commons. The task is a difficult one, requiring a spirit of moderation and compromise, but also demanding an equally strong spirit of perseverance and determination.

It is too soon yet to attempt a full or careful examination of the new measure. There are portions of it, and those the least satisfactory—such, for example, as the financial clauses—which cannot be criticised lightly after a casual perusal of the print, but which will require much thought, much inquiry, and much deliberation before a

sound judgment can be passed upon them. But there are other portions of the Bill in which the leading principles of the Home Rule policy are to be found, which create certain broad effects capable of instant recognition and acknowledgment. In homely phrase it may be said that the object of the measure is to enable the Irish people to manage their own affairs free from the ignorant and mischievous interference of England. This is an object that no one can quarrel with. The true test of the success of the new Home Rule Bill will be found in the answer to the question, does it, in conceding this right to Ireland, provide, on the one hand, adequate safeguards against rash, unjust, and oppressive action by the Irish Legislature; and, on the other hand, adequate safeguards against wanton and capricious interference in Irish local affairs by the Imperial Parliament and the Imperial authority? If the safeguards are satisfactory to Great Britain and to Ireland then the measure is a success. If they are not it is a failure. What are the safeguards against rash, unjust, or oppressive action by the Irish Parliament? They are of the most sweeping and complete character. First take the question of physical force. No change is made in the present position. The army, the navy, and even the police for a term of years, remain under the Imperial authority. Ireland will not possess a soldier or a ship of war. A certain class of Englishmen are fond of saying Ireland is now held by force. Well, that force will remain, while the force of disaffection must necessarily be weakened, if not destroyed. Take next the power of Parliament. After Home Rule, as before, it will remain supreme and inalienable. Irishmen have for nearly a century now disputed the validity of the Act of Union; by accepting such a scheme as Mr. Gladstone proposes they will at last surrender this cherished relic of the past which they have long hugged with pathetic devotion through generations of despair and defeat. The Irish Nationalist, from being a somewhat perverse and impracticable dreamer, will, at one step, become a practical politician. The supremacy of Parliament is a fact, and he will no longer seek to question it. That supremacy will enable the Imperial Parliament to prevent oppressive legislation should it ever be attempted by the Irish Legislature. But it never will be attempted. Mr. Parnell said on a memorable occasion that once an Irish Legislature was established all Irishmen would recognise that every rash act or violent proceeding by that Legislature would be so many nails driven into the coffin of the constitution which had been won for the country, and which it would be the highest interest of all Irishmen to preserve. The supremacy of Parliament would be as a sword which often is most powerful while sheathed. The supremacy which created our Constitution would remain to take it away again if abused, and the power to legislate for Ireland delegated to the new

Legislature would remain in existence as an additional safeguard against tyrannical or oppressive proceedings.

Similarly with the Veto. No Home Rule Bill, and certainly not this Bill, can destroy the Veto of the Crown. Unjust and oppressive legislation becomes an absolute impossibility in view of the fact that as a last resort the Veto of the Crown can at any time be interposed. Beyond this there remains the tribunal which is to be invested with the power of deciding, on the initiative of either the Lord Lieutenant, or the Home Secretary, or of any aggrieved subject of the Queen, on what is called in America the "constitutionality" of any Act of the Irish Legislature. Any Act in excess of the powers granted to the Irish Parliament will be void, and the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council, upon which Ireland is to be directly represented by at least one of her judges, is the tribunal to decide upon these questions.

Behind all these safeguards there is still another. The existence of the Second Chamber will render rash legislation an utter impossibility. It has been said that if the Lower Chamber representing the people are determined upon any Act the Second Chamber does not impose an impassable barrier. That is true. If it did its existence would be intolerable and utterly indefensible in logic or reason. What it does is this: it may postpone the particular legislation for two years, or until after a dissolution of Parliament, and even then its power does not end, for before the Bill in question can pass it must be proved to have the overwhelming sense of the people at its back by commanding a majority of both Chambers in a joint sitting. Any Bill which commands sufficient popular support to fulfil these conditions ought to pass; but then no such Bill could by any possibility be open to the charge of being rash or hasty. These, then, are the safeguards against any rash, violent, or oppressive proceedings by the Irish Legislature. The physical force of England undiminished and reinforced by a moral force she never had on her side before, the continued and unimpaired supremacy of Parliament, the Veto of the Crown, the constitutional tribunal to decide questions of *ultra vires*, and the existence of the Second Chamber; to which may also be added the express reservation from the Irish Legislature of power to deal with certain questions affecting religion and kindred matters.

Now, upon the other side, what safeguards are there for Ireland that under this measure she will be permitted, in Mr. Gladstone's words, "a practically separate and independent management of her own internal affairs?" Ireland has been told that this Home Rule is a degradation to her, and that, aspiring to be a nation, as she undoubtedly is, she ought to spurn this gift. From whom does this generous and sympathetic advice come? From men who deny Ireland



any of the attributes of nationhood ; who speak of her as "an arbitrarily selected area," and who despise her people and deride their aspirations. Ireland surely upon this matter is entitled to judge and speak for herself. Mr. Gladstone spoke, on the introduction of the Bill, of the word "finality," as being "a somewhat discredited word." No man has more reason to discredit it than he has ; no country has more reason to disregard it than Ireland. No man can without rashness and presumption speak of any settlement as final. No generation can bind its successors, or predict what their circumstances and needs will be. Therefore the less said in this matter of Home Rule about finality the better. For my part, I believe the day is coming when Federalism will be established as the system of government in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland alike. Home Rule for Ireland is but a beginning, and in view of this probability, not to consider other contingencies, it would be the utmost folly to speak of the proposed arrangement as final. With this reservation, I think Ireland will find in the present Home Rule Bill some not unsatisfactory safeguards against unwarrantable interference in her domestic affairs by the Imperial authority. As to the Veto, it is expressly provided in the Bill that it is to be exercised on the advice of the Irish Cabinet. This establishes the practice, and, for my part, I am of opinion that the exercise of the over-riding Veto by the Crown to defeat measures having the support of the Irish Government and of both the Irish Legislative Chambers, would be so serious a matter, so far-reaching and violent in its consequences, not only in Ireland but in the Imperial Parliament, with its eighty Irish members, that it is beyond the bounds of possibility that it could often occur. To take the Irish Constitution away again, even by the sword, as Mr. Chamberlain contemplated, would in my view be a simpler and more sensible proceeding than the constant exercise of this power. Mr. Balfour's threats deceive no one. If an Irish Constitution be once set up, no English Party will be in a hurry to destroy it again. Of course, some great emergency might arise which would justify the use of this over-riding Veto, but I do not fear its use in such imaginary circumstances, and I am satisfied that in the every-day life of our Parliament the Veto of the Crown will be exercised, as provided in the Bill, on the advice of the Irish Cabinet responsible to the popular Assembly. As to the right of concurrent legislation, which would continue to reside in the Imperial Parliament, I am in favour of inserting a declaration in the Bill that, while the Irish Legislature is in existence, that power will not be used in reference to those particular Irish affairs committed to its charge. Manifestly this is the intention. Manifestly, also, no such declaration can bind successive Parliaments ; but I think, in view of the retention of Irish members, we ought to impose every moral obligation we can upon

Parliaments to come, not to meddle with purely Irish affairs. Not alone the success of the new Irish Parliament, but the interests of England, Scotland, and Wales in the Imperial Parliament demand a resolute determination on the part of Great Britain not to intermeddle in those Irish matters which the Irish Legislature was created to control. A malicious and reckless resolve on the part of Great Britain to thwart Ireland's wishes in every detail of the life of the Irish nation would of course make such a scheme as is proposed, or, indeed, any scheme which the wit of man could devise, a failure; just as, upon the other hand, a similar resolve on the part of Ireland to persistently violate the spirit and the letter of her treaty of peace with England would have the same result. But given ordinary common sense, fair play, and good faith upon both sides, and such a compromise as is now proposed might reasonably become the basis of a peaceful settlement founded upon true Imperial unity and national freedom.

J. E. REDMOND.

### III. HOME RULE IN CROATIA.

CROATIA possesses a form of Home Rule, in her relations to Hungary and the Parliament of Hungary, which has some salient points of resemblance to the plans for the government of Ireland proposed by Mr. Gladstone in 1886 and in the present Session. I propose, with the brevity of a guide-book, first to explain, almost in a sentence, what was the origin of the Croatian constitution; secondly, to state what it is; thirdly, to inquire how it works.

1. Nearly nine hundred years ago, Croatia being an independent kingdom, on the failure of the national dynasty, offered the crown to the King of Hungary. There has been a personal union of the crowns ever since. The constitution, as then settled, included a Diet, or National Parliament, which subsisted till the latter half of the last century, when it was suppressed, and Croatia was administered as an integral part of Hungary. An intense national spirit of resentment grew up; and in the war between Austria and Hungary in 1848 Croatia took up arms against Hungary, and proved a formidable foe. When Austria and Hungary were reconciled, and the dual system established, in 1867, Deák, the Hungarian statesman, deemed it prudent to disarm the hostility of Croatia by restoring their Diet and national Constitution, which was done in 1868. Acts of Parliament embodying the new Constitution were simultaneously passed by the Hungarian Reichstag and the Croatian Diet, which was revived for the purpose. The two kingdoms are described as separate contracting parties, but are declared to form one political community.

2. The Croatian Diet is a single Chamber composed of two orders;—first, certain ecclesiastical dignitaries and nobles who possessed seigniorial jurisdiction prior to 1848; and secondly, seventy-seven elected members; but it is provided that the number of the first order is never to be equal to that of the second. The Croatian Diet sends

to the Parliament of Hungary forty delegates, chosen from its own members. These vote on common affairs only. It is provided that such business is, as far as possible, to be taken at the beginning of the Sessions of the Reichstag, and that it is to be kept in view that the Croatian members should have a clear period of three months for their own business.

Certain subjects are withheld from the competence of the Croatian Diet, and treated as common affairs. (Imperial is a less appropriate word, because that would include Austria.) The chief of these are : (1) Army and defence; (2) Finance; (3) Currency and commerce, including posts, telegraphs, railways, and main lines of communication; (4) Industrial legislation, passports, citizenship. Croatia was to contribute to general expenses according to her ability, which was estimated at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole. She has never been able to pay her full contribution.

In the subjects not reserved Croatia has full autonomy. The Ban is the sole executive. He is appointed by the Emperor, and is declared by the Constitution to be responsible to the Diet. He has Ministers without responsibility in the three departments of the Interior, which I take to include Police, Public Worship and Instruction, and Justice. All these subjects the Diet has full power to deal with. A Minister at Pesth without a portfolio is the organ of communication between the Imperial Government and the Ban. It will be observed that there is no provision for a veto. The Constitution cannot be altered, except as it was made, by Acts both of the Hungarian Reichstag and the Croatian Diet.

3. How does this system of Home Rule work? The Diet has accomplished some very useful legislation, including the establishment of a complete system of local government, with parish and county councils, not fully representative, but proceeding on a representative basis and with important popular elements. It has also, I believe skilfully, dealt with the difficult process of transition from the tenure of land in common by families to an individual system. On the other hand, there has once been armed intervention to quell a riot—it did not amount to a rising—which was occasioned by the imprudence of an official who put a Hungarian instead of a Croatian inscription on the national arms over a public office. The importance of the incident has been much exaggerated.

There are, however, more important questions : for example, what parties are there in the State? and what political views do they represent? The Ban is at the head of the Government—in fact, is the Government—and he commands a majority in the Diet. There is an opposition, composed of various sections united in antagonism to the Government, and it must be said that the antagonism is of a bitter kind. The largest section would class themselves as adherents

of the well-known Bishop Strossmayer. He is now advanced in years, and seldom leaves his palace and the cathedral which he has built at Diakovar to take his place in the Diet. His opponents maintain that his influence is greatly on the wane. But he is the acknowledged head of the most important party in opposition, and the typical exponent of their views and sentiments. This party is before all things a Slav party. The Croats are a pure Slavonic race. They maintain that the Hungarians have always oppressed them when they could, and that under the present Constitution Hungary exploits and makes use of Croatia, and has made an unfair bargain with her, notably in the fiscal provisions. Among many things worth repeating which Bishop Strossmayer said, one was that in any arrangement of the kind the fiscal provisions were the cardinal point. Accordingly, this party is discontented. They do not avow a desire to change the Constitution, but they wait upon events. Croatia is encircled with kindred Slav provinces and States: Dalmatia (which is claimed as part of Croatia), Bosnia and Herzegovina—all parts of the Austrian Empire,—Servia and Bulgaria,—independent States. The Strossmayer party hint that a union of these elements would be numerically stronger than the Magyars. They even look with a friendly eye to Russia as the natural leader of the Slavs in the event of any great European convulsion. In domestic politics they point to such special grievances as tampering with the freedom of elections by the Government, the indefinite suspension by the Diet of a law which is on the statute-book securing the independence of the judges, and the refusal of jury trial in press prosecutions. Of these grievances more presently.

Another smaller section of the opposition is more irreconcilable. It joins in the same complaints, but it flatly disputes the legality of the Constitution on the ground that neither Dalmatia nor the so-called Military Frontier were parties to it. Dalmatia was one of the oldest parts of Croatia and contained the seat of government. It has been separated from it, I think, for centuries. But one clause in the Treaty Acts of 1868 provides that Hungary was to try to get it back from Austria for Croatia. The Military Frontier, which forms about a third of the actual area of Croatia, and historically is part of it, was only incorporated some years after 1868. This extreme party says: "Summon us all, including Dalmatia and the Frontier. Let us do it over again, and we will make a fair bargain." The number of this party is small, but it includes able men like M. Folnegovicz—once a journalist, who reminds one of an Irish Nationalist leader in the most irreconcilable days—and other men of high character. Its former leader, Starcovicz, a lawyer, who at one time had great influence with the peasantry in certain districts was, when I visited the country in 1888, suffering a long term of imprisonment for embezzlement. His friends

represent the prosecution to have been trumped up for political purposes. Knowing the character of the Ban, I regard the accusation as wholly incredible. But when the law guaranteeing the independence of the judges is suspended, it is not wonderful that such accusations are made and believed by those who make them. Perhaps one may distinguish from both of these parties a section of the nobility, who are discontented with the present *régime*. Some of them have been for more than one generation identified with the national party, like Count Draskovicz. They do not consider that they have a due share of influence or the prospect of acquiring it. They keep aloof from the Diet, where they do not wish to be confounded with the Extreme Left, the Starcovizianer, whom they abhor; and they accuse the Government of placing the whole administration, down to the smallest posts, in the hands of its own creatures.

As to the specific complaints of the opposition, there is no doubt that there is a certain amount of Government interference in elections. The franchise is somewhat high, and is complicated. Not more than one man in ten has a vote, if so many. The interference mostly takes the form of the expenditure of money, I believe of no great amount. But the evidence of constraint being put upon voters is in some cases too strong to be gainsaid. The excuse which the supporters of the Government would make is, that with a comparatively small electorate and open voting, it is necessary to do something to counteract the intimidation to which voters might be subjected. The result of the elections always gives a majority for the Government; and on any crucial question the Government is reinforced by the *Virilisten*, the first order, the voters who have a personal right to vote; so that the position of the minority is hopeless. They have no chance of converting themselves into a majority. Politically in a desperate situation, their opposition inevitably tends to become directed not merely against the Government, but against the constitution. That this is a blot upon the scheme and an impediment to the healthy working of the constitution is obvious. It is very singular, but I think almost self-evident, that it is a result of the absence of any restriction upon the autonomy of the Diet within its own sphere.\* The Hungarian Reichstag, with its present representation from Croatia, has its hands tied. There is no veto, no power of concurrent legislation—no power to withdraw or revise the constitution. It is not sovereign over the Croatian Diet. Consequently the Government cannot afford to run the risk of being beaten in the Croatian Diet. It is the last resort within the Constitution, however dangerous in their estimation a measure might be. They must take means to secure a majority. This, I think, was the defect in the Constitution, to which the Ban is reported in the *Times* (February 20) to have

\* The observation is very important with reference to Ireland.

said that he directed my attention. As the case of the Government being in a minority has never arisen, it is impossible to say for certain whether the responsibility of the Ban to the Diet expressly laid down in the Constitution would involve his resignation upon an adverse vote. I should think it very doubtful whether the Constitution would be so interpreted. I do not mean, however, that the Government is carried on without reference to the wishes of the Diet, but the contrary; if a Ban had not a good understanding with the Diet, it would probably be impossible for the Imperial Government to maintain him in office.

The result on the whole is that the Ban, as the sole executive, has a large amount of personal power. Party spirit is, for the causes which I have assigned, so bitter that his opponents charge him with ruling tyrannically, and in the interests of Hungary as against Croatia; but none refuse him their respect, or deny his ability, industry, and courage. My own belief is that, although in a country which is very new to free institutions—for the ancient liberties of Croatia were the inheritance of the aristocracy alone—his standpoint is not that of a British statesman; yet his aims are enlightened and liberal, and his policy might already have been more liberal if he were not hampered by the traditions of the Imperial Court, and probably the timidity of his own followers in the Diet. One great difficulty is the want of good political material. The peasantry are for the most part extremely ignorant, and were in a state of partial serfdom till 1848; and there is a want of local leaders. In the upper and hilly part of the country, where the land-owners often reside on their estates, they have great influence. But in the Frontier there are no natural leaders, and in Slavonia the estates are often of vast extent, and the proprietors non-resident. If they do reside, their influence is great. The parochial clergy, though doubtless there are exceptions, do not enjoy a high degree of respect. There is little of a middle class, which may be one reason why it is difficult to fill the lesser official posts with competent and trustworthy men. That is the reason assigned for suspending the independence of the judges.

Is, then, the experiment a success? With all its drawbacks, it is preferable to any alternative that I can think of. Withdraw the Constitution and make Croatia a Hungarian Department? No Hungarian statesman would propose it. The national feeling is intense. The nobles who now support the Government would equally with the people defend their national Diet as one man. Have the opposition anything better to propose? They look vaguely to some agglomeration of the Southern Slav provinces. That would mean the hegemony of Russia, not perhaps the best guarantee for national freedom. But, moreover, whatever a European conflagration might

bring forth, no such plan is within the range of practical Croatian politics. But there are more positive matters which one may note with pleasure. The country is tranquil. There are but 20,000 soldiers in Croatia—not a large contingent in a great military empire like Austria-Hungary. The army is territorial. The soldiers are all native-born Croatians. The lower part of the country is extremely rich and fertile. The upper part, which is the poorest, shows strong signs of improvement. The schools and the parish councils are gradually exercising a civilising influence. The undeveloped mineral wealth of the country is also a hopeful element; and with its fine position, with one arm on the Adriatic, and the other on the Danube, good judges have predicted for Croatia a great commercial future.

DONALD CRAWFORD.



## POOR LAW REFORM.

**T**HE demand for Poor Law Reform is becoming general. The idealists who have drawn pictures of a society where none are hungry in body and none dwarfed in mind have touched the national conscience. It seems unendurable that a family should live and sleep and work in one room, that a mother and her children should be expected to exist on 4s. 6d. a week, or that a man should die in the streets of starvation on Christmas morning. Mansion House Funds, General Booth's schemes, innumerable charities which have promised everything, have failed or are failing to make much change. Thousands of pounds are spent, shelters are open, but still the condition of the poor is felt as a reproach by the awakened national conscience. Men's minds therefore now turn to the Poor Law, and its reform is demanded, so that it may if possible remove the reproach.

Many schemes for reform are suggested, but idealists who are good to begin a movement are not always good at practical measures. The men who created the desire for a United Italy would hardly have made Italy, and the men who have roused society to consider the state of its poor as a reproach are not likely to be those best able to remove the reproach. Idealists see heaven plainly, but are apt to miss earth's facts. They are so set on the possible that they do not recognise the actual. Some reformers, for example, see the beauty and strength of a society in which every individual is strong by his own effort, and comfortable as a result of his own self-restraint. They neglect the fact that wages, reduced by the existence of the Poor Law, cannot provide sufficient income to make a man independent in sickness and old age, and regardless of this fact they demand a reform which will make relief impossible for any one retaining his self-respect. They ask for prohibition of all out-relief,

penal labour for the able-bodied, and the cellular system for casuals. On the other side, there are reformers who see the peace and plenty of an organised society. They neglect the fact that free individual forces exist and will be active, and they, regardless of this fact, demand a reform which will make the State the one relief agent, the nurse of the sick and the almoner of the poor.

Idealists give invaluable help, they give the distant view, without which progress as a walk would be dull and hardly endured, but they do not help us to see the stumbling-block at our feet which may bring progress, as it brings a walk, to a sudden stop.

Practical reformers, inspired by the hope of better times, must consider things as they are, and Poor Law reformers must remember (1) that voluntary charity is a real factor in the relief of the poor; and (2) that the Poor Law has taken up a definite line for the relief of the old, the sick, the children, and the able-bodied.

Their object should be not to enlarge or to limit the scope of its action, but rather to see that what is attempted is well done, that its own ground is well covered and a free space left for voluntary activity. If this principle of reform be adopted, it would not be possible to follow those economists who ask for restriction of Poor Law action—the fact that the Poor Law has, by its relief, induced habits of living and fixed the rate of wages must be accepted. But neither would it be possible to follow the Socialists who ask that the State should undertake all relief; the fact that voluntary charities exist must also be accepted. The watchword of its reform must be “Thorough.” The thing attempted must be thoroughly done.

#### THE ABLE-BODIED POOR.

What does the Poor Law attempt to do for the poor workman or workwoman? It attempts to secure that no one in England shall starve, it therefore provides relief for every one who is destitute, and as experience has shown that the offer of relief induces idleness, it adds a spur for the idle. It provides relief by (1) weekly doles through the hands of the relieving officers; by (2) indoor residence in the workhouse; and by (3) nightly lodging in casual wards. It adds a spur by making the relief in the workhouse and the casual ward as disagreeable as possible.

Its failure to relieve the poor and to stimulate the idle is notorious. Its weekly dole, or “out-relief,” administered by a relieving officer bound to suspect every assertion, brings out the greed of the applicant, destroys his self-respect, checks his energies, and has had a distinct effect in keeping down wages. Its indoor treatment sends out every poor man embittered by the contempt he has experienced, and in no way strengthened, either in body or mind, to fight the battle of life. The prison discipline, enforced by officials unskilled

in discipline, the degrading tasks at oakum-picking or stone-breaking, the foul talk of Sundays and recreation hours when noise and evil get their way unchecked, the niggardly given portions of food, unite to make the workhouses unfit to bring out the good or check the bad in human nature. The unfortunate despair under such treatment, the idle set it at defiance. The visitor, as he walks through the labour sheds or casual wards, notes only hard set faces and lowering glances, he finds it impossible to get an answering smile or even a look to show consciousness of common humanity. And, then, the sting of it all lies in the thought that the law creates the class. The people are low, ignorant, and brutal, but they are made anti-human by suspicious, unloving, and inconsiderate relief.

The Poor Law system of relief is demoralising, and it does not prevent starvation. Its workhouse and casual wards, its infirmaries, its outdoor doles and pensions, are kept up at an annual cost for London of £2,565,924, for all England of £8,434,345, and at the same time there are in London streets men and women within measurable distance of starvation. The failure of the Poor Law to provide relief encourages numberless charitable bodies to make the attempt, and the poor are harassed by the experiments of the benevolent. Relief has itself become a fruitful cause of poverty, and one of the anxieties of the winter in East London is lest some Mansion House Fund or some Bitter Cry should bring upon the people the gifts which disturb and do not help. At times the hope revives that some organisation of the charities might make them effective. Attempts are made to unite the agencies of various sects or to bring to enthusiasm the aid of knowledge and experience. Hitherto all such attempts have more or less failed, and the poor remain poor, while charity competes with charity, and while enthusiasm increases poverty by gifts without knowledge.

The Poor Law, if it is to do thoroughly what it attempts, must open a door into which every one who is poor may enter and find help. It must devise a plan for dividing the unfortunate from the idle by some agency more regular than an official's judgment. It must offer to the unfortunate the means by which they may, if they will, regain a living, and it must bring to bear on the idle a discipline which will make them workers.

Such a plan must obviously be tried on the lines of in-door relief. There must be no longer a possibility of the dole tempting the poor man or woman along the paths of deception, which end in greater poverty. But the in-door relief must have as its chief characteristic—hopefulness. As they who now enter the house give up hope, so they who in the future enter must learn hope. By the brightness and life evident in all the arrangements, by the courtesy of the officials, by all the signs of successful manufacturing operations, the new comers must be made to feel they have entered a place of work. They must then be met with

the distinct offer: "Will you submit to training for six or twelve months, during which time your home shall be kept together and you yourself fitted to earn a living in a shop or on the land?" They who accept the offer will at once be put to work. Some will be sent to the farm colony to be taught to dig and do rough field labour, to take new strength into their bodies and be fitted for agricultural employment at home or abroad; others will be put to tailoring, to wood or iron work in the workhouse, and be sent out at the end of their time with the self-reliance which comes to those who have a trade in their hands. They who refuse the offer, as well as they who abuse the offer, will be sent to the house of correction, there to be kept at hard labour for such time as may seem good.

By this plan, the unfortunate would be automatically sifted out from the idle, and have within their reach a means by which they might honourably regain a place in the ranks of workers. The means are such as long experience proves to be most likely to be efficient. The unfortunate—by which is meant the poor who are poor by other than their own fault—are either weak or ignorant: weak by inherited tendencies or by unhealthy living; ignorant by absence of training in skill or of application to any industry. Among the thousands of able-bodied who apply for relief, it is rare to find any skilled mechanic, or indeed any one who has a trade in his hands. It seems as if the possession of a trade lifted its owner into another society for which relief systems and workhouses are unnecessary. The community, with its free education and its technical schools, has attempted to put a trade within the reach of all, but somehow it fails, and either because the schools aim to fill and not to train the mind, or because society and parents are greedy of child-labour, the towns swarm with men and women fit only "to turn a wheel." There is nothing, therefore, which the community can more rightly or wisely do than give to these neglected members the opportunity of learning. In one sense, the gift is payment of a debt, a part of the education originally offered; in another sense, it is an insurance against a greater claim, a means of relief to prevent the ultimate poverty of the whole family.

Other means of relief are vain, money given during slack times, assistance to increase wages are remedies worse than the disease. The only way to deal with poverty is to put into the poor man's hands the weapons proved to be effective against poverty. Those weapons are health and skill. Let then the Poor Law put these within the reach of every one whose good intention is proved by his willingness to submit to training.

It is not the least merit of the proposed plan that it will bring home to the idlers helpful punishment. At present there is little doubt but that the mass of those ragged, wretched human beings who throng relief offices and hang about street corners, is made up of drunkards and idlers.

There is little doubt also but that these unhappy people are supported by the sentiment which provides breakfasts, shelters, and casual doles. The sentiment under the circumstances need not be condemned. The thought that the beggar shivering in his rags may perchance be worthy and unfortunate, and that for him there is no place of refuge other than the hope-killing workhouse or casual ward, is not to be endured by a brother man, so the shelter is opened and the dole is given. Vain is it for the police and the missionaries to warn the public that such giving encourages a wretched life and makes rags a means of livelihood; common humanity will not be content without an assurance of hope for the lowest of its kind. If, therefore, it were known that the offer of training in honest work were open to every one willing to submit to kindly discipline, there would be no longer the same disposition to give the dole, and one means to which idlers trust would be removed. At last the educator and the idler would be face to face, at last the law and the law-breaker would meet together. Too long the idlers, the lazy who refuse to be punctual or regular, the dissolute who riot in the low lodging-houses, the blacklegs who sneak into other men's work, have preyed on society. They have reaped what has been sown for others, they have spoiled the good things provided, they have corrupted themselves, and, like all who do wrong, are themselves most wronged.

The problem for reformers has been how to get hold of the idler and give him the education he needs. Hitherto it has been impossible because of the humanity of the public, but if that humanity received a new direction, if it were enlisted in the desire to get for the poor and the wretched the honourable training of work, the endowment of idleness would be diverted.

Then at last the drunkard, the lazy, and the blackleg would be swept into the house of correction; the labour market and the charity office would be lightened, and the lesson would be enforced that idleness has its reward! Law is the great educator of the ignorant, and the charge which the idler may fairly bring against modern society is that there has been no law by which he has learnt the end of idleness. "Why have you begged?" "Why not?" he will answer; "begging pays better than working."

If the Poor Law is to do thoroughly what it attempts for the able-bodied poor, it must close its casual wards and give up its out-relief. Instead, it must open industrial training-schools in town and in country, in which all who will, may get training in some skill, while they receive honourable treatment. The industrial schools will be deterrent by being educational, but every inmate will have to submit to the restraint necessary for order and the performance of work. Alongside of the training schools it must also establish houses of correction, in which it shall be lawful to keep, for periods of accumulating

length, those who refuse or abuse training. In these houses of correction the discipline will be severe; but here, too, the processes of education will not be neglected, and the work done will be remunerative.

By such means the Poor Law might provide for the poor the means best fitted to enable them to rise above poverty, applying at the same time a spur to the idle. The field left open for charitable agencies is still large, and the work well defined.

In the first place, there will be in the workhouses and houses of correction a call for the personal service which, discovering by friendship the strength and weakness of character, will supply what is lacking. Men and women will be able by books, by visits, and by talk, to give assurance to all who are for the moment isolated that they are still members of the great human society, and they will be able to give that individual education, without which the best systems must fail. Further there will be a call for money to start those who have been trained either at home or abroad, some of whom will be fit to be put on the land, some to be equipped with tools. The money now spent on shelter, food, and casual doles, rises to a mighty sum; but even this sum would be absorbed if those who had proved themselves worthy received adequate help. The present system, or want of system, has lowered the standard of what seems necessary to life. In the effort to relieve all, the charitable have been content to provide food insufficient to support the body and accommodation destructive of self-respect. How else could a well-fed man offer his starving brother a halfpenny dinner to satisfy his craving, or a dirty leather bed in a crowded room for his night's rest. A system which would leave to the care of the charitable only a limited number of families might, it may be hoped, evoke a charity which would show consideration for human needs and generously give what is necessary for decency and health.

#### THE AGED POOR.

What now, it may be asked, has the Poor Law attempted to do for the old? The answer is given in the figures set out by Mr. Charles Booth. It has provided relief for 30 per cent., or for a number nearly approaching that figure, of all persons over sixty-five in England and Wales. Rather, it should be said that it has attempted to provide such relief. The 87,603 who receive the relief indoors are not happy, and they have not deserved punishment. The majority are women. They have probably spent themselves at dull and ill-paid work, they have borne children and learnt fully the lesson of sorrow, they would have enjoyed in their old age to have their children about their knees, to have wandered quietly in the haunts of their youth, and lived again in the talk of the young. The

old in the workhouses, wearied by the monotonous cleanliness, provoked to selfishness by the atmosphere of officialism, made pettish and petty by one another's complaints, afford a sad sight. England must indeed be rich in teachers if she can thus waste those God sends to teach reverence and gentleness.

The 420,057 who receive out-relief are not in the real sense relieved. They have had to go hat in hand to the relieving officer. They have had to submit to his questions, and at last they have received what must be grudgingly given. They live, indeed, amid old haunts and with young friends; but they live as paupers, conscious of a barrier between themselves and their independent neighbours. They may not show signs of the wound their nature bears, but an experience I had in Winnipeg showed me how deeply human nature feels severance from its kind. A Whitechapel woman was there living with her husband in a house not better than a Whitechapel house. Their circumstances were poor enough, and the trade of tinker did not seem to be well paid. But "tell them at home," they said, "that not for £100 would the old tinker return; here our children go to school with the best and we get respect." The recipients of out-relief are paupers; they form a class apart; they are counted up with drunkards and idlers, and they can never feel that they have that respect which transfigured life in Winnipeg. They who might have brought sweetness and content into their homes bring too often grumbling and are the parents of the pauper spirit.

The Poor Law therefore which gives relief to such a large proportion of the old people of this country does not do thoroughly what it attempts to do. It has removed the stimulus to effort; it has lowered the rate of wages; it has taken old age under its care, and it has made old age anxious and sad.

The proposals for reform are general. "Let there be," say some, "carefully discriminated out-relief and classified infirmaries, so that they who are most deserving may have all that they can desire." But who is to be the judge of character; who is to say that A. shall have out-relief and B. go into the infirmary, that C. is to be treated as if he were an honoured guest, and D. as if he were a criminal? It may be that B. has fought temptations, and had trials which have never come near to A., and that D. has done kindnesses and helped others, as C. never dreamed of doing. There is no way in which strangers can judge character; the good and the evil must be let grow together; and he who attempts to separate them will destroy the good with the evil. Beyond this there is something humiliating, a loss of self-respect, which is entailed in submitting to such judgment. The secrets and sorrows of a man's life are his own; his efforts to save, his charities to children or to friends, his afflictions, the sins of his youth, are not for public use, and he who

is called on to expose them suffers irreparably in character. There is a necessary modesty for the character as there is for the person. It is not therefore by lavish out-relief or by infirmaries, although they be pleasant as almshouses, that the needs of old age are to be met.

The more popular proposals are that pensions be provided, and three schemes have been suggested. There is (1) that by which young people are to be compelled to save and employers compelled to contribute. This may at once be put aside as impracticable. There are classes—wayward youths, factory girls, farm labourers—whom it would be impossible to compel, and there are many workmen and workwomen, costermongers and charwomen, who have no employers. The scheme would moreover entail an army of officials and a system of registration most distasteful to public sentiment. There is (2) the scheme by which savings are to be supplemented, so that any one who has saved £5 shall receive a pension of 5s a week at sixty-five. The objection to this scheme is that it would be of only partial use. There are many labourers, male and female, who can save nothing beyond what is necessary for times of ill-health and trade depression, and the community would still be left face to face with a body of old and poor people for whom its previous action by means of the Poor Law had made it responsible. An incidental objection to this scheme is that it would bring about interference with Friendly Societies and other independent saving agencies. There remains (3) the scheme by which the State gives to every citizen above sixty-five the sum of 5s. a week. Mr. Charles Booth has given this scheme the honour of his examination in a paper read before the Statistical Society. He shows how the annual cost, £17,000,000, would fall most heavily on the wealthier classes, while the working classes would receive back about four times the amount they would pay in extra taxes. He shows further that as in effect the money would be taken from one national pocket and put into another, there would be no prejudicial result on wages, on energy, or on self-respect. The objections generally urged against the plan are (1) that it would paralyse thrift. In reply it may be said that it is hope which induces saving, and that the thriftlessness of the very poor is induced by the thought, "What is the good, if by denying myself every luxury, by giving up smoking, drinking; if by escaping illness and bad seasons I do secure the usual superannuation allowance, 3s. a week at the age of sixty-five, it won't keep me." The very poor have no hope, and are therefore extravagant. On the other hand, the man who has got a nest egg, the tradesman who has enough for old age, the workman who has joined one club, are all keen to get more. It is notorious that workmen become members of many friendly societies, and that in tradesmen the habit of thrift is so developed as to become destructive of habits which are nobler. It is



further urged (2) that a 5*s.* pension is inadequate. To which it may be answered that in the experience of the Tower Hamlets Pension Society, it has been found to be adequate, and Mr. Booth has shown the inexpediency of a larger pension. There are very few who have not so saved money or so made friends as to be able to meet 5*s.* with 3*s.* They who have neither saved nor made friends will probably prefer life in the workhouse. A further objection is (3) that many who received the pension, being thriftless and undisciplined, would simply abuse this accession of wealth. The answer to which is that if they so abused the pension as to be unable to live decently, they would be driven into the workhouse.

But, according to the principle of Poor Law reform which I have suggested, the question is—Will the adoption of this universal pension scheme enable the State to discharge the obligation to the old which it has undertaken? Will it reach all the old and make possible for them honourable, peaceful, and self-respecting life? Obviously the answer is “yes.” A pension will reach every one who has spent his days in England by a rule as regular and by means as dignified as a pension now reaches a Cabinet Minister. It will not depend on the judgment or favour of any official, and as it comes alike to the highest noble and to the lowest commoner, it will involve in neither the least loss of self-respect. And further, if it be asked, what then will be left for voluntary effort?—in the first place, it may be answered that voluntary effort has done little for old age. The Friendly Societies have been able to make no adequate provision, and the pension schemes in connection with the Hearts of Oak and the Oddfellows have been used by the merest fraction of their members. Charity is hardly enlisted, and in three East-end parishes where out-relief has been abolished it has proved to be vain, by continual appeals to the whole of London, to get the small necessary sum for the annual pensions of 100 persons. But even if 5*s.* a week be allowed to every one over sixty-five, there will be much more needed in many cases to make old age comfortable, and there will be some who are past work at sixty years of age. The Poor Law relieves indoors annually some 21,395 paupers between sixty and sixty-five, and 61,178 outdoors.

In the provisions of needs such as these, Friendly Societies and charitable bodies might still find reason for all their activities. Perhaps, indeed, since the object is more limited, and therefore more attainable, their activities will be better directed, and it will come about that the State doing its part thoroughly, voluntary action will also do its part thoroughly. The secret of the disorganisation of charity is want of thoroughness. If every individual and every society who undertakes relief would first of all aim to be thorough, organisation would follow naturally. Organisation is the best when it grows, and one cause of failure in these modern days is the attempt to invent organisation.

## THE SICK.

What does the Poor Law do for the sick? It provides medical officers, dispensaries, infirmaries, a fever hospital, and lunatic asylums. If the administration be good, the officers are men of skill, the drugs are of the best, and the infirmaries are fitted with every appliance science can imagine, and staffed with an efficient body of doctors and trained nurses. All are at the service of the sick, who submit themselves to the relieving officer, and accept the position, if not the name, of paupers. Alongside of this Poor Law provision for the sick is (1) that provided by the Friendly Societies, by whose means, men secure, for the payment of 4s. a year, medical advice and medicine; and (2) that provided by numberless dispensaries, general hospitals, and special hospitals. Of these, there seem to be in London—to take those mentioned in the *Charities Register*—General Hospitals, 27; Hospitals for Incurables, 15; Paying Hospitals, 7; Hospitals for Women and Children, 28; Lying-in, 7; Fever and Small-pox, 10; Consumption, 7; Special, 31; Surgical Aid Societies, 6; Dispensaries, 52; in all 190. The number of persons who in one form or another receive relief there is no means of estimating, but obviously some hundreds of thousands must annually receive gratuitous medical help.

The relief thus given has destroyed any chance for the development of self-help, and in no poor man's budget is adequate allowance made for the payment of skilled medical attendance. That a doctor will be provided is accepted as certain, and not even the high class artisan, who has secured by club payments medical care for himself, thinks it necessary to secure a wage large enough to enable him to get the same medical care for other members of his family. The service of the dispensary or hospital is counted on. At the same time, the abundant relief which is given does not meet the necessities of the case. There are many workmen who die, and more who are rendered incapable, for the want of the skill which enables rich men to rise well from their sick beds. The busy doctor who is paid 4s. a year for each member of the club, and 1s. 6d. a visit for other patients, has to work so hard for a living that he cannot find time to study. It is a sad and common experience of those who have friends among the poor that many die who might by skill and nursing have been saved.

There are indeed skilled doctors, the highest in their profession, who, at the hospitals or dispensaries, offer free advice. But to get this advice, there is first the necessity of "begging" a letter, and then there are the long hours in the waiting-room, where the sick folk are herded, and lastly there is an interview which probably is only of a few seconds' duration. The hospitals for those who are able to get admission offer everything which is wanted; and the

universal testimony of the patients, at any rate in London hospitals, is praise of the doctors, praise of the nurses, and praise of the management. But admission is, after all, a chance. The hospitals are not arranged in neighbourhoods for the convenience of the poor, and sometimes favour fills the beds with friends, or with "interesting cases," who are not in such need as the sick man who is refused.

The Poor Law dispensary and infirmary are thus often the one resort of the sick, and then on the condition that the sick become paupers. It is vain to pass an Act of Parliament that recipients of medical relief shall not be paupers. As long as relief comes by an application to the relieving officer, as long as the applicant has to expose his circumstances, as long as he feels the condescension of those who give, he cannot retain his self-respect, and he suffers, at any rate, the pain and loss of pauperism.

What, therefore, the Poor Law attempts to do, is not done. The poor are not adequately relieved in sickness. They are driven from institution to institution, they linger to death in their own rooms, or they sacrifice, what some value even more than health, their self-respect, and apply to the Poor Law.

The obvious reform is to remove the intervention of the relieving officer. Let it be every one's right to get advice from the parish doctor, medicine from the parish dispensary, treatment in the parish infirmary, fever hospital, or lunatic asylum. A parson and a church are provided for the spiritual needs of the parish, and every one has a right to the parson's ministrations and the church's service; a doctor and an infirmary might be as freely provided for the material needs of the parish. The workman, counting on the provision of medical care, would not then, as he now does, count without his host. He, his wife, or his child, would have the right to apply in sickness to his own parish doctor; he would neither have to humble himself to beg, nor need he feel any sense of obligation for a favour. He would get from the doctor advice or, if necessary, an order for admission to the infirmary or hospital, according to his need. In the case of a patient being unfit to be moved, the doctor would order for the home all necessary comforts and nourishment.

The Poor Law would thus do well its own part in making provision for the sick. What would be left for the voluntary bodies? Perhaps the example of the Poor Law might encourage the authorities also to undertake one duty and do it well. Many are at present inadequately attempted. The arrangements, for instance, for giving country change for convalescents are of uncertain application. General hospitals and special hospitals compete with one another, and the care which has been found necessary for the eyes and teeth of the rich is not brought within reach of the ordinary working-man. If the Poor Law did bring to all people means of medical relief in ordi-

nary cases of sickness, voluntary bodies could add the luxuries of nursing and change of air, or for special cases the special skill of the general or medical hospital. At any rate, there is little doubt but that the reform of the Poor Law medical relief would be followed by the reform of the chaos into which the voluntary charitable medical relief has fallen.

#### THE CHILDREN.

The Poor Law, when it is well administered, does perhaps all which any system can do for the well-being of children. It provides schools equal to any provided by charitable societies, it has introduced cottage homes, and no expense is spared to remove all suggestion of pauper or institution life. It has training homes for girls and training ships for boys, and it boards out in country villages the orphan and deserted children. Into these schools are freely received the children of widows and the disabled, the guardians taking especial pains to keep all concerned clear of pauper contagion.

The education of children in institutions can never be satisfactory ; but it is hard to say what improvement in Poor Law schools could be effected by any change of law. As public opinion becomes more intelligent the government of guardians will become also more intelligent, and as Christian devotion becomes bold enough to leave the shelter of its own homes and orphanages, the officials may oftener be those of a Christian spirit. It is on the increase of knowledge and of good-will rather than on law reform that the better welfare of the children depends.

#### CONCLUSION.

Poor Law reform is a vast subject, and one not easily to be taken apart from other reforms. The public mind, however, has been stirred, and requires that something shall be done. It ill endures the knowledge that the people starve, live degraded lives, and die for want of doctor's care. It has, on occasion after occasion, poured its money into the laps of philanthropists who have promised great things, and now that the great things have not come, the demand is made that the Poor Law remove the cause of shame.

The danger of the moment is a reform directed by sentiment apart from knowledge. During the past fifty years Poor Law administrators have accumulated experience of the greatest value, and it would be disastrous if, out of good-will to the poor, the reformers were to introduce methods proved to be hurtful. Chief among such methods stand out-relief and doles of labour. Again and again they have brought misery into families, and reduced the resources of living. It would be disastrous if, in a hurry to get rid of poverty, the guardians

were encouraged to give liberal out-relief to the unemployed, or to find them work in municipal workshops. Then, indeed, would it seem as if history were written in vain, and as if generations of the poor suffered in vain.

If any experienced administrator of relief were asked what he most desired, he would, I suppose, answer, "to capture the loafer." The loafer preys on charity, robs the workman of his work, and corrupts youth. At present, he escapes the best devised systems and the most shrewd relieving officers. He is sheltered by the charitable public, which provides him with food, and insists on believing that he may be unfortunate, neglected, or injured.

The aim of Poor Law reform should be to get hold of the loafer, to take him out from among the poor, and to confine him until he had learnt some habits of punctuality and of work. It is impossible to do this until charitable public opinion is satisfied that provision is made for every one who needs, that the old man who sweeps the crossing and shivers out his petition has an adequate pension, and might be at home, and that the unemployed who have no work to do, the cadgers who attend cabs, the ragged creatures who sleep by the arches, might be learning a trade and living in decency. The simple principle of Poor Law reform is "thoroughness." It must do thoroughly what it has undertaken, and not extend its operations. As it has undertaken the care of the old and sick, let its care be thorough; as it has undertaken to provide for the unskilled, let it do so thoroughly by making them skilled. At last the public who now protects the loafer will be induced to leave him alone, and he, driven by his needs, will accept the correction which will fit him to become a worker.

SAMUEL A. BARNETT.

## MR. FREEMAN AND THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW."

"We have but pointed out some of Mr. Freeman's errors, and we have endeavoured, as we purposed from the outset, to restrict ourselves to those, small or great, which are beyond the possibility of question." *Quarterly Review*, July 1892. •

### I. GENERAL REMARKS.

**D**URING the last few months most students of English history have been reading with mingled sensations of amusement and surprise the vigorous attack made in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* upon the historical accuracy of the late Professor Freeman. They have thought perhaps that a certain Nemesis of Fate was attending on the steps of one who, in his own day, had been so unsparing and capable a critic of other men's work, and that there was a certain "wild justice" in finding that the censor of other men's labours was himself not impeccable. How far this judgment is accurate may, so far as details are concerned, be left for later treatment. Here it may suffice to admit, once and for all, that the critic has found not a few errors in Mr. Freeman's pages. These errors, however, are for the most part errors of small and unimportant details, which, even if multiplied indefinitely, would hardly affect the value of such an enormous total of work. In one matter only does the Reviewer so much as attempt to lay hold upon an error of the first magnitude: here, however, he is very bold. He gleefully tells us that Mr. Freeman's account of the battle of Hastings is the very crown and flower of the historian's work; and it is here that he claims to prove the entire inadequacy of Mr. Freeman's work. On this occasion Mr. Freeman has not merely erred in detail; he is wrong, completely wrong, in his whole conception of the battle. He is wrong in the name he gives it; he is wrong in the tactics he ascribes to the English hero; he is wrong, above all things else, in his distribution of the English troops. There were no palisades at Hastings; that which Mr. Freeman takes as such was no artificial barricade of ash and other timber, but the overlapping shield-wall or

shield-front constructed in true Teutonic spirit, of the bucklers borne on that "awful day" by the long line of English footmen dashing back in this close array the otherwise irresistible onset of the Norman horse. At this point the Reviewer breaks out into impassioned prose. He will have no parleying with those waxen-hearted scholars who hold that at Hastings the English troops took shelter behind a barricade of wood; but, "face to face upon the unprotected hill slopes," he tells us that they met the Norman charge. Thus, to quote his own words, "We wipe away that libel upon 'God's Englishmen' who faced their foe on that awful day, standing as man to man. . . . A fortress Harold wrought; but he wrought it of flesh and blood; it was behind no ramparts that the soldiers of England awaited the onset of the chivalry of France." Such a contention, it will at once be perceived, is very different from any mere criticism of detail; it affects the centre and the very heart of Mr. Freeman's work. If he could blunder here in the most carefully elaborated passage of his whole history, he could blunder anywhere; his reputation for accuracy would be gone almost beyond hope of retrieving it. But, as we trust to show, here at least it is not Mr. Freeman who blunders; he has not gone a step further than his authorities warrant, and it is the Reviewer himself who must bear the blame—such as it is—of misconstruing his French and misappreciating his evidence.

Before proceeding any further, we ought to say a few words as to the article itself: it is one of which, in many ways, it is impossible to speak too highly. It is worthy, and more than worthy, of the *Review* in its younger and less responsible days, when it numbered amongst its contributors the Lockharts, the Crokers, the Giffords, and all the other light "auxiliary troops" that skirmished on the outskirts of that great literary army which is, if not the first, at least the second glory of our English land in the nineteenth century. And perhaps, even in those days, the great Tory organ never produced a paper so admirably planned, so skilfully constructed, and so brilliantly written. Every page shows it to be the work of a scholar thoroughly acquainted with the minutiae of his subject, and familiar with more than one aspect of mediæval learning. There is little that is loose and indefinite in its charges; no attempt to substitute a brute force of strength and muscle for the delicate sword-play of argument and reason. In the whole paper, nothing is more worthy of remark than the skilful tactics displayed in singling out the weaker parts of Mr. Freeman's outposts for attack. One by one these petty outposts fall before the critic's mine, till the reader trembles to think what the result will be when the central stronghold of the historian's work is stormed—as he sees from the very first is the critic's intention. Will it be able to hold out against so virulent and capable a foe, or must it crumble down into irreparable ruin?

## II. THE REVIEWER'S MISTAKES.

1. Now, there is no question that the Reviewer himself conceives that he has shattered Mr. Freeman's reputation for historical accuracy and judgment. And it seems to be the general opinion—even among historical scholars—that he has not only convicted Mr. Freeman of a few trifling blunders, such as are incidental to all historical work, but also that he has proved his antagonist to have erred in more than one important matter which concerns the very essence of his work. In these minor points we have no doubt that the Reviewer is generally, if not always, right. Doubtless, Mr. Freeman did misread 128 for 100; doubtless, in another passage, he or his type-setter did allow a three to take the place of a five; and elsewhere we can well admit that he did style Odo the King's Justiciar, when he should have written Geoffrey. But, after all is said and done, what is gained by convicting the late Professor of such trifling blunders? They are blunders which every prolific writer is bound to make—blunders of which Professor Freeman was only too conscious himself. Time after time did he lament—in print as well as by word of mouth—the lack of that gift of microscopic accuracy, the possession of which he envied so much in his fellow-historian, the Bishop of Oxford. Those who knew him best will recollect the half-humorous persistence with which he would complain how, even in the most important work, his attention would go wandering, and "east" slip from his pen when he meant "west," the "former" when he meant the "latter." Nor was he alone in feeling such infirmities; they are common to most writers. It is easy to make much of such errors; far easier than to avoid them oneself. As I shall show, with all his skill, with all his care, and with all his knowledge, the Reviewer's pages abound in errors of a similar kind—errors far more serious than most of those he ascribes to his opponent. If we were inclined to measure out to him the same unmodified judgment that he metes out to Mr. Freeman, we might point to the very central passage of his criticism, where, with an eloquence which is more than its own justification, he uses the late Laureate's words to set off his comparison of the English at Hastings with the English at Waterloo, and rises up to a full enthusiasm as he paints the "English ranks," now broken and thin, once more "closing up stubbornly through the long, slow agony of that September day." This is true eloquence, worthy of its subject; it is the climax of a splendidly written review, and we should naturally expect that, here at least, the Reviewer would put forth all his power to see that there was no flaw in his work. A mistake here is doubly fatal. And yet here a mistake there is of the most elementary kind. It was not in September that the great battle was fought, but, as we should have thought that most schoolboys knew, upon the



feast of St. Calixtus, October 14. We do not mention this blunder in any carping spirit. Despite this little slip, the talent and knowledge of the Reviewer are apparent in every page. But we do mention it to show how easy it is for mentors—even when controlling a very limited field of operations—to go wrong on the simplest points. Surely this might preach a lesson of forbearance towards the minor errors of one whose range of action was so enormous.

2. Let us now turn to another matter, and read what the Reviewer says about Mr. Freeman's theory, that Harold at Hastings surrounded his camp with palisades :

"Mr. Freeman's fortress . . . . incredible though it may sound . . . . had absolutely no existence save, as he wrote of his predecessor Thierry, in the pages of romances like his own. Every allusion to this palisade throughout this hard-fought day is imaginary, and imaginary alone. . . . Of course, Mr. Freeman's fortress has secured universal acceptance. Its 'palisades' and 'barricades' figure now in every history. . . . We have fully discussed this statement respecting the 'palisades' because it affects, we shall find, this whole story of the battle. It is the very keystone of Mr. Freeman's description, and, if removed, brings with it the whole edifice to the ground."

It is clear, from these and similar words, that the Reviewer lays more stress on proving that Mr. Freeman's palisade theory is wrong than on any other part of his paper. It is, indeed, the one definite and important point on which he joins issue. Other of his points are definite, but not important; some are important, but not definite. To overthrow the Reviewer here is to render almost all that he says about the battle of Hastings nugatory; for it is all based, more or less, on the presumption that Mr. Freeman is wrong in the matter of the palisades. Now, before we come to the question of Mr. Freeman's accuracy on this point, let us notice what the passage quoted above really means. These words, if they mean anything, imply that Mr. Freeman *invented* the palisade; or, at all events, that this palisade formed no important feature in the accounts of the battle given by the most eminent historians before his date. Such an implication is, however, very far from representing the true state of the case.

Practically the truth seems to be as follows: In the narrative of Hastings we may distinguish two periods—that previous to 1827, and that subsequent to this year. This date is the watershed of the Hastings theory, for it is the year in which M. Pluquet published the first complete edition of Wace's "*Roman de Rou.*" Previous to this publication we shall find, I believe, no recognition of the part played by palisades in this battle; after its publication I doubt if the *Quarterly Review* can point to any important work dealing with this battle from which the palisade theory is absent. But, to give examples. It is clearly impossible here to examine all the earlier accounts of Hastings. I must be content with the three most important,

those to which a reader would naturally turn if he were in quest of information upon this subject—Hume's "History of England," Lingard's "History of England," and Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons." In none of these three works is there any mention of palisades, and the first two writers contain no allusion to the "Roman de Rou" at all. Turner does indeed refer to the "Chanson" time after time. But he only knows it in the fragmentary form published by Lancelot in some work that I have never seen. He is plainly far from appreciating its full significance as a primary authority. The dates of these histories, I need hardly say, are 1761, 1810, and 1823. Probably, if I could refer to the first edition of M. Thierry's "Histoire de l'Angleterre sous les Normans," I should find a similar state of things. But I can only get access to the English translation, which seems to be of the enlarged and corrected edition of 1840, and not the first edition of 1825. So much for earlier accounts of the great battle; now for the later ones.

In 1827 M. Pluquet published the first complete edition of the "Roman de Rou" in two volumes, accompanied with glossological notes and a marginal analysis. From this moment dates the historical revolution to which I refer. He annotates the crucial passage to which the *Quarterly Reviewer* makes such express reference as follows: "Les Anglais se retranchent au moyen de boucliers et de palisades" (Pluquet, ii. 205). In other words, he sees in these lines not only a shield wall, but also a wooden fortification. All the scholars who, from that date, threw themselves so vigorously into the fray, accepted this interpretation without reserve, so far as I have been able to examine their works. And these writers are the great authorities of their time. Thus, Lappenberg writes of the English as "surrounded with palisades" (1840). So too Mr. Taylor takes the passage in his translation of 1837; and M. Thierry speaks of the English as being "fortified on all sides with a rampart" (*circa* 1835). Nor has Sir Francis Palgrave any doubt upon the matter; for, according to him, "the English were strongly fortified by lines of trenches and palisades" (1860). And lastly, Sir A. Malet, in his metrical version of the same year, renders the critical lines, "They made them a fence of bucklers and wattle-work well interlaced."

It may of course be pleaded that all this powerful array of authority should be reduced in number from six to one, on the plea that all the last five merely reproduce one man's (M. Pluquet's) view. But M. Pluquet was a Frenchman, and is understood to have been assisted in his work by no less eminent a scholar than M. Prevost, the editor of "Orderic Vitalis." It must also be admitted that historians of the eminence of Palgrave and Lappenberg were not exactly the kind of people to follow a blind leader along an absolutely foolish and

erring path. Moreover, even if it were so, surely the *Quarterly* Reviewer might reflect that this very fact proves the "palisade" interpretation to have been in possession of the field when Mr. Freeman began to publish his "Norman Conquest." And even if the Reviewer could show Mr. Freeman to be wrong, it is one thing to invent a theory out of one's own head without any good evidence, and quite another to give in your adherence to the judgment pronounced by every preceding scholar who had examined the question, since its aspect was entirely changed by the publication of Wace's great poem. Conservatism along the line of the old landmarks is of the very essence of sound criticism—that is, conservatism until the critic is perfectly assured of his new theory. Otherwise, we might witness editions such as Bentley's "Milton" every year, and all sound knowledge would be lost in a marsh of peddling conjecture.

We may sum up in the following words: Even if the palisade theory were utterly fallacious, Mr. Freeman can hardly be blamed in very extravagant terms for following the unexceptional consensus of preceding historians since 1827; for at the utmost he merely shares in their mistake, and the blame should be proportionately divided among all the offenders. The literary Rhadamanthus should assess the heaviest penalty to M. Pluquet, the originator of the blunder, who, as a Frenchman, should have known better than to mis-translate his own language. The lightest penalty—perhaps only a few words of kindly warning—should be dealt out to the last lamb of this erring flock, who had, it may be reluctantly and almost on compulsion, followed in the tracks of the bell-wether and his elder brethren.

So much then for Mr. Freeman's culpability, if the palisade theory is wrong. But what if the theory is right? For right and wrong do not live within the sole province even of a *Quarterly* Reviewer to determine. There is a further appeal beyond his court; and as the *final* court decides, "of so much praise" will the earnest student "expect his meed."

3. We shall soon proceed to give reasons of every kind for our firm belief that the *Quarterly* Reviewer is mistaken in his interpretation of the question, and that Mr. Freeman and his predecessors were right. But, before touching on the evidence for and against the theory, we had better say a few words on certain *a priori* assumptions made by the Reviewer. With a certain type of mind these *a priori* objections tell heavily, and many readers, we have no doubt, after studying what the Reviewer has to say on these points, would consider the question settled offhand, and would never care to pursue the subject any further. The Reviewer's contentions are: (1) that if the English formed a shield wall, they would never think of entrenching themselves behind a palisade; (2) that, even had the English tried

to entrench themselves, they could have got no wood on the treeless Sussex downs for constructing their palisades.\*

The Sussex downs may be long treeless reaches now, but the question is not one as to their present state; it is one as to their condition 800 years and more ago. There is nothing commoner than to find an entire change in the superficial aspect of a whole country or continent even in the course of a century or two:

"There rolls the deep where grew the tree:  
O Earth, what changes hast thou seen!  
'Thera, where the long street roars, hath been  
The stillness of the central sea."

Nor are Tennyson's lines true of geological ages only; they are true within far narrower limits. What has become of the primeval forest that stretched along all the eastern coast of North America barely 200 years ago? What, a hundred years hence, will have become of the pathless woods of the Canadian West?

So, too, has it been with Sussex and Surrey. Twelve hundred years ago the great forest of the Andredesweald covered these two counties with one of the most important natural fortifications in our island. It was this long stretch of woodland waste that hemmed in the victorious march of the South-Saxon from the sea-coast northwards, and left him the weakest kingdom in the days of the so-called Heptarchy. Nor did its last remains pass away till about a hundred years ago, when the iron furnaces, which for so many years had blazed along the Sussex Weald, died down for lack of fuel, and by reason of the discovery that coal was the most economical fuel for smelting purposes. Barely 200 years ago the Sussex woodland had not yet become a treeless grassy waste. Still less can this have been so 800 years ago. So that in 1066 Harold could have had no difficulty in procuring as much wood as he wanted for his palisade.

Thus much for theory. As regards fact any good English account of the battle will show the part played by the woods that lay in Harold's rear at Hastings. Lingard says it was "covered by an extensive wood"; and Palgrave speaks of "the adjoining country then covered with wood and forest." It is hardly worth while to refer him to Wace's own use of the word "buisson" in connection with the luckless Grantmesnil vassal and his horse, or to test this question by a reference to twelfth-century authority. The Reviewer has appealed to *a priori* principles; and to *a priori* principles we have gone, though we have no lack of almost contemporary evidence, which, strangely enough, seems to have escaped the Reviewer's notice. Thus, William of Poitiers speaks twice of the "neighbouring wood": "Locum edi-

\* A separate article would be required to discuss the alleged incompatibility of a shield-wall and a palisade. The question is not what the English *ought* to have done, but what they actually did. The whole science of mediæval poliorcetics was based on the principle of, what seems to us, unnecessary multiplication of outworks. The Reviewer's difficulty arises mainly from a failure to realise the full force of the perfect tenses (see pp. 349 and 351).

tiorem præoccupavit, montem silvæ per quam advenere vicinum"; and Guy of Amiens is, if possible, more precise :

"Ex improvise diffudit silva cohortes  
Et nemoris latebris agmina prosiliunt  
Mons silvæ vicinus erat vicinaque vallis  
\* \* \* \*

Angliæ ut mos est, densatim progredientes  
Hæc loca præripiunt, Martis ad officium."—[ll. 363-368.]

Hence, upon all considerations, the Reviewer's contention falls to the ground. Not only was there a sufficiency of wood at hand in the Andredesweald for the construction of any length of barricade, but contemporary historians insist upon the close proximity of this forest to the battle-field itself.

4. We must now turn to another blunder, of perhaps a graver kind. In his eagerness to prove that a certain passage does not refer to a palisade, the Reviewer writes as follows :

"A palisade in Wace is 'paliz,' and the timber of which it was formed 'mairrien,' but neither of these terms is found in his account of the battle. It is moreover so obvious that 'escuz de fenestres e d'altres fuz' refers to shields, and not (as Mr. Freeman renders it) to 'firm barricades of ash and other timber,' that one is led to wonder how he can have so misread it. Here then, we venture to think, we have at length a clue to his 'triple palisade.' He obtained the sole authorities that he could adduce for its existence, in the one case by mistranslating his French, and in the other by misconstruing his Latin."

At its best, the argument here is somewhat obscure and difficult to follow. But it seems to imply three things : first, that "paliz" is Wace's invariable word for palisade, to the exclusion of all others ; secondly, that "mairrien" is his invariable word for the timber of which the palisade is constructed ; and thirdly, that the Reviewer is furnished with at least a few instances where the two words occur in combination. For, if Wace ever uses another word for palisade, he may do so in the passage to which the Reviewer refers. So, too, with "mairrien." Whereas, if the Reviewer cannot adduce some passages where the two words occur in combination, he has no right even to assume that in Wace the two words bear any relation to one another.

And now for the facts of the case.

Wace does indeed use the word "paliz" occasionally, but, after a careful examination of the whole of the "Roman de Rou," I have only found the word twice. In both of these cases it is connected—and closely connected too—with "fosse," never once with mairrien :

\* Cf. too "Ne doterent *pel* ne fosse."

"Emportez mei cel *pel* dunt cil chastels est clos."

"De fosse e de hericun

E de *pel* fist un chasteillum."

"Li dus . . .

Mustroel a bien clos, esforcie e ferme

De *pel* a hericun de mur e de fosse."

"Rom. de Rou," i. p. 107 ; ii. pp. 169, 175, 367.

The *pel à hericun*, or hedgehog palisade, was a palisade set with iron spikes as an additional defence.

"Fossez parez, dreciez paliz"; "Ke de paliz, que de fosse." His more favourite word for palisade is "pel," a word cognate, it is true, but perfectly distinct from "paliz."

5. As for "mairrien," Wace uses this word in the "Roman de Rou" only three times, all in the same passage, and always of the same thing. It is his word for the more or less elaborately constructed timber which Duke William had prepared in Normandy and carried across for the purpose of building his "chastel" near Pevensey. It was wood already shaped and squared—wood pierced with holes (for wooden pegs), and so carefully cut out that, on its disembarkation, a single day's work sufficed to run it up into the rough guise of a "castle":

"Dunc ont des nes mairrien jete  
A la terre l'ont traîne . . .  
Trestot percie e tot doles  
Les chevilles totes dolces  
Orent en granz bariz portees.  
Ainz que il fust bien avespre  
En ont un chastelet ferme  
Environ firent un fosse."—[Lines 6541-6549.]

Hence it is clear that even when Wace does use the word *mairrien*,\* he uses it of carefully-prepared timber, already hewn and shaped, and pierced, so as to be built into castellated form within a few hours at most. It bears no special relation to a palisade.

6. Lastly, altogether apart from the above consideration, in the absence of a single passage where the words "paliz" and "mairrien" occur together, the Reviewer has absolutely no ground for his assertion that "mairrien" is Wace's term for the "timber of which it (*i.e.*, the palisade) was formed."

We claim then to have convicted the Reviewer of four or six errors. He is mistaken in the date he assigns to the battle of Hastings, and this, though a trivial error in itself, is noteworthy because of its position and the stress he lays on less serious errors in Mr. Freeman's work; he is mistaken in his opinion that Mr. Freeman *invented* the palisade theory; mistaken in his assertion that Harold, even if he wished to erect a palisade, could not have found the material for it; mistaken in stating that "mairrien" is Wace's word for the timber of which a palisade is made; mistaken in assuming, as he seems to assume, that "paliz" is Wace's sole or even his favourite word for palisade; and mistaken in implying, as his argument must imply, if it is to have any force at all, that there is any intimate connection between "paliz" and "mairrien" in Wace's pages. We shall now proceed to show that he is mistaken in assuming that there were

\* The truth seems to be that the word "mairrien" (Lat. *materiamen*) means "prepared wood," "*bois de charpenterie*," of any kind. By an extension of this meaning it may be occasionally used for any wood prepared for a special purpose. Thus, for example, according to Godefroi, Wace, in an unpublished poem, uses it when speaking of firewood—billets specially cut for fuel.

no palisades at Hastings. And in doing this we shall for the present disregard the crucial passage on which Mr. Freeman has relied, and which the Reviewer says the great historian has entirely misconstrued. We shall confine ourselves to other and unmistakable passages, which prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Wace did mean to represent the English at Hastings as fighting behind a palisade. Then we shall adduce corroborative evidence from other sources; but, like the Reviewer, it is upon Wace that we shall mainly rely. The Reviewer's charge is that Mr. Freeman has mistranslated Wace; that Wace's passage refers to the shield-wall and not to a palisade. There is not even an attempt to discredit Wace as an authority—were this the point, we should have much to say; but the contention is that Wace does not speak of a palisade, but of the shield-wall, and that Mr. Freeman has misapprehended the old Norman poet's meaning. This statement will fall to the ground if we adduce even one passage from the "*Roman de Rou*," in which Wace speaks definitely of such a construction; and his truthfulness (though this is not at question) will be supported if we can show that other and more contemporary authorities seem to point in the same direction. After establishing these facts we shall examine the passage on which the Reviewer lays so much stress, and show that his translation does not fulfil the conditions of the case, while Mr. Freeman's does. Thus we shall show Mr. Freeman to have been entirely right in the view he took of the whole question.

### III. HOW THE REVIEWER'S ADMISSION OF A "FOSSE" AT HASTINGS, IF RIGHTLY UNDERSTOOD, INVOLVES A PALISADE.

The Reviewer might have avoided this mistake had he only remembered all that is involved in his own admission that Harold surrounded his camp with a "*fosse*" or ditch. For in mediæval days the word "*fosse*" is used to denote not only the actual trench, but also its invariable accompaniment of mound and palisade. To hollow out a trench implies the removal of earth; and mediæval engineers were well aware of the additional strength imparted to a dyke by casting up the excavated soil into a mound on the hither side. Accordingly, we constantly find the word "*fosse*," coupled with "*mur*" or "*paliz*," as in Wace:

"Li dus . . .  
Mustroel a bien clos, esforcie e ferme,  
De pel a hericun, de mur e de fosse."

And again:

"Turs de pierres, murs e fossez."—(i. p. 107, ii. p. 176)

"Tant i ad fait e tant oure  
Ke de paliz que de fosse."—(ll. 1463-4, ii. p. 88).

"De tutes parz manda sa gent  
De fosse e de hericun  
E de pel fist un chasteillur."—(ii. p. 169).

"Issi ont lor chastels garniz  
Fosse paréz, dreciez paliz."—(ii. p. 176.)

"Aveit a cel tens une fosse  
Haut e parfont e reparé  
Sor le fosse ont hericon," &c. &c.—(ii. p. 204.)

So, too, we read that, when the citizens of Placentia determined to refortify their town with a fosse, the ground was, as a preparatory step, "staked out" (*palificata*). Accordingly, the words "vallum" and "fosse" became interchangeable. In Wace the citizens of Caen sit "sur fossez"—i.e., upon the "vallum," not in the ditch—to watch the combat. Where William of Tyre writes "vallum," the almost contemporary French translator renders the word by "fosse"; and Wace himself does not scruple to speak of a "fosse" as being "deep and high"; the height in this last instance being of course, strictly speaking, applicable to its overtopping "wall," "vallum," or "palisade." Had the Reviewer only borne in mind this almost invariable connection between the "fosse" and the wall or palisade that strengthened it, he would hardly have been so positive in his assertion that there were no palisades at Hastings. Indeed we must expect a wall or palisade in connection with every "fosse"; the one word may be taken to imply the other when they are not mentioned separately, as they are at the great siege of Acre, where the Christians, lying outside the walls with the Saracens surrounding them from sea to sea, are expressly said to have entrenched themselves in this double manner: "Milites Christi . . . vallum modicum ad tutelam sui periculi foderunt et de antennis et malis navium barras ac repagula, prudenter ac alacriter composuerunt" ("Oliveri Schol. Hist. Reg. Terræ Sanctæ ap. Eccard II. col. 1390").

#### IV. FOUR PASSAGES WHERE WACE SPEAKS DISTINCTLY OF A

"LICE"; i.e., A PALISADE.

The Reviewer, however, neglecting these facts, bases his argument on the supposition that Wace nowhere in his battle of Hastings mentions a palisade. But Wace does mention a palisade in three or four distinct places under the name of "*lices*," on one occasion practically using the very word "paliz." Harold, we read, had carefully chosen (*porpris*) his ground for the battle and surrounded it with "lists." Then (II. p. 306):

"Al matin a l'aube aparant  
Monta Heraut e Guert od lui.  
Par els dous sunt des tres meü  
E de lor lices fors issu."

Again, in line 8499, the Normans come on, and "dreaded neither stake nor ditch": "Ne doterent pel ne fosse."



Still more conclusive is line 8585, where we read of the great attack made by the Bigots: "The English were opposite (them) at the 'lists'":

"Engleis furent encontre as lices."

And the Normans cannot really get at the English "till (line 8590) they have totally pulled down the 'lists'":

"Les lices ont totes desfaites."

Now, what were these lists, or "lices?" The word is a very common one in mediæval literature, and denotes the wooden palisades that were run up on one side of a ditch to surround a camp, or even the outworks of a stronghold. In mediæval times, no one ever encamped on an exposed situation for any length of time without erecting some such defences. Thus, according to James de Vitry, at the great siege of Damietta the Christians surrounded their camp with a "list"; and when the Saracens made their great attack, on August 30, we find words that are almost exactly similar to those used in Wace: "*Hostes fidei . . . fossatum tandem transientes ac violenter licias dirumpentes.*" Here, again, we have the fosse, with its almost invariable accompaniment of the wooden outworks or palisade.

Thus, from Wace's own narrative, even if we leave out the great passage whose meaning the Reviewer disputes, we can prove the existence of "lices" or palisades surrounding the English army. Four times does Wace distinctly mention them. The fact is plain and beyond appeal, unless the Reviewer can impeach Wace's authority—a thing which he does not venture to do.

#### V. ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE FROM BENOÎT DE STE. MAUR.

Moreover, there is other evidence tending in the same direction. Benoît of St. Maur says that the Normans found two great obstacles in their attack upon the English—first, the steepness of the hill on which the English were posted; and secondly, the obstacles that impeded their progress up this hill:

"Encombros ert li leus."

As no historian mentions any other obstacle on the hill itself except the palisades, we can best interpret these lines as referring to the rude barricades behind which the English had entrenched themselves.

#### VI. AND FROM STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS.

But could the English have ranged a shield-wall along their whole front at Hastings, even if they had wished it? To begin with, had they done so, they must have been set so close that they could not have used their weapons with any freedom. For the overlapping of

the shields—such as would justify Wace in speaking of them as without loophole or chink—must have necessitated their standing, not in front of the enemy, but almost in a column, or at least a wedge. The eleventh century shield itself was about the width of the body; but as it curved away at the top towards a circle and at the base towards a point, it is evident that, on the narrowest computation, it must have taken about three shields to cover two men with anything approaching completeness. Accordingly, there *could* be no extended front if it were really close set, as Wace's words imply that it was. At the most there can only have a loose array of shield-bearing warriors—which is not what the Reviewer has in his mind, or what Wace and William of Malmesbury describe—or there may have been, as was probably the case, a few bodies of men here and there drawn up in the traditional Teutonic wedge.

Such conclusions are warranted by a general view of the case. But the argument becomes much stronger when we consider the military equipment of the English army. What was the great weapon used by the Englishman at Hastings? With what weapon was he armed for the most part when he dealt such deadly blows upon the Norman horsemen in the earlier part of the day? As to the answer to this question we are left in no doubt. History and tradition alike ascribe his long resistance to one weapon, and one weapon alone, the famous Danish axe. William of Malmesbury here is in accord with Wace: "*Pedites omnes . . . cum bipennibus,*" &c., as the *Quarterly Reviewer* cites the passage.

Everywhere in the "*Roman de Rou*" the same fact stares us in the face. With one exception every single act of valour which the Englishman achieves at Hastings is wrought with the axe or the gisarme. As the Norman weapon was the lance, so the English was the axe. "The Normans," says Harold to his brother, Gurth, "are good vassals, valiant on foot and on horse. . . . They have long lances and swords, . . . and we have sharp axes and great edged bills." A few lines further on we read that the English were armed with "hache or gisarme," "with axes and well-cutting gisarmes." Harold's own special friends—the *corps d'élite* of the English army—are accounted with sword and shield; and in addition to this they have hung "*great hatchots* on their necks, with which they could strike doughty blows." Whenever a special deed of valour is to be credited to an Englishman—with one exception—it is due to the axe he bears. And now what were these axes that dealt such deadly destruction on the Norman knight? As to this we are left in no doubt. Time after time does Wace call them "great axes." The head alone in one instance was a foot in length. And the Bayeux tapestry, out of about twenty axes, represents all except some three as having long handles. Hardly ever do we find in the tapestry the short axe for one hand. If, then,

the great English weapon was the long two-handed axe, how could the Englishman who wielded it form the shield wall in the ordinary sense of the term? Where was the third arm with which to hold the shield in its place? Wace tells us plainly that this could not be done. "Every one," he says, "who wished to strike with an axe had to hold it in his two hands; he could not cover himself with his shield if he wanted to strike a free blow. He could not, as it seems to me, strike a good blow and cover himself at the same time."\* So that the English axeman—and, as William of Malmesbury and Wace both agree, the strength of the English army consisted in its axemen—was shieldless at Hastings, and hence could not have formed the shield-wall, even had he desired it. Before these decisive words the Reviewer's theory of an extended shield-wall vanishes like smoke. If Wace is any authority—and the Reviewer does not challenge his authority seriously (he charges Mr. Freeman with misinterpreting him)—the question is settled once and for all. There was no extended shield-wall at Hastings.

#### VII. EXAMINATION OF THE CRUCIAL PASSAGE FROM WACE.

Before coming to this part of our task, it was necessary to show beyond the shadow of a doubt that, whatever the meaning of this particular passage, we have ample evidence apart from it that Harold had surrounded his army with a palisade.

"Geldons engleis haches portoent  
E gisarnes qui bien trenchoent;  
Fait orent devant els escuz  
De fenestres e d'altres fuz,  
Devant els les orent levez  
Comme cleies ioinz e serrez;  
Fait en orent devant closture  
N'i laisserent nule jointure  
Par onc Normant entr'els uenist  
Qui desconfire les volsist.  
D'escuz e d'ais s'aüronoent  
Issi deffendre se quidoent.

"The English peasants were carrying axes and bills with well-edged blades. Before them they had made shield-[like defence]s of ash trees and other kinds of wood. [Yes] before them had they raised these defences (lit. *them*), close set, and tightly joined together like hurdles: of these defences (lit. *of them*) they had made before them an enclosure; and therein they left no aperture by which the Normans could come amongst them—the Normans who wished to rout them. With [these hurdle-like] shields, and with planks, were the English encompassed round, thinking therewith to defend themselves."

\* "Hoem qui od hace velt ferir  
Od ses dous mains l'estoet tenir  
Ne poet entendre a sei courir  
S'il velt ferir de grant air  
Bien ferir e courir ensemble  
Ne poet l'en faire, ço me semble."

"Roman de Rou," ll. 8631-7

Now, there are six distinct objections to translating this passage as if it referred to a shield wall. These objections are, of course, of unequal value; but some of them would, by themselves, suffice to overthrow such a theory. Their accumulated weight entirely demolishes the Reviewer's argument. For, if we accept his contention, we have (1) to translate "fait" by "put" (an unauthorised, if not an impossible, meaning); (2) to suppose that shields were made of ash-wood, whereas they were usually made of linden or of elm, ash being in mediæval literature the specific wood for spears; (3) to render "fenestres" as though it were singular; (4) to suppose that the poet has instituted an elaborate comparison between a shield-wall (formed simply of overlapping or slightly touching bucklers) and hurdle-work; (5) to disregard his change of tenses, and translate the imperfect as though it did not differ from the pluperfect; and (6) to reject Wace's plain statement that the English were surrounded with planks.

(1)

"Fait orent devant els escuz  
De fenestres e d'autres fuz."

"Fait," according to the Reviewer's construction, stands for "mis," or some such word: "they had put before them shields of ash and other woods." In twelfth and thirteenth century "*Chansons de Geste*," the most usual word for this action is "*mettre*": thus, in "*Huon of Bordeaux*" Carlos rides against Gerard—"Sou escu avant mis"—and the same formula is repeated on pages 26 and 62. Of course, many other similar verbs, such as "*pendre*," "*lever*," "*tenir*," &c., are often used; but never "*faire*." In the one passage where we have a clear contemporary description of the shield-wall, written first in Latin, and in a few years translated into French, we find the word "*mis*" chosen to describe this manœuvre:

"[Conradus] Tum ipso quam sui de equis descendentes et facto pedito sicut mos est Teutonicis in summis necessitatibus bellica tractare negotia, objectis clypeis, gladiis cominus cum hostibus experiuntur."

which the twelfth-century translator renders, "*Lors descendirent tuit des chevaux, ils mistrent les escuz devant et tindront les longues espées*" ("*William of Tyre*," l. 17, c. iv.). Accordingly, we must not translate "fait" by "put"—an unwarranted rendering—but literally by "made." We thus get perfect sense, though a sense fatal to the Reviewer's argument. For to speak of the English "*making* shields before them" is not the same as to speak of their *putting* their shields before them.

(2) The reviewer seems to translate "fenestres" by the word "ash." He is apparently oblivious how this translation tells against his argument for the shield-wall. Has he any evidence from mediæval literature that shields ever were, or indeed could be, made of

ash? The use of "ash" in this connection would be as strange as it would be to speak of shields made of "spear-wood;" for the ash is emphatically the word for "spear-wood" in almost all mediæval "*Chansons de Geste*." Taillefer himself might have brandished an ash-wood spear as he rode to strike the first blow against the English at Hastings, for it is the word employed to denote the spear in the famous "*Chanson de Roland*," which he sang at his death:

"Cez hanstes de fraisne et de pumier" (l. 2539).  
 "Tient sa hante fraisne" (l. 720).

So, too, in the great "*Chanson d'Aliscans*," we read of "*Mainte hante . . . de fraisne*" (l. 3091), and of Baudus's spear: "*Hante ot de fraisne*." Many other instances could be adduced, but these are perhaps enough. Shields, on the other hand, were generally made of linden-wood or elm. Thus, in the world-old song of "*Beowulf*" we have constant reference to the bucklers of yellow linden-wood; and in the venerable English poems on the battles of Maldon and Brunanburh the shield-wall is always composed of the same material. A few centuries later the finest shields appear to have been constructed of elm. So in "*Aliscans*" we read: "*Tant escu a ormier*," and "*Escu qui sont paint a ormiers*." Accordingly, the probability is largely in favour of translating "*Escus de fenestres*," not as "shields made of ash"—that is, of spear-wood—but as "shield-like defences made of ash-trees."\*

(3) If "*fenestres*" does refer to shields, why is it in the plural? We should not speak of a ship of oaks (heart of oak), even though many oaks go to the construction of a single ship. Certainly, we should never speak of a shield or shields of ashes, where one tree might make many shields. If, however, the poet is speaking of a rude barricade, the plural is natural and correct, for it could be formed of actual ash-trees.

(4)

"Devant els les orent levez,  
 Comme cleics joinz e serrez."

How could shields joined together look like hurdles, and have no joint or crevice? The shields could only touch at or towards the edge; and here, in so far as they *tend* to the circular shape, we know from Euclid that two circles can only touch at one point. But a defence made of twisted boughs and logs would look very fairly like a continuous line of hurdle-work; and indeed Godefroi quotes an instance where "*cleics*" bears this meaning—that of "barricade."

\* I have rendered "*fenestres*" "ashes," in deference to the universal consensus of all earlier scholars - the Reviewer included. Personally, I doubt the rendering. Could *fenêtre* = *fraxinus* by any law of philological change? Certainly no dictionary that I have consulted from Godefroi to Littré, allows any such meaning. Can Wace use "*fenêtres*" here in the plural for "window-work," "lattice-work" generally, just as another almost contemporary poet speaks of the ornamentation of a goblet as "*ovre-trifoire*"—i.e., "triforium work," ("opus triforium")? In this case the plural would have a kind of generic force.

5. As we have shown above, we get an additional argument in favour of the "barricade," if we pay attention to the poet's tenses and translate "they *had made* before them defences (lit. shields) of ash and other pieces of wood." The pluperfect tense marks that this was already done when the Normans first caught sight of the English from a distance. "They *had raised* them (*i.e.*, these defences) before them, joined together and tight, like hurdles; they *had made* before them of these defences (lit. 'of them'—"en —") an enclosure (or fence); nor did they leave in it ("i") any jointing by means of which the Normans who wished to rout them might come amongst them."

6. Lastly, Wace is no rhetorician, but a very plain speaker. Is it credible that, if he wished to mention the shield-wall, he would describe such a simple thing four times over, and this *decreasing*, not *increasing* winding up with the strange anti-climax of the simple statement after eight lines of ornate description? Surely plain sense says that the elaborate description must refer to an elaborate and curious defence, more especially as he concludes by telling us that the English were surrounding themselves with "planks" and shields. Such a theory is not at variance with the evidence of the Tapestry. The barricades may or may not have covered the whole army; but in any case we may suppose that they were more carefully constructed in front of the shieldless axemen; while they may have been less elaborate, or altogether absent, where the English soldier fought—as in the Tapestry we see him fight—with spear and buckler. The two accounts do not contradict; they supplement each other.

#### VIII. EXPLANATION OF WACE'S PALISADE FROM PARALLEL PASSAGES IN WACE'S WRITINGS.

To all these considerations it may be added that Wace himself, as he shows in other poems, was well aware of the fact that this construction of a wooden fence was a common military artifice. He has described it—not the shield-wall, but the wooden barricade—more than once, and in terms closely resembling those he uses in this passage. Elsewhere in mediæval literature we get the same thing depicted at large. For the nine-fold defences of the Huns, against which even Charlemagne warred so long in vain, were barricaded rings of wood and trees, though strong as any fortress in those days of primitive warfare. In the Norse Sagas the same custom reappears, even on ships, where we should least expect it. Olaf the Saint sets up "hurdles" to protect his men during their attack on Southwark Bridge; and in Olaf I.'s last fight Eric's ship was girt round with iron hoardings—hoardings behind whose shelter his Norsemen doubtless stood in the close array of the shield-wall. But, to cap all, let

us turn to Wace himself for an account of the same manœuvre (Brut, i. 17):

"L'ost fait clore tot environ  
De bon fosse à hericon  
N'i laissa que sol treis entrées  
E celes furent bien gardées."

This is an exact parallel to his account of Hastings, even down to the "three gateways" on which the Reviewer lays so much stress. The three entries doubtless corresponded in both instances (not as the Reviewer seems to make Mr. Freeman think) to three entrenchments, one behind the other; but to three barricades, one defending the van, one the rear, and one the centre of the army. Notice too how in this passage the "fosse" includes a palisade—"bon fosse à hericon."

Still more to the point is another of Wace's descriptions—the one where he makes Arthur enclose not himself but his enemy (ii. 48):

"D'une part fist le bois tranchier  
Et bien espesement plaissier  
*Arbre sor arbre trancier*  
*E tronc sor tronc fist encroer."*

Here then, in another of Wace's poems, beyond the shadow of a doubt, we have a net or hurdle-work of trees and trunks, and it is in the light of these two passages that we must read the same poet's account of the Hastings barricade, and not by the light of an imaginary shield-wall—a theory which does not fulfil half the conditions of the case.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS.

With these words we must draw our remarks to a close. We have shown that the *Quarterly* Reviewer has been mistaken in five or six of the arguments he has adduced against the theory of the palisades. Apart from this, we have shown that Wace in four passages—passages perfectly distinct from the main one upon which Mr. Freeman chiefly relies—makes clear and unmistakable allusions to a "palisade" or "lice"; and that, even setting this aside, the theory of some such construction is involved in the "fosse" with which even the Reviewer admits that Harold surrounded his camp. Then we have taken the disputed passage, and shown that, whatever may be its precise meaning, it contains words and phrases which *cannot* be interpreted as referring to a shield-wall; whereas, if we take it as referring to a rough palisade or outwork of wattled timber, we get perfect sense. Lastly, we have shown that Wace in two other passages speaks of a similar construction in somewhat similar terms. From all this it appears to be demonstrated that Mr. Freeman was perfectly justified in following Lappenberg, Thierry, Palgrave,

Michelet, and all the other scholars of a previous generation in their reading of this passage.

Accordingly, as this is the only definite and palpable charge that the Reviewer brings against Mr. Freeman's account of the great battle, his attack must be held to have failed. Did space permit, it would be easy to answer his somewhat vague contention about the absolute lack of military ability displayed by Harold if he arranged his men as Mr. Freeman says he did. This, of course, is not a matter of fact—as to which the one side can be proved right and the other wrong. It admits of no such treatment, though it would not be hard to meet the Reviewer's arguments point by point. He doubtless holds his own view firmly. But this does not prevent Mr. Freeman's view from being the right one, and in any case it is a matter of conjecture only—incapable of plain decision. We ought, however, to add that we are assured on very good authority that the Reviewer seems to have quite misapprehended Mr. Freeman's ideas as to the position of the unarmed troops and the effect of their rout upon the fortunes of the day. Harold, according to Mr. Freeman, did not leave his rude levies on the right exposed to the full fury of the Norman onset. Mr. Freeman distinctly states that these raw levies were protected by a small hill on which Harold had set (regular) troops, and by a ravine.\* So that the Reviewer's remarks on Harold's incapable generalship fall to the ground. Added to this, in any case the battle was not *won* at this part of the field, but at the centre; and the Reviewer is entirely mistaken in speaking of the Normans as "having turned the English right." Mr. Freeman says no such thing. According to him, the battle was fought and was won at the centre, not on the right wing. The culminating point of the battle was not the turning of this wing, which was not turned at all in any special sense, but only shared the general flight after the defeat of the centre.

The article, appearing as it does in the *Quarterly Review*, is without a signature. But rumour has already assigned it—though seemingly without authority—to one of the most brilliant English historical scholars of the younger generation, a scholar of whom it may be fairly said that he has touched nothing without remaking it. The writer in question is the acknowledged master of one of the largest and the most obscure tracts of English history. His reputation is not confined to his own land; for even the most laborious of German specialists quote his decisions and admit his merits. He has almost revolutionised our ideas in more than one important point of Anglo-Norman history. Taking nothing for granted, but tracking each subject to its innermost recesses, he has already thrown a flood of

\* This ravine the Reviewer does not mention at all; the hill he relegates to a footnote. My remarks about Harold's right wing summarise a friend's opinion—hardly my own.



light upon much that was dark and doubtful. The paper under consideration is characterised by many of the strongest attributes of the writer in question. It has the same independence of thought, the same originality of treatment—an originality which often leads the author to question the most venerable theories—the same sturdy determination to take nothing at second hand, and to accept no theory without examination. It has somewhat, too, of the more debatable characteristics of the same writer—a slight tendency to acridity of argument, and perhaps, as we have shown above, a tendency to assume that the simplest explanation of a subject is the true one, even when this explanation most manifestly fails to fulfil *all* the conditions of the problem. The excess of originality has its own defects, and almost of necessity leads its possessor to occasional mishaps, as it has so often, in combination with other qualities, led him on to undisputed victory.

We trust that in the above remarks we have said nothing calculated to impugn the real value of the Reviewer's criticism. We have not the slightest intention of detracting from the merits of a very remarkable article—an article full of learning, full of ability, full of most excellent writing: a very model of its kind. We admit to the full that the Reviewer has succeeded in pointing out a number of errors in the detail of Mr. Freeman's works. For this we render him our sincere thanks, as we do not doubt Mr. Freeman would do were he alive. To Mr. Freeman "truth" was the one object of historical study, and he would never have borne a grudge against those who pointed out his own mistakes. His only antagonism was towards the arrogance of ignorance that tried to pass itself off for knowledge. The Reviewer has earned the gratitude of all students of English history by pointing out the mistakes in Mr. Freeman's work. These mistakes we were all prepared for. No one, as Mr. Freeman would have been the first to allow, could write from 8000 to 10,000 pages of historical work without occasional slips. The wonder is that the slips detected are so few and so trifling. A man need not blush in perpetuity because, following the document that lies before him, he has called William Rufus "King of England,"\* when, if he had only taken a journey of 100 miles to see a certain manuscript of which he had an official copy before him, he should have called him, "King of the English," or because in the midst of countless references to Domesday he has now and then mistaken the exact purport of a phrase, or the exact identity of a name. These little errors would certainly be better away, and, thanks to the Reviewer, we can now remove many of them from our copies of the Norman Conquest. Doubtless, others still remain. To show how difficult it is always to be entirely accurate in the statement of facts, we have pointed out that the Reviewer himself has found it impos-

\* And even here Mr. Freeman called attention to the strangeness of the phrase.

sible to maintain anything like historical accuracy, even for the forty pages which he devotes to correcting Mr. Freeman's blunders. Here, at least, he was thrice bound to walk warily. And yet we have pointed out eight mistakes, and these not mistakes of detail, but capital errors, in the course of a few pages. These mistakes, however, do not detract from what is really valuable in the article as a whole.

The truth is, that in history, as in all other human work, we can never hope to attain absolute accuracy, however much we strive for it. Despite all our care, errors *will* creep in; our judgment *will* occasionally go astray; our knowledge *will* be defective. We must put up with these things as incidental to human weakness, remembering that, were it otherwise, the first historian would be the last; for he would register the whole truth, and there would be no possibility of bettering his work. As it is, we have all been but working masons in one great building, each constructing his little corner in the great Temple of Truth. Here and there, for the best as well as the worst among us, there must arise a later workman who can improve our petty portion in detail, if not in general plan. It is well that things should be so. They teach us a lesson of humility; and we have the consolation that at all events every genuine alteration helps to make the Temple of Truth more perfect than before. Let us be thankful to have had a hand in erecting the smallest part of such a building, and not repine at learning our own imperfection; remembering the words of our greatest Englishman of the seventeenth century:

"Truth, indeed, came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on. But when He ascended, and his apostles after Him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon, . . . took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, . . . went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do till her Master's second coming: He shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

T. A. ARCHER.

## SHAKESPERE'S "JULIUS CÆSAR." \*

NO part of history is more deserving of study than that meeting point of the ancient and modern world which is depicted in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar." Inasmuch as it gathers up the contrast, and brings out the most striking characteristics of human thought and aspiration as it preceded and succeeded the coming of Christ, it may be called a revelation as to the meaning of all history. And though, I suppose, Shakespeare knew less of the career of Cæsar than almost any reader of our day, he may teach the most learned to understand the man and the time. The divination of genius forms the best introduction to the laborious work of the student, and those who stop at the introduction know the work better, in some respects, than those who omit it.

Julius Cæsar has been called by an English historian "the greatest name in history." I suppose Dr. Merivale meant that the only name to which that superlative would seem more fitted must be considered apart, as belonging to a world more mysterious than that of history. Certainly the only name equally commemorated in modern languages is that of Christ. Over the whole of Austria and the whole of Russia the monarch is still "the Cæsar"; and *Cæsarism* is an expression carrying its definite meaning to every ear. We gather up under the name that spirit of external rule which is most remote from the influence of Christianity; we are apt to connect it with ideas of oppression and of self-centred ambition, such as form the most complete antithesis to the spirit of Christ. But we may trace these associations rather to the many successors of the great man who first bore it than to anything in his own character or

\* A lecture to the St. Andrew's Club for Women.

actions, and they find no echo in our play, which indeed indirectly vindicates its hero from some of them. Plutarch tells us of the attempt, made on Cæsar's way to the scene of his murder, to warn him of the conspiracy against his life, and adds that Cæsar received the paper and tried to read it, but "was hindered by the crowd of those who came to speak to him," giving no reply to the urgency of his would-be saviour. Shakespeare, as he touches this incident, transfigures it with the glow of his genius. He makes the very emphasis with which, according to Plutarch, Artemidorus, the Greek who tried to save him, insisted that the paper was of importance to him a reason for his deferring its perusal.

"O Cæsar, read mine first; for mine's a suit  
That touches Cæsar nearer: read it, great Cæsar."

"What touches us ourselves shall be last served," is Cæsar's reply. Surely it may be regarded as a fine Pagan rendering of that sublime tribute of the Pharisees: "He saved others, Himself He could not save." It is remarkable as the only line in the play in which Shakespeare has allowed himself what we may call a touch of personal admiration for his hero, and though it has, so far as I know, no historic foundation, it has the truth of poetry in condensing the purport of history. Had Cæsar made the use of his victory that Sulla did, had he struck down every possible foe and encircled himself with an atmosphere of terror, he might have lived inaccessible to the dagger of the assassin, and known a prosperous old age. But perhaps his assassins were his best friends. The name *Cæsarism* conveys a warning as to the temptations of absolute power which no study of a life ended on the threshold of such power can confute. "It is the bright day that brings forth the adder," says Shakespeare's Brutus, with what scientific truth I know not; but the words have that brief, grand simplicity which make his most audacious inventions appear a fitter vehicle for truth than the most accurate metaphors of other men. We cannot verify the warning from the history of Cæsar because he knew no bright day. A morning of obscurity and an afternoon of storm was all that was granted him; when the clouds rolled away and the winds were lulled to rest his career had reached its limits. It ended on the brink of its deadliest perils. The world's experience shows that there is something strangely deteriorating in absolute power; the speech of Brutus remains as an ineffaceable warning, true for all states of society, though associated by him with the ordinary form of government of the modern world, that

"The abuse of greatness is when it disjoins  
Remorse from power":

that is, when it drops all those limitations, those reminders of responsibility, which holding in germ the possible rebuke of the neighbour, possess the true appeal for awakening self-rebuke. If to the highest goodness the conscience speaks clearest when it has no human echo, all lower forms of virtue are apt to find the still small voice in that case stifled by the din of the world. Imperfect human beings mostly need a conscience without to awaken the conscience within.

How Cæsar would have borne the supreme trial of irresponsible authority we cannot say, but it is unquestionable that he rose above the ordinary temptations of a career of almost unvaried success more consistently than any one with whom we can possibly compare him. Set him by the side of Napoleon, for instance. Of course he did some cruel things that Napoleon could not have done; Christianity would be an even poorer attempt than it is to follow the teaching of Him whose title it commemorates, if it were possible, in its second millennium, to ignore its spirit as did those to whom it was actually unknown. But Cæsar's cruelties are acts of ruthless policy, never expressions of hostile animus or personal spite. How little they shocked the conscience of that age we see by the fact that the brave nation against whose independence they were directed remained the loyal ally of its conqueror. There was a deserter among his followers, but the Judas was a Roman. There is no parallel among his Gaulish soldiers to the Prussian defection from Napoleon on his retreat from Moscow. The Gauls fought under his banner as nobly as they had fought against it, and answer all our doubts as to his humanity by the eloquent testimony of unswerving support, given by those who might be called his victims. I do not think there is any other great conqueror of whom we may say as much, and there are not half a dozen men in history whom we can compare with him in any way.

The world's greatest statesman and warrior, delineated by the world's greatest dramatist—here surely we shall find a character of unique splendour! Is this what we find in Shakespere's Cæsar? Shakespere's readers resemble the spectators of that procession in Andersen's story, where an Emperor walks naked, but everybody having been told that some terrible sin in themselves alone can prevent their seeing his magic robes, the crowd joins in a chorus of admiration of them, till a little child remarks that the Emperor wears no clothes at all. We are accustomed to clothe Shakespere's Julius Cæsar with heroic virtue in much the same fashion. But wherever any one attends to Julius Cæsar with the sincerity of Andersen's little spectator he will make the same discovery. Shakespere seems to remember nothing of almost the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen except his weaknesses. He occupies the chief part of that small proportion of his work allotted to the utterances of Cæsar, in delineating such foibles and weaknesses as we should hardly make room for in

anything but an exhaustive biography. Especially note the space he gives to his physical weaknesses, telling us such incidents (sometimes against the traditions of history) as that he was a poor swimmer, that he fainted away in a dirty crowd, that he was impatient in the thirst of fever, and the like. One of the lines he allots to the greatest of statesmen and warriors curiously brings out his determination to force upon us a consideration of his weaknesses. "Come thou on this side, for that ear is deaf." Why should Shakespeare interrupt Cæsar's speech to Anthony to tell us that? These are not touches of shadow to enhance brilliant colouring. The play actually contains no references to the glories of Cæsar's career except in the ungraceful form of assertions made by himself, these being, indeed, in some cases absurd rhodomontade.

"Danger and I were twins, born in one night,  
And I the elder brother."

What nonsense! and it is not the only gasconade in the few speeches given to Cæsar, while no one else seems particularly impressed with his greatness, except so far as it is a danger to Rome. But the mere records of the stage might save us the trouble of all such analysis. A spectator who, in the early years of this century, had seen Brutus, Cassius, and Anthony played respectively by Kean, Kemble, and Young, could not remember who had taken the part of Julius Cæsar. It was not worth remembering; anybody is good enough for that part. In short, if it ended with the murder of Cæsar, we might apply to it a hackneyed quotation, and say that the conquering cause pleased the gods, but that it was the conquered which pleased William Shakespeare.

Of course, nobody will suppose this; most people assume the opposite so decidedly that they read into the character of Shakespeare's Cæsar a nobility which is not present in any speech put into his lips or any action that is ascribed to him. They need very little imagination for the effort. It is not as if the great actions which might truly be ascribed to him were unsuited to drama. The character thus unimpressive might have been lighted up by some of the most striking incidents of history. Shakespeare might have reminded us—with some outrages to chronology, perhaps, but none that he would have cared for if he had wanted to bring to a focus all that was remarkable in the character of his hero—that Cæsar as a stripling had refused to desert his wife at the command of the terrible Sulla;—surely the most romantic incident of classical history. He might have been painted as a prisoner among the equally terrible pirates, ordering them about, bidding them cease their chatter when he wanted to take a nap, scolding them for their bad taste in not admiring his probably very bad verses, and treating them in all

ways, to use words which Plutarch wrote but Shakespere might well have copied, "as if they had been not his keepers but his guards." The poet might have told us how Cæsar confronted the raging waves of the Adriatic in a light boat, and seemed almost to still their rage with the reminder, "Thou bearest Cæsar and his fortunes." Less hackneyed incidents might have been brought in; we might have heard, for instance, of that legionary, who here, on British soil, after performing prodigies of valour, thought only of throwing himself at the feet of Cæsar to ask pardon for losing his shield—such actions might naturally be remembered as well as dramatically depicted. All this, and much more, was ready to his hand in the story of Plutarch, as, for the immortal joy of Englishmen, Shakespere was enabled to read it in the translation, just completed, of Thomas North. But he rejected it all, and copied only such sentences as tell us that his hero was an invalid and a hypochondriac, while he was not even content with what he found in Plutarch to that effect, but exaggerated and multiplied it. Why has he done all this? Why has he taken the greatest name in secular history and associated it with weakness, vanity, and superstition, hiding all the glorious achievements it suggests, and insisting only that all which was noblest in Rome rose up against the pretensions in which those achievements culminated?

It is a wonderful piece of good fortune for English readers that a question which, as I believe, gives the clue to the whole meaning of history, should be suggested by one of the greatest works of our greatest poet. But before we try to exhibit it in that light, let us dismiss some considerations which a little perplex the problem. Shakespere knew nothing of that wretched so-called realism—but the result seems to me most unreal—which leads writers of our time to fill their canvas with uninteresting detail in order to give solidity to their representation. He did not put in that line about Cæsar's deafness to make Cæsar seem natural. And another reflection suggests itself. The literary fashion of our day, whereby every second-rate writer thinks that he or she has nothing more to do than to inform us that their hero impressed the world in order to represent a great man, might be corrected by a study of the great characters of Shakespere. We might say, in a certain very important sense, that they are commonplace. They have for the most part the qualities and defects of ordinary humanity, they have hardly anything of that exceptional element which novelists are so fond of crowding into their work. But while this remark is true and important, and though it is naturally suggested here, it cannot contain an adequate explanation of Shakespere's feeble and colourless portrait of Julius Cæsar. The canon, as I should consider it, that genius is no subject for itself, is a reason rather for avoiding the character of a great man, than for treating it with a large space for those infirmities which he shares

with the most ordinary of mankind. The reason why Shakespere has done so seems to me as clear as it is important. The representation of the world's greatest statesman by the world's greatest poet, which appears so pale and ineffective, is in truth a brilliant revelation as to the meaning of history.

When we compare ancient and modern life, the most salient point of antagonism which attracts our attention is the different place which personality takes in the ancient and in the modern world. The feeling of devotion to a personal leader is to us an object of sympathy and respect quite apart from any estimate of its object. One may have the worst opinion of Napoleon, for instance, and yet feel touched at such an instance of devotion on the part of his soldiers as Byron has commemorated in his fine verses beginning—

"Must thou go, my glorious chief."

But I will read some lines which seem to me more effective as a tribute to our admiration for loyalty than anything Byron could have written, just because they are the utterance of a less poetic writer—of the least poetic writer, indeed, who ever gained the world's ear. If anything has pierced to the spring of poetry in Macaulay, it must have the true divining rod for that spring in every son of man. What is the subject which shows this magic power? An episode in the career of Hampden or Sydney? A scene in the American war? The hopes inspired by the early promise of the French Revolution? Something as unlike all these as possible—it is an epitaph on a Jacobite, supposed to be read by some eighteenth-century traveller in Italy:

"To my true king I offered, free from stain,  
 Courage and faith; vain faith and courage vain.  
 For him I threw lands, honours, wealth away,  
 And one dear hope that was more prized than they.  
 For him I languished in a foreign clime,  
 Grey-haired with sorrow in my manhood's prime;  
 Heard on Laverna Scargill's whispering trees  
 And pined by Arno for my lovelier Tees;  
 Beheld each night my home in fevered sleep,  
 Each morning started from the dream to weep;  
 Till God, who saw me tried too sorely, gave  
 The resting-place I asked, an early grave.  
 Oh thou, whom chance leads to this nameless stone,  
 From that proud country which was once my own,  
 By those white cliffs I never more must see,  
 By that dear language which I spake like thee,  
 Forget all feuds, and shed one English tear  
 O'er English dust. A broken heart lies here."

I cannot call to mind anything which illustrates so vividly the attraction of loyalty—the power of a *relation* as distinct from the influence of a character—for modern feeling, as the fact that one whose best known writing is a triumphant account of Jacobite defeat



should rise, for once, into poetry, in an ideal delineation of Jacobite fidelity.

"And sighed by Arno for my lovelier Tees."

That line might have been written by Scott. It is hardly the expression of Macaulay. Like the note of an Æolian harp, it speaks the touch of an invisible influence, it breathes from vanished heroism, touching merely the imagination of him who contemplates it, but touching that so forcibly that he is constrained in spite of himself to give it a voice. That is what loyalty is to the mind of a modern, even one who had least sympathy with it, and lived when its influence was passing away.

It teaches us much of the meaning of history—much of the meaning of what we have learned to call evolution, as it affects the world of mind—to reflect that the sentiment which so much stirs modern sympathy, that he who feels it least feels it to this extent, is one with which the men of antiquity had no sympathy whatever. Nay, the expression is inadequate. They were not indifferent to it any more than we are; they regarded it with abhorrence equal to our admiration. The classic world, in this respect, may be regarded as a negative photograph of the modern world. The word king, which in every modern tongue brings such associations as are at their purest in this Jacobite epitaph, is in Greek and Latin a spell to evoke inappeasable hatred and terror. To us the name symbolises orderly government and national unity; to them it sounded as the herald of lawless and self-pleasing caprice. It is a new thing with us, after nearly two millenniums of Christian life, that a nation should exist without a personal head. Possibly this may be the condition of the future, many things seem to show that the era of monarchy is drawing towards a close; but throughout the whole history of Europe, from the date of Christianity, national life and monarchy have been inseparable. And monarchy is just as ancient as it is modern. All the great empires of the ancient world have a personal head when history dawns on them. But when we reach that brilliant epoch of ancient life which has arrogated to itself, very unjustly, the title of *ancient history*, we find it an assumption and starting-point of all moral feeling that a personal head to the State is incompatible with freedom—that the difference between a good king and a bad king, vast as it is, shrinks into insignificance in this respect when compared with the difference between the very best of kings and none at all. The feeling records the history of that age. About five centuries before Julius Cæsar lived the two greatest cities of the ancient world expelled their rulers, and from that time forward no virtue, no benevolence, could win forgiveness for any suspected attempt to renew personal rule in either Athens or Rome. A single

incident of Greek history known to every one affords us a striking illustration of this dread of personal pre-eminence. How was it possible that Aristides should be banished for being called the Just? The very fact that the anecdote and the name are so hackneyed proves the *feeling* which led to his banishment to be common; but that a legal institution should be created to give effect to it would strike us as needing explanation if we read history intelligently. The truth is that ostracism was a precaution, not against anything that we should think bad, but against a sentiment which modern feeling ranks among the purest virtues—that of loyalty to an individual. Goodness or genius became, to the conservative instinct of antiquity, a mere danger if either came within a measurable distance of threatening the supreme majesty of the ideal State; and he who thus imperilled its sacred eminence might so far be treated as a foe.

Of all the proofs of the greatness of Shakespere's genius none seems to me so remarkable as the fact that he should have reflected perfectly this characteristic sentiment of the classical world. No man had ever less of this anti-monarchic feeling than Shakespere himself. Note with what sympathy he paints the devotion to a king in his plays from English history, or, indeed, whenever such a feeling is possible. Remember "Henry V." or "Henry VIII.," and then turn to the speech of Cassius, and observe how the idea of kingly rule seems pre-figured and repudiated:

"I cannot tell what you and other men  
Think of this life, but for my single self  
I had as lief not be as live to be  
In awe of such a thing as I myself.  
I was born free as Cæsar; so were you.  
We both have fed as well, and we can both  
Endure the winter's cold as well as he:

He had a fever when he was in Spain,  
And when the fit was on him, I did mark  
How he did shake: 'tis true, this god did shake;  
His coward lips did from their colour fly,  
Ay, and that tongue of his that bade the Romans  
Mark him, and write his speeches in their books.  
'Alas,' it cried, 'give me some drink, Titinius,'  
As a sick girl. Ye gods, it doth amaze me  
A man of such a feeble temper should  
So get the start of the majestic world  
And bear the palm alone."

But read the whole speech, and note how extraordinarily the greatness of Cæsar is ignored in it. Cassius talks as if it were by some general infatuation that the military equal of Alexander had obtained general dominion and influence! And then go on to the second part of his speech, and see how he tries to stir in Brutus the same envy of Cæsar's greatness which he feels himself:

"Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world  
Like a Colossus, and we petty men  
Walk under his huge legs and peep about  
To find ourselves dishonourable graves."

Here is a true picture of Cæsar among his contemporaries ; but note how Cassius goes on to represent this as illusion :

“ The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,  
But in ourselves, that we are underlings,  
Brutus, and Cæsar, what should be in that Cæsar ?  
Why should that name be sounded more than yours ?  
Write them together, yours is as fair a name.  
Sound them, it doth become the mouth as well.”

And then note again his transition from trivial truth to striking falsehood :

“ Weigh them, it is as heavy, conjure with them,  
Brutus will start a spirit as soon as Cæsar.”

Shakespeare must have meant us to recall that line in the scene where the spirit of Cæsar appears to Brutus, although Cassius fails to inspire in the nobler mind his own unrest at beholding a greater than himself. That speech, and every speech of importance which is given him, is a passionate deprecation of the feeling that we know as loyalty. It is the devotion to men neither mightier nor better than average mankind (as Cassius most untruly describes Cæsar) which makes up what we mean by loyalty. Cassius is speaking of the greatest man, probably (to be no more than man), who ever lived ; but the horror of a possible elevation obliterates from the speech every trace of the real supremacy of Cæsar. Cassius dwells only on the points in which Cæsar was his equal or inferior ; he could not see that an actual superiority had caused an actual dominion.

“ Now it is Rome indeed, and room enough,  
When there is in it but one single man.”

The pun may be Elizabethan, but the sentiment is that of the ancient world. To have one man thus raised above his fellows was, to classic feeling, to leave room for no brother by his side.

Cassius shows us the ignoble form of the recoil from a possible loyalty ; its noble form is given in the antagonism of Brutus. We feel in him all the glow of a possible loyalty to Cæsar, but some other element is present which turns that glow to resolute opposition. His is not the vulgar passion for equality which we feel in every word from Cassius. He feels, not that he and his brethren are dwarfed by the pre-eminence of one whom he recognises as eminently great, but that the majesty of the invisible state is threatened by the majesty of the visible man. He speaks with absolute sincerity when he declares to Anthony :

“ Our hearts you see not ; they are pitiful ;  
And pity to the general wrong of Rome—  
As fire drives out fire, so pity, pity—  
Hath done this deed on Cæsar.”

He truly declares the principle of his action to the citizens: "Not that I loved Cæsar less, but that I loved Rome more." He reminds Cassius in their quarrel that they have "struck the foremost man in all the world." No one, not even Anthony, bears a higher tribute to the character of Cæsar than he when meditating his murder:

"The abuse of greatness is when it disjoins  
Remorse from power: and, to speak truth of Cæsar,  
I have not known when his affections sway'd  
More than his reason."

The quarrel, he expressly says, "will bear no colour for the thing he is, he must be thought of as a serpent's egg," a strange expression as applied to a man old in years, and older in the experience of honours sufficient for more than one lifetime, but most expressive as an unconscious prophecy, regarding not an individual life, but a new spirit coming upon the world—a spirit confronted with apprehension and dismay by some of the noblest among those who belong to the age about to pass away. And Shakespere does not merely give us, in the persons of Cassius and Brutus, the poor and the noble version of the antique dread of loyalty; such is his marvellous genius that he seems even to make himself the accomplice of his hero's detractors. We are made to look upon him with the eyes of his fellow citizens. We are taken back to the spirit of an age which could not regard any one who aspired to monarchy, even at a time when the alternative of monarchy was a tyranny as cruel, as selfish, and as corrupt as the world has ever seen, without gross injustice. We are reminded that the dawn of personal loyalty was, to the ancient world, as the light of a conflagration.

The change by which individual life took a new sanctity as the old world gave place to the new, is not surprising to those who believe that humanity was at that time flooded with a new influence. The perilous height from which Athens and Rome had hurled every aspirant would naturally cease to appear unfitted for the sons of men, when it was seen that the true Son of Man was also the Son of God. But the change is one that may be recognised by those who have no belief in Christianity. They, of course, will invert cause and effect in describing it. They will say that a legend was created by a change in general feeling corresponding to a certain stage in the spiritual evolution of our race. But both sides must join in the belief, that at a certain stage in the world's history, personality, either for good or for evil, took a new importance. There was a change like that which Dante describes, when, in passing the centre of the world, the ideas, up and down, above and below, changed their significance—when the travellers saw that which had been below them as above them, and felt that the whole meaning they had connected with the words high

and low was henceforth inverted. So it was when humanity passed from what we call ancient to what we call modern history. The devotion to a person had been a danger, it became a duty. A colossal genius discerned the meaning of the change, sprang to the helm of the vessel, and strove to direct it in accordance with the new vision of the stars accessible to his gaze alone. He had the fate of all who see what they must see alone. He seemed to guide the vessel upon the rocks, and he perished a victim to the hatred of those he would have saved. But his work remained, or, rather, we may say, it then truly began. "Bind, son of Rome, the nations in thy sway," sang Virgil a generation after Cæsar was murdered. That had been the aim of Cæsar. His eagle gaze saw the new mission of Rome, saw the new place of personality. He recognised that the era of monarchy had dawned. He felt that the Roman world needed a ruler, and knew that he could rule it—the discernment was a vocation; he was its martyr, and his was the resurrection of every true martyr. His work began in its fulness as he himself disappeared from the scene; the historian who seeks to estimate its import is forced to take in the age which followed him and gather up results not obvious till a period far removed from his own.

The magnificent temperance of genius, which dims the brightness of a hero's career so as to bring out its true meaning as a prelude to his posthumous influence, and blots out some of the most brilliant passages of history to enforce her lesson, proves Shakespere to be not more a perennial model for the artist than a guide to the true historian. The keynote of the play is struck in the cry of the dying Brutus ;

"Oh, Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet !  
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords  
Into our proper entrails."

We trace the first faint suggestion of that idea in Plutarch's assertion that the great genius which attended him through his lifetime even after his death remained as the avenger of his murder, pursuing through every sea and land all those who were concerned in it, and suffering none to escape, but reaching all who in any sort or kind were either actually engaged in the fact or, by their counsels, any way promoted it. Here Shakespere touches silver and leaves gold. That idea of a guardian genius captivates his fancy; he uses it for the delineation of meaner men; he brings it in to one of the finest speeches of Brutus; but in delineating the greatest of Romans he bids the guardian stand aside, the great genius who pursues Cæsar's murderers shall be Cæsar himself. I confess that in another passage which he has so transformed, Plutarch's silver seems to me changed to a baser metal. The historian tells us of a spectre appearing to Brutus on the eve of his last battle to tell him that he should meet his evil

genius at Philippi, and Shakespere makes this spectre Cæsar himself. The message seems to me an inadequate reason for recalling the mighty dead into the trammels of the visible. But Shakespere was fond of such incidents, and turned this to his own purpose, making it an expression of that pervading presence which is henceforward to overshadow the world. Shakespere keeps the living Cæsar poor and pale that the dead Cæsar may blaze forth in unrivalled splendour. It is an invisible presence which gives the play its meaning. While Cæsar is visible we are allowed to see nothing of him but his weaknesses. When he has passed into the Unseen we are reminded that he came at a crisis of the world's history when an old order of things was passing away and all things were made new. We are called on to discern in him one worthy to embody the coming age, we have to recognise—it is but another way of expressing the same truth—that his work did not cease when he ceased to be visible among men but then entered on its most important and most effective stage. It is the noblest of his enemies who, in his dying exclamation, confesses that the deadly blow has been struck in vain, and that the true Cæsar is immortal.

The new importance of a name which had, up to the death of the great man we are considering, meant no more to Roman ears than any aristocratic family name does to us, is attested by the fact that it is the only name out of what we call the secular world which is reported for us in the words of our Lord. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," said He, when an attempt was made to put Him in the wrong with the Roman or the Jewish party by eliciting a formal condemnation of one of them, and He pointed out the head of the Cæsar on the coin which was brought Him. It is an instructive reflection that the first Roman coin ever stamped with a human image bore that of Julius Cæsar, and it is not impossible that some coin of his—it would only need to be about seventy years old—was the actual object of attention to the Pharisees and the Saviour. One likes to imagine that His eyes rested for a moment on those striking features, that as He spoke of rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's His mind went back to one who was in some sense the ideal Roman, as He was the ideal Israel, and whose fate at the hands of His countrymen dimly presigured His own. Mr. Froude was blamed for concluding his history with an elaborate parallel between the two men, unjustly it seems to me. The parallel is suggested by Dante, who allots to the murderers of Cæsar a similar infamy with those concerned in the Crucifixion, and who always speaks of the Empire as of parallel importance and sanctity with the Church as a divine institution. It is a great thought that the new unity which was to become Christianity had its secular and pagan forerunner, that it was heralded by one whom Shakespere has

here represented to us as mighty in the invisible world. It stirs many thoughts of the possibly unsuspected vocation of any life. To me it seems such a warning against opposite political dangers as makes our fitting conclusion—a warning, first, against that distortion of our reverence for the past which refuses to welcome the future; which considers evolution a truth only for the ages which preceded Christianity, and fails to realise that we are living in the great week of creation, and that each of its secular days has its own work, which all are called on to recognise and welcome. And then, too—and this warning seems to me more needed, especially by the young—it should guard us against the readiness to receive any reformer unless he comes “not to destroy, but to fulfil.” The Past is fulfilled in forms most utterly dissimilar from itself, but by none which repudiate their affiliation with it. But above all, the warning bids us wait to judge the work of a great man till we see it as a whole. It is surely such a lesson in what we mean by Faith as elsewhere we find only on the page of Scripture. By Faith, I mean the trust in character rather than in any results by which we can test the influence of character—the belief elsewhere so perfectly expressed by our great poet that—

“Spirits are not finely touched but to fine issues- .”

that these issues transcend our narrow vision, and that when all that we can see of a man’s working is ended, his work has but entered on a stage where its results are deeper, wider, every way larger, and nearer to the realm of the Eternal.

JULIA WEDGWOOD.

## THE TEACHER'S TRAINING OF HIMSELF.\*

**I**F it be necessary for me to plead an excuse for venturing to address you upon an educational subject, when the experience of many of you, if not of all, in education is probably larger than my own, it shall be partly that I was asked so many months ago to come here that it was barely possible to urge the plea of a prior engagement, and partly, that I thought, or at least I hoped, my coming would tend in some slight measure to promote that great idea which, ever since I became a teacher, has lain near my heart, viz., the unity of the educational profession. For you will not widely dissent from me, if I say that the different sections or strata of the profession have in the past been far too much isolated, far too self-centred and independent, and too much inclined to go their own way without giving a thought to their common, corporate opportunities, duties, aims, and responsibilities; in a word, to that community of interest which makes them, and all the members of them, one. So strongly do I feel, alike on social and on intellectual grounds, the need of unifying the educational profession, so anxious am I to associate all teachers, from the most dignified of academical professors to the humblest and most hardly worked of School Board mistresses, in one comprehensive organisation that, for the sake of it, I would submit, if it were necessary, to what is regarded as the bugbear of the fortunate head-masters of public schools—a ministerial department of education. Meanwhile, however, it is pleasant to think that steps are being taken, though as yet only tentatively, towards unification. The two Bills which were presented to the last Parliament for the compulsory registration of teachers would help to consolidate the teaching body. So, too, if the definite training of teachers comes in

\* An Address delivered to the Birmingham Teachers' Association.



time, as it probably will, to be recognised as a necessary part of educational science, it will prove a bond between teachers of all grades. Still, if something has already been done, much remains undone; and so long as an artificial barrier, however it may have been erected, seems to interpose between one school or one school-master and another, it can do no harm for me to shake hands with you across it, and, while asking your kindly sympathy for my work, to bid you heartily and respectfully God speed in your own.

We are all members of the educational profession. How serious! How sacred it is! I congratulate you upon being schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. If it may be permitted me to use consecrated words in this connection, I will boldly say, "I magnify mine office." The educational profession is great in itself, and great in the men and women who have belonged to it. Not indeed that all who entered the profession have continued in it to the bitter or pleasant end. There are many, I am afraid, who have embraced it in the hour of pecuniary darkness, and have cast it off when the sun of prosperity shone upon them. Its shore is strewn, as it were, with the wreckage of great reputations. It may perhaps be said that there is no profession which has been abandoned by so many distinguished people as the educational. You may turn over the pages of a biographical dictionary, and apart from such persons as were born to high place, you will find, I think, that something like a third of the names in it, whether ancient or modern, have at some time been associated with education. Not to speak of teachers who were teachers all their lives, the names of Aristotle, St. Jerome, Erasmus, Milton, Fénelon, Rousseau, are enough to prove how high and noble is the consanguinity of the teaching body.

If these great men and others like them abandoned teaching after a time—for education has not only its heroes, but its victims, and occasionally its martyrs—it is a satisfaction to think that they imbibed and expressed a fitting veneration for the office and function of the teacher. Some of them, such as Milton and Rousseau, have made contributions to educational theory, and their contributions possess a lasting value, though it would have been well perhaps if they had been chastened a little more strictly by the humbling discipline of experience. For ideas are the seed-plants of progress; they may often be wasted or vain, but without them the salt of life would lose its savour.

It is perhaps the first step in the teacher's self-culture to realise the dignity of his profession. It may not possess in the eyes of the world the luminous distinction which belongs to the pulpit, the platform, or the bar. But ample as is its opportunity, not less ample is its duty or responsibility. And it has this signal advantage, that in all its branches and among its humblest no less than its highest repre-

representatives it aspires incessantly to two objects that are among the worthiest of which human nature is capable, viz., the promotion of virtue and the increase of knowledge. If Dr. Arnold (whose name no schoolmaster can mention before such a society as this without a tribute of respectful admiration) was justified in setting before his pupils and before himself, as the supreme fruit or product of the moral life, the union of "the inquiring love of truth" with "the devoted love of goodness," where, or in whom, should it be exhibited so perfectly as in the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of a Christian country?

We, the teachers of to-day, may make a hundred mistakes, we may fail again and again in temper and prudence, we may do evil in seeking to do good, but at least there is this blessing in our profession, that its aim is intrinsically noble. We do not care to win a great reputation. We are not ambitious of profit or reward. But we are trying to build up the moral and intellectual character of the men and women who will make England in the next generation. Herein lies the proper dignity of our profession. Every schoolmaster, every schoolmistress, may claim a part in it. It is told, I think, by Plutarch of the great Alexander, King of Macedon, that he used to say he loved and revered his master, Aristotle, as much as if he had been his own father, for he felt that, if to the one he owed his life, to the other he owed his power of living well. You and I shall not have pupils like Alexander, and perhaps we shall ourselves not be like Aristotle, but the relation of teacher and pupil is always a sacred one, whoever it is that imparts the teaching or receives it. Since the days of Aristotle and his predecessor, Plato, there has, I think, been no great ethical or political writer who has ignored what I may perhaps call the civic value of education. Socrates himself (if indeed the "Theages" is good authority) in a passage which is possibly familiar to you, as it is quoted by Roger Ascham in *The Schoolmaster*, enunciates the opinion that "no one goeth about a more godlie purpose than he that is mindfull of the good bringing up both of hys owne and other men's children." "What greater or better service," says Cicero, "can we render to the State than by teaching and educating the young?" St. Chrysostom, setting the seal of Christian authority to the judgment of the refined pagan world, exclaims: "There is no greater art than this of education; for what is equal to the power of disciplining the character and moulding the understanding of a youth?" I do not know in recent times a more stirring answer than that of Lacordaire, the famous Dominican, to the Court of Peers in France who asked him what his profession was, when he replied simply, "A schoolmaster," unless it be the answer of his friend, the Comte de Montalembert, the noblest specimen, I sometimes think, of the modern French laity, to the same question, "A schoolmaster and a peer of France." Nay, it was but

the other day that a learned and humble man of science, who will live in moral history as having declared that he had "no time to make money," began his will with the modest words, so great in their modesty, "I, Louis Agassiz, teacher."

The educational profession is rising in public esteem. The school-master—may I not add, the schoolmistress?—is abroad to-day. They are more formidable persons than they were. They seem likely to terrorise society. They hold in their hands the rod of examination. If in the future their profession is exposed to a special danger, it will be more probably that of being looked up to than of being looked down upon overmuch. And as they become more important, they become more numerous. When I recall the names of my contemporaries at Cambridge and think how many of them have already entered, or are seeking to enter, the ranks of the educational profession, it occurs to me to say of any one whose path in life may, as it happens, be unknown to me, what was said long ago in a familiar Greek line of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse after the defeat of the great expedition :

*ἤτοι τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γρύμματα* -

i.e., either he is dead or he is a schoolmaster. And speaking here of the profession as a whole, though with many parts, and those parts differing one from another, may I not express the hope that the influence of such persons as occupy the highly paid and comfortably furnished posts in education may be made available for the support, encouragement, and elevation of its weaker members? The head-master of a great public school has his special anxieties, and I am perhaps the last person to make light of them; for it sometimes seems as if the relation of English society to its public schools were like that of a husband to his wife, when he does not mind finding fault with her, and will even find it upon trivial or unreasonable grounds, but is soon up in arms if anybody else says a word against her. But a head-master is exempt from a good many worries which take the life, or at least the heart, out of many a humble labourer in the educational field. He is said to be, and therefore is able to be, rather autocratic. He enjoys as much respect as is good for him, perhaps rather more. He is protected by the salutary popular impression—Heaven forbid that I should be the man who destroys it!—that he is almost always overworked. It rarely happens that he is called to account for his errors of insight or practice. But a poor private schoolmaster, who has far more stubborn material to handle, is apt to be haled into a court of law if he lays his hand upon a refractory boy. Did you notice that, when Mr. Charles Booth was making in the East of London that house-to-house visitation which supplied the basis for his interesting and instructive book, one of the persons whom he visited, a dealer in

canes, complained that his business—as legitimate a business, I suppose, in the eye of the law as the distiller's or the publican's, and assuredly not more noxious in its effects—had been ruined, or was in imminent danger of being ruined, by the abolition of corporal punishment in the Board Schools of London? It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and the dealer in canes stands as the victim of an advancing humanity. But perhaps it is the governess who of all teachers has in the past suffered most from a multitude of small insults, all the greater, I venture to think, because they were small, at the hands of the so-called patrons of education. It is not so long, by the way, since the private or domestic tutor in country houses, like the ex-chaplain in "*Esmond*," was treated as occupying a position somewhere between the steward and the butler, being asked, if I recollect, to sit down to dinner with his employer, but being expected to take his leave after the first course. But to-day even the governess, whom it has been too long the fashion of dignified schoolmasters and school-mistresses themselves to look upon as a sort of poor relation, is coming, thank God! to be regarded as an honourable member of an honourable profession; and, if so, this beneficent change of opinion is largely due, as I cannot help thinking, to the distinguished ladies, such as the late Miss Clough, the principal of Newnham College, or, among living educators, Miss Beale and Miss Buss, who have won respect for the education of women by women all over England, and, if the truth be told, have won it so effectively that some years ago, when I had the honour of serving on a committee of which those ladies were also members, I came somewhat sorrowfully to the conclusion that a head-mistress was a much more important person than a head-master.

Upon the whole it may be said that, in proportion as the profession to which you and I are giving our lives is more highly esteemed, it becomes increasingly our duty to fit ourselves for it by a severe and serious discipline. It is in this view, which I would respectfully emphasise, that I have chosen as my subject "*The Teacher's Training of Himself*." For it is too much the fashion to think of the school-master as training others. His higher function, I had almost said, is to train himself. Chaucer sums up the characteristics of his clerk in the well-known line:

"And gladly wolde he learn, and gladly teche,"

but the learning is prior to the teaching in importance as well as in time. The modern world imagines the schoolmaster in cap and gown; it sees him sitting always at his desk; it forgets the happy hours when he is permitted to occupy, as it were, a humble place on the scholars' bench. That is his true self-training, his self-discipline. No doubt, it is a fact, and a humbling fact, that the teacher has sometimes owed his reputation to his pupils; for the pupils have been

greater than their teacher. Sir Philip Sidney, I think, enjoys the unique distinction, that not only did his intimate school friend, Lord Brooke, wish to be known to all who should read the inscription upon his grave, as having been "the friend of Sir Philip Sidney," but his tutor at college, Dr. Thornton, who became Dean of Christ Church, caused it to be engraved upon his tomb at Ledbury, that he had been the preceptor of "Philip Sidney, that most noble knight." The relation of Dr. Arnold and Dean Stanley is perhaps the most beautiful instance of a master making his pupil, and then the pupil, in his turn, making his master. But the gratitude and respect of famous men to teachers who have done little or nothing for them, and have sometimes, I am afraid, discouraged and disheartened them, is one of the most touching features of educational history. Where would the master have been in such a case without the pupils? There is a passage in dear old Fuller's "Holy State"—I think I owe my acquaintance with it to Hartley Coleridge—which often occurs to my mind, when I am in this train of thought. "Let this," he says, "amongst other motives make schoolmasters careful in their place, that the eminences of their scholars have commended their schoolmasters to posterity, who otherwise in obscurity had altogether been forgotten. Who had ever heard of R. Bond in Lancashire, but for the breeding of learned Roger Ascham, his scholar?"

But if a teacher is to train others, still more must he train himself. Perhaps indeed the less he thinks about training others, and the more about training himself, the better will it be for him and for them. For the training of others is a process of giving out knowledge, but the training of himself is a process of taking it in, and it is more important to take in knowledge than to give it out. The reason is that the influence of every teacher depends not upon what he says, nor even upon what he does, but upon what he is. He cannot be greater or better than himself. He cannot teach nobly, if he is not himself noble. Sooner may you gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles than the ripe fruit of moral and spiritual elevation from an enfeebled and unenlightened understanding. Water cannot rise higher than its source, nor can the fertilising stream of an educator's influence transcend his own personal dignity. That is the reason why he must first raise himself to a high intellectual and moral state; for so only can he hope to raise his pupils.

The educational profession, if it be rightly considered, is fraught with serious responsibility. It is the only profession which, at least in some of its aspects, touches the whole trinity of man's being—body, mind, and soul. The physician deals with the body, the professor with the mind, the clergyman with the soul. But the schoolmaster or schoolmistress has, at times, the care of all three. And as they may do good to them all, so may they do harm. There is no pro-

fession which has such an opportunity of doing harm as the educational. It is an anxious and solemn thought. Suffer me to put it before you in this way. It sometimes happens that, when they who have been my pupils are at the point of taking holy orders, they write to ask me what sort of study or preparation will enable them to do the most good by their sermons. Then I say to them, or it comes into my mind to say, "My dear boys, you will be exceedingly fortunate if, when you begin to preach, you do not do positive harm." A good many sermons that I have heard preached have seemed to me not merely not useful but injurious. Similarly, if I may address a word of counsel to you as teachers, it shall be that you ask yourselves every morning and night of your lives, Am I doing harm? Am I standing in the way of one of my pupils? Am I preventing him by any fault of mine in manner, or judgment, or sympathy from becoming what the Creator meant him to be? For it is sadly true that schoolmasters and schoolmistresses have had much to answer for in the failures of their pupils. Their power of injuring is correlative to their power of benefiting them. There is a sense in which the faults of the young are almost all the faults of their parents or their teachers. Looking back now over a period of years, it fills me with shame to think how much that has been disappointing in the character of the boys whom I have known has seemed to be traceable, immediately or remotely, to the errors of my colleagues, or more probably my own. But whether I make too much of this humbling thought or not, there is no doubt as to the lifelong importance of those early years which schoolmasters and schoolmistresses are allowed to call their own. Locke, in his "Thoughts Concerning Education," does not speak too strongly when he writes, "I wish that those who complain of the great decay of Christian Piety and Virtue everywhere, and of Learning, and acquir'd Improvements in the Gentry of this Generation, would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This, I am sure, that if the foundation of it be not laid in the Education and Principles of the Youth, all other Endeavours will be in vain. And if the Innocence, Sobriety, and Industry of those who are coming up, be not taken care of and preserv'd, 'twill be ridiculous to expect that those who are to succeed next on the stage, should abound in that Virtue, Ability and Learning, which has hitherto made England considerable in the World." Such is the value of those early years; but if they are ill spent, who shall tell the loss that ensues? Madame de Rémusat, if I remember, tells a story of Talleyrand which impressed me, when I read it, and has often come home to me since. "On one occasion," she says, "being impatient at his inconsistency, I went so far as to say, 'Good heavens! What a pity it is that you have taken such pains to spoil yourself, for I cannot help believing that the real *you* is better than you are!' He smiled and said 'Our

entire life is influenced by the manner in which we pass the early years of it, and were I to tell you how my youth was spent, you would cease to wonder at many things that how astonish you."

It is sadly true that we as teachers may make mistakes. We may break the bruised reed; we may quench the smoking flax. By making the young dislike us we may make them dislike the subjects which we represent. "When pupils love the master," says a Jesuit teacher, "they will soon love his teaching"; but there is another side of the picture. Strongly would I impress upon you, and still more strongly upon myself, the solemn, terrible responsibility which belongs to us of making one of these little ones to offend. Perhaps if I might sum up in a single phrase the teacher's true temper towards his pupils, especially when they are boys in a large school, I should say it is one of sympathetic severity.

No doubt it is the first part of schoolmastering to maintain discipline. Discipline is the alpha of the scholastic alphabet. If a schoolmaster cannot keep boys in order, he ought, I think, to retire to a country parish. If a schoolmistress cannot keep girls in order, there is nothing, I am afraid, for her but matrimony. Nay, it is true of boys—I do not know what to say of girls—that they like being kept in good order. They cannot bear teachers who let them play the fool. For respect is the parent of affection, and whom they despise they dislike. It has been one of my curious experiences that, when there has been a question in which of two classes a boy should be placed, he has sometimes begged, and has told his parents in the holidays how much he desired, to be placed in the form of the stricter of two masters, because he distrusted himself, if he were not kept well in hand, and was anxious in his serious moments to be disciplined, and felt that he would be happier in his school-life and would do better, if he were saved from his own infirmity of moral purpose. But severity is not worth much, if it stands alone. It may be said that severity without sympathy is pretty well a guarantee of failure. And here I will mention, though only in passing, one of the greatest—perhaps the most permanent and insuperable—as it seems to me, of educational difficulties. It is the want of sufficient time. Masters and mistresses, and perhaps still more parents, do not always understand how great this difficulty is. But what Rousseau calls "*l'art d'observer les enfants*" demands continuous attention. Our pupils, whether they be boys or girls, are of different tempers, dispositions, and capacities. Some of them cannot be successfully treated without a much larger expenditure of time and thought than others. There is an odious idea which has found acceptance in some schools and among some schoolmasters of whom I desire to speak with respect, that, if a boy is dull or backward or difficult to manage, it is time to get rid of him from the school, by a

system of superannuation or otherwise, although he is doing no harm, but perhaps good, or at least, if not doing good, is certainly gaining it. This idea, if I may speak of it as I think, is the negation of educational science. If a pupil does wrong, if he does harm, if he cannot be corrected without such punishment as is humiliating and degrading, above all, if he is a centre of moral evil, it is not my part to say a word in his defence, except that he should leave the school, because he is bad, and not because he is backward. But any one can teach the clever, the interesting, the industrious. *We exist*, I say boldly, for the dull, the idle, and the ungrateful. We exist for the hewers of wood and drawers of water, that they may hew their wood more cleverly and draw their water more conscientiously. They are our *necessarii*, if I may use the striking Latin word which describes the obligation of parents to children, of kinsmen to kinsmen, and therefore, in a sense, of teachers to pupils. We owe them something of that solicitous devotion which animated Lacordaire in his relation to his scholars at Sorèze and made him refuse, after his installation at the French Academy, to spend even a single day in Paris, lest one of his "children," as he called them, should miss the opportunity of confession and communion. "No one can tell," he said, "what the loss of one communion may be in the life of a Christian." The noblest triumph of a schoolmaster or schoolmistress is found, not in educating the virtuous and painstaking pupils, where education might be pretty safely left to take care of itself, but in correcting, inspiring, and elevating those of his pupils who are wilful, I daresay, and irresponsible, and seem to common eyes as if there were no power or promise in them. It is not by evading difficulties, but by meeting and overcoming them that a man may approve himself a successful teacher. If there is a special pleasure which I feel in looking at times along the benches of my school chapel, it is in the thought of the boys, not by any means the most applauded or esteemed, whose moral scent, though it be slow and arduous, is as visible as the climbing road of Harrow Hill itself. And looking back over my own school-days, as I recall the names not only of the gifted popular boys who have come to grief, but of other boys who led poor valueless lives then, as they seemed to be, and were deaf to appeals so earnestly addressed to them, and yet have been reclaimed in aftertime by one cause or other—by maturity of powers or marriage or responsibility, or, as I may indeed attest, by the converting grace of God to a rare nobility of life—it is forced upon me, as a truth I can never forget, that not even the lowest boy is incapable of the highest good. That is why there is one word, though only one, that I have simply begged my colleagues never to use in their reports of boys—the word "hopeless." Masters and mistresses may perhaps be hopeless, I cannot tell; but boys and girls—never. Yet how great is the



difficulty of finding time to deal with trying cases! Most people know the story of Fénelon's influence upon his wayward and passionate pupil, the Duke of Burgundy, how gentle he was and patient and unrelenting, until it seemed as if the pupil's nature was transformed, and he who had been the terror of the court became docile and religious, and the day was too short for his devotions, and he spent himself in doing good to others. But then Fénelon lavished almost unlimited time upon him; perhaps there are some of us who in our humble way feel that, if we had more time, if we could labour incessantly for any one renegade soul, we should not altogether fail to reclaim it. But when one pupil from his idiosyncrasy demands a great or major part of the time which is all that we have to give to five or six hundred others, is it not a task well-nigh impossible to do him justice? Is not his proper place somewhere else than in a great school? Lack of time, I say, is the main scholastic difficulty, and, if so, it is surely a mistake to crowd a teacher's time to the last minute, to hurry and worry him from morning to night, and to leave him no leisure for reflecting upon the problems which the great fact of human individualism raises.

Yet, though it is true that time is a necessary element in the perfectness of sympathy between master and pupil, sympathy, however it be shown, is a thing so precious and potent that you will, I think, forgive me if I dwell upon it in the hope of guarding you against some mistakes, which are slight, perhaps, in themselves, but may lead your pupils to disbelieve or distrust the sympathy you feel for them.

Thus, it is difficult to over-estimate the importance of manner in dealing with the young and with the parents of the young. Faults of manner are faults which the world has agreed to exaggerate; they have been the ruin of fine abilities and great careers. It is a pity; but you must remember that of people who see you, the great majority see you for perhaps half an hour in their lives, and they judge you by what they see in that half-hour. Thus it is that courtesy is like bread cast upon the waters; you shall find it after many days. St. Philip Neri owed not a little of his singular influence to his rule of never turning anybody from his door; I think I have read that he would allow himself to be interrupted even at prayers, if some one came who wanted to see him. Idle inconsiderate words or actions do immense mischief. Want of tact gives often more pain than want of heart. A schoolmaster distributing prizes at the end of term among his pupils, remarked to one of them, whose mother was sitting, as it chanced, in the audience, that it was a peculiar pleasure to give him a prize, because he was not clever, like most other prize-winners, but dull and backward, and below the average of boys in the school; the remark was meant

kindly, I have no doubt, but the boy did not like it, and his mother was led in a hysterical condition out of the room. A lady, the wife of a master of a boarding-house, once told the mother of a boy who was lying ill in the house that the boy could not expect more than a fortieth part of her attention—forty being, let me say, the number of boys in the house; it was a foolish speech, all the more foolish as being in a sense true, and I daresay the lady who made it never thought of it again, but the mother to whom it was made will never forget it. And as I am speaking of parents and of the relation in which we, as schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, stand to them, may I express the earnest hope that you will not consent to use that silly and insolent language which has been at times too common, I fear, upon the lips of the members of our profession, as if the parents of their pupils were, or were likely to be, or could be justly regarded as, their natural enemies? Nobody has known more of parents than I have, for in South London they “came about me like bees,” and hardly ever did I travel from Dulwich to Victoria without finding a parent in the same railway-carriage; but it is a duty, as it is a pleasure, to assure you that with few exceptions—very few exceptions and, if you will have it so, very bad ones—they are in the highest degree wise, helpful, and considerate, more than grateful for such poor services as it is in the power of a schoolmaster to render to his pupils, and deeply sensible and tolerant of the difficulties which lie about a schoolmaster's path. If I have any complaint to make of parents, it is that sometimes they expect too much of the school, and look to it to cure all natural evils; for, after all, human nature is strong, even in the young, and it may prove more than a match for the discipline of the schoolroom as well as for the more kindly influences of the domestic fireside. Such has been my experience; I hope it will be yours; but, even if it be not so, who are we that we should indulge ourselves in criticism of the parents who entrust their sons and daughters to our educational care? Is not this the highest of compliments, the greatest of trusts? And, after all, if there were no parents, there would be no boys or girls, and, ladies and gentlemen, what would become of us all then?

But if courtesy to parents is a duty, it is not less a duty to pupils. Everybody knows how Luther's schoolmaster, the famous Trebonius, used to take off his hat when he entered his schoolroom. “I uncover my head,” he would say “to honour the consuls, chancellors, doctors, masters who shall proceed from this school.” Dr. Arnold won his way to the hearts of Rugby boys by the simple respect which he showed in accepting their word as true. A master's success has sometimes been imperilled by so slight a matter as the mistake of not returning boys' salutes in the street. For, courtesy begets courtesy; it is a passport to popularity. The way in which things are done is

often more important than the things themselves. One special point of personal courtesy you will let me mention ; it is punctuality. To keep a class waiting is to be rude, and to seem to be unjust. For a sense of speculation arises, when a master is apt to be late ; if he is generally four minutes late, the boys will count the chance of his being one minute later, and the result will be disappointment, disaster, and then dislike.

But it is natural, in thinking of courtesy, to think of good temper as a quality indispensable to it. Forgive my saying that, if you cannot keep your temper, I doubt if it is right for you to keep your mastership. An angry schoolmaster, or rather, a schoolmaster who cannot control his anger, is the drunken helot of the profession. In an angry moment words are spoken, deeds are done, that are irreparable. Fling away from you the poisoned shafts of sarcasm ; they are forbidden to the humanities of school life. An eminent person, whose high repute in education has been partly veiled by his still higher repute in the Church, once observed to me, when I was just about to become a schoolmaster, that, if he were to begin his life as a schoolmaster once again, he thought he would be kinder than he had been. Believe me, kindness is a greater power than sternness. He is the successful teacher who enlists his pupils' sympathy on the side of order and virtue. But, if you act or speak under sudden emotion, it is almost certain that you will do wrong. Above all else, avoid setting punishments in a hurry. There should be an interval between the offence and the sentence passed upon it. A penalty of several hundred lines is set in two or three seconds ; but how long and weary is the process of paying it ! and what heart-burnings it often leaves behind ! Think once, twice, and thrice before you speak the fatal word. And even in punishing do not shut the door of hope upon the conscience of the guilty boy or girl. It is a touching story which Plutarch tells, that Alcibiades, though he loved the Socratic discourses in his better hours, would sometimes forsake them and surrender himself to sensual pleasures, and go his own evil way, and then Socrates, with affectionate pertinacity, would "pursue him as if he had been a fugitive slave." Such is the "hope against hope" of the true teacher ; such his solicitude for the pupils whom he loves. Was it not Confucius who bore the death of his son, though it tried him sorely, but broke down at the death of his favourite scholar ? Or was the thoughtfulness of which I am speaking ever seen more beautifully than in that old schoolmaster who, as he lay upon his deathbed, and the shadows closed around him, was heard to whisper, "It is growing dark, boys ; you may go" ?

But, if good temper is essential to courtesy, good health, it may be said, is essential to good temper. It is in the interest of your pupils even more than in your own that I ask you to observe the

laws of health. To be well is often the true secret of teaching well. Fatigue conduces to futility. Indigestion is the mother of indiscretion. A weary schoolmaster or schoolmistress is a dreary one.

Especially I would say to all and each of you, Take a good night's rest, do not cut your sleep short. Time spent in sleep is a good investment, at least for all who work hard. You will often do more by doing less. A candle burning at both ends gives a light which is disagreeable, and it soon goes out. But a teacher ought to be always at his best; it is all up with him if he takes a doze in school. Nature demands sleep, but she also demands exercise. You may ignore or refuse her demand, but, if so, her revenge will be sure. According to my experience unless you pay her her due in the way of physical exercise, she requires payment with heavy interest about the age of fifty. Thus the man who has taken no exercise breaks down. A break-down is not a break-up; he resumes work after a time, but he is never again the same man. There are so many forms of exercise nowadays—not only cricket, football, and rowing, but bicycling and tricycling, boxing, gymnastics, golf, and especially lawn-tennis, to which the formidable increase in the stature of girls is said to be due—that it is easy for a teacher to guard against the evils of too sedentary a life.

But apart from such simple practical rules of health as I have given you, if I am to deal completely with the teacher's training of himself, it is necessary to state and consider the special danger of the educational profession as a whole. For every profession—the clerical, the legal, or the medical—has its own danger; it creates, or tends to create, a certain type of character, and it is so probably with the educational profession.

It appears to be the particular danger of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses that their profession has naturally a cramping or narrowing influence upon the mind. Education, I sometimes think, is a hard taskmaster. It makes a heavy demand upon its votaries. It allows them scanty and precarious leisure, and often, when the leisure occurs, leaves them so weary that they are incapable of turning it to good account. It is the holidays alone which save them from the paralysis of routine duties. Nor is it a slight matter that schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, from the nature of their profession, are set perpetually in relation to their inferiors. For youth is a form of inferiority, the young must receive orders and obey them, and not, as a rule, inquire the reasons for them. "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." But the habit of issuing commands and not giving reasons for them, if it is salutary for him who obeys, is dangerous for him who commands. He becomes imperious and arbitrary. He grows impatient of opposition. It is thus, I am afraid, that a schoolmaster is apt to prove disagreeable in old age. The

authoritative position which he necessarily occupies enlarges his idea of his own knowledge and importance beyond due limits. If it were necessary to cite an instance of the way in which a teacher may forget at times his lack of the qualifications necessary for giving instruction of a certain kind, it would be found, I think, in the disposition of some unmarried teachers, whether male or female, to lecture parents upon the art of bringing up their children. It must be confessed, too, that the concentration of a person's energy upon a limited area, however important in itself, is a serious intellectual danger. But a school is such an area, it possesses a certain completeness, it affords scope for many activities and experiments, but it would be a mistake to think of the school as if it were the world. All education is prospective. No true teacher can rest content with present results; he must look forward to the results achieved in after-life. He must teach his pupils to judge of men and things as they will judge of them in the maturity of their powers. It is a bad education which would lead them to estimate the successful scholar at school or college above the statesman, the philanthropist, or the hero. The world has outgrown its ancient horror of a false quantity; it does not now think less of Burke for having said *rectigal*; there is, I fear, a danger in these democratical days that it may come to look upon a false quantity as a virtue. But the end of education is character. To think nobly and act nobly—that is the sum of all true teaching. Speaking for myself, I desire to train scholars, divines, warriors, legislators, and philanthropists, but, above all, good and honourable citizens. But how often have the judgments of school-life been reversed! How often have boys misunderstood their schoolfellows, and masters their pupils! It is a sad thought that again and again the heroisms of boyhood have been as flowers withered before they were grown up. It has been so, even where the judgment might have seemed, in the natural course of things, to be not itself unreasonable. An experienced colleague, who is now alas! dead, told me once that, as he reviewed the long years in which he had been a schoolmaster, he could not help being struck by the fact that among the boys whom he had known, those who had achieved the highest honours in after-life, nay, even those who had performed the most brilliant feats of daring, had not been generally the successful or prominent boys, nor boys distinguished above others in strength, or courage, or enterprise, but quiet boys who had simply done their duty, and had not attracted any special attention when they were at school.

How is it, then, that masters and mistresses have failed so often to anticipate the distinction of their scholars? Want of care has not been the cause, nor want of good-will, or interest, or ability. It has been chiefly, I think, the narrowness of view which has prevented their seeing merit or promise, unless it appeared in the limited field of the

scholastic life. Believing, then, that the educational profession, while it tends to keep the sympathies alive, tends at the same time to cramp and confine the mental vision, it appears to me to be a primary duty of all teachers to take every opportunity of enlarging and liberalising their views.

There is some advantage, no doubt, in the study of educational history. It is a branch of literature to which English teachers have been generally indifferent. Nothing has been stranger or more painful in past days than the evident circumscription of their views. Each generation of schoolmasters has seemed to go to work as if there had been no schoolmasters in the world before themselves. The schoolmaster of one school has ignored the existence of other schools. How few books does he think of reading upon education ! What does he know or has ever heard of the educational systems of Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, or the Port Royalists ? What of the theories of Sturm, Ascham, Locke, Rousseau, and Herbert Spencer ? The educational profession stands alone in this respect, that men and women enter upon it, or, let me charitably say, used once to enter upon it, without the least regard to the theories, doctrines, researches, experiments, and inventions of their predecessors. It has been the most empirical of professions. It will not, let me hope, be so always. The time is coming, I believe, when every teacher will be required to possess some acquaintance with educational history and educational science. And, if it comes, it will be in a measure due to the efforts of a man distinguished in education—once a Harrow master—whose death, profoundly as it is regretted, allows me to speak the praise which he would have deprecated, if he were alive—Mr. Quick.

But if education is a science in which practice as well as theory has its place and value, it cannot be wrong to suggest the possibility of learning some useful lessons, not only from the schoolmasters of the past, but also, though perhaps in less degree, from the schoolmasters of to-day. If you are young and only just beginning your work as a teacher, let me say it is well to be teachable. It is not a remark that I make willingly ; but I have been surprised sometimes at the reluctance of some young teachers to ask or accept the help that was open to them, and perhaps actually offered them and thrust upon them, in the way of discussing their practical difficulties with experienced masters, and of trying to learn from them the art of taking and teaching a form, of exercising discipline, and of accommodating their personal prejudices to the tone, spirit, and usage of the school. Probably the reason is that, when a master fails in discipline or instructiveness, it is not so much because he falls below his ideal, as because his ideal is a low one, and, if so, what can be more important to any one of us than to set before himself an ideal as high as possible ?

But I mean much more than this when I speak of the teacher's duty of maintaining a broad and liberal judgment on education. The schoolmaster must not be a schoolmaster only; he must be more than a schoolmaster. He must be a man of wide interests and information. He must move freely in the world of affairs. It is one of the difficulties in the way of reforming education that teachers of both sexes set an inordinate value upon such subjects as they are capable of teaching. A person who can teach nothing but the classical languages is sure to hold that the classical languages are the only subjects worth teaching. This is probably the explanation of the resistance offered for so long a time to the teaching of natural science in public schools. It accounts, too, more or less, for the support given to what is perhaps the most irrational of all educational practices, viz., the habit of compelling a large number of boys to compose verses in a dead language. Mr. Arthur Sidgwick says of Dr. Arnold :

"When he was composing sermons, histories, notes on Thucydides, and teaching Rugby better than any school was ever taught before, he was writing letters, as his life shows, on every mortal subject of interest—the Newmanites, Niebuhr, Rome, the Jews, the Chartists, London University, the French Revolution. This width of interest took hold of the boys, as it always does and must. And he himself knew it and felt it. 'The more active my own mind is,' he said, 'the more it works upon great moral and political points, the better for the school.'"

The more you know, the more you think, the better teachers will you be. All that you learn is worth your learning. All knowledge illustrates all other knowledge. If it shall happen to you to be studying independently two subjects which seem to lie as far apart—shall I say, as history and botany?—you will find that there is a correspondence between them. Do not rest satisfied then with knowing more or less perfectly just such subjects as it is your daily duty to teach. Fill your pitchers, however humble they may be, at the wide and ever-flowing stream of human culture. It is my counsel, as a precaution against narrowness, that you indulge largely and lavishly in reading. You can hardly read too much. It may be a paradox to say so; but I doubt if it matters much what you read, so long as you read widely. Perhaps I should warn you against spending an undue time upon the newspapers of sport or of society, if I did you the injustice of supposing that they are likely to be your temptations. But novel-reading I conscientiously recommend. It will take you out of yourselves, and that is perhaps the best holiday that any one can have. It will give your minds an edge, an elasticity. The peril of reading no novels is much more serious than that of reading too many. If it ever happens that I hear a master say he has not had time to read a book all through the term, I am sorry for him, but still more sorry for his pupils. There are

"twelve hours in the day"; life is short, but it seems shorter than it is, because so many things in it are made too long. The secret of getting through work is method. Order, it has been said, is God's first law; let it be yours. Do not let your work accumulate upon your hands. It is not work that kills, but arrears of work; work put off is work put on with heavy interest. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof"; it becomes intolerable, if it be laid upon to-morrow. If I may recommend you three rules for saving time and economising strength, they shall be these: Answer letters; keep appointments; make up your minds. In the affairs of this life a decision is frequently more important than a right decision. One man makes up his mind and acts, it may be, wrongly, but, if so, he finds out his mistake, corrects, and retrieves it, before another man has acted at all. It is possible to waste a great amount of time by thinking, and still more by talking, over actions. First thoughts are sometimes wiser than second, and generally wiser than third. If your time be rightly ordered, you will not lack the opportunity of expanding your intellects by study. It is well to take up some subject (though with proper discretion) outside your ordinary schoolwork. There is virtue in doing something that you need not do. And whether your subject be literature, art, science, or politics, it will serve to brush the cobwebs from your mind. You will not imagine that I approve the neglect of definite duties. I do not forget that the plea of culture has occasionally been put forward as a cloak for simple indolence. It is only duty thoroughly done which gives the right of going beyond the limits of duty. Still, when all is said, it is my strong conviction that a schoolmaster's mind, if it is to be entirely healthy, needs some interest or occupation beside his regular schoolwork.

But whether it be so or not in term-time, amidst the pressure of work, you will not forget that there are periods of a teacher's life when he is lord of himself, and free from his masters, the boys, and can uninterruptedly perform his duty of self-culture. These periods are the holidays. They are of unique intellectual value. Apollo himself does not keep his bow on the stretch for ever, and most of us need relaxation as much as Apollo. The test of a good teacher, it may be said, lies not more in his manner of spending the term than in his manner of spending the holidays. He does well if he devotes his holidays to mere relaxation, playing, it may be, with a tame partridge after St. John's example so much approved by S. François de Sales. But he does better if, for a part at least of the holidays, he engages in some refreshing pursuit or study which, by its very contrast with his usual occupation, will restore the balance of his intellectual faculties. Forgive me if I say it is an error, however honourable, to make the holidays a prolongation of the term by



spending them, or a great part of them, in educational meetings, conferences, discussions, and retreats. Perhaps the worst way in which you could pass your holidays would be in listening to such addresses as I am delivering at this moment. You will need your holidays for mental recreation. Do not let your profession lie upon you too heavily. Try to forget sometimes that you are a schoolmaster or schoolmistress. I could almost say, do everything in the holidays that you would not dream of doing in the term-time. So shall the holidays shed a gracious influence upon your school-life. When teachers and pupils part for the holidays, the dust of the world is upon their souls; but when the holidays are over and they meet again, their souls are bright as with the dew of the morning.

To me it has been a pleasure passing words, and a profit as great as the pleasure, to spend my holidays many a time in foreign travel. Nothing has helped me in my teaching more than this. It has made the scenes of classical story real to me and, I hope, therefore real to my pupils. What a difference it makes in alluding to some historical site—Rome, Athens, Delphi, Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem—to be able to say, "When I was there!" Foreign travel, I know, may be beyond the power of some of you. But it will not be beyond your power to spend the holidays in some such way as shall recover for you the energy, the elasticity, which is the secret, as it is the source, of effective teaching.

But life is not all holiday; it is serious and solemn. Leisure, says Aristotle, is to be looked upon as a means to work, as war is a means to peace.

It has been my object to lay before you some thoughts upon the physical, moral, and intellectual qualifications of the profession which is yours and mine at the present day. You will suffer me to conclude by urging that in all our work, and most of all in our relation to our pupils, we may not forget our divine responsibility. A great teacher used to say that he could never receive a new boy from his father's hands without emotion. Certainly none of us can be without emotion, as he sends out one of his pupils in these difficult days to the stress and temptation of the world. We need much patience, courage, wisdom in our work. We need the sustaining strength of a Power higher than our own. May God grant that those young lives which are "our epistle written in our hearts," as indeed they are, and "known and read of all men," may be our witnesses that, with whatever faults of temper and judgment, we have yet unselfishly sought to do them good!

J. E. C. WELLDON.

## THOU ART THE MAN.

**I**N the year 1890 the great struggle between labour and capital which had been raging on the continent of Australia suddenly made itself felt in the far-off islands of New Zealand. The trade-unions of this colony were affiliated to those of Australia, and although the working men of New Zealand were perfectly contented with their lot and had no quarrels with their employers, yet at the command of an irresponsible committee, sitting in secret conclave considerably more than a thousand miles away, they threw up their employment, and placed their families as a burden on the charity of the public. Shearers and squatters in far-away Queensland had quarrelled about wages or hours of labour, and for this cause sailors deserted the ships by which the coast traffic of New Zealand is carried on, while porters and draymen stood idle in the streets of Auckland and Dunedin. The strike was, in its immediate results, a disastrous failure, and incidentally brought many evils in its train. Men, filled with the idea that they had a grievance against some one, looked round to find something to fight with probability of success. They saw, or thought they saw, that the competition of women was hard upon men, and accordingly a war against women, in some of those trades to which they had gained admission, was set on foot. The chief field of battle was the printing trade.

The proprietors of the two Auckland journals in whose offices women are employed, the one a daily, the other a weekly, paper, were peremptorily ordered to dismiss every one of these "females" before an early date fixed by the printers banded together in a Typographical Association. Of the persons thus threatened, some were apprentices, others had been many years in the trade and had helpless relatives depending on them. They were satisfied with their position and gave satisfaction to their employers; yet, because they were of the weaker sex, all

these honest workers were at one blow to be rendered destitute. The employers remonstrated; the Typ. Ass., to use the abbreviated form adopted by the weekly paper, the *Observer*, held a meeting, at which it was resolved—"That no concession whatever be made to any printing-office in respect to female labour." They afterwards, however, agreed that women already employed should remain, but insisted that no others should be admitted into the trade; and these terms were accepted by the *Star*. The *Observer*, after a vain attempt to gain a hearing for justice and personal rights, boldly defied this attack upon the liberty of men and women. The proprietors not only objected to being made the instruments of cruelty to unoffending women, but declared themselves unable to bear the financial loss which would result from the proposed change. The delegates who had invaded their office would not yield the point, but insisted that the girls should be sent away, and suggested that an equal number of boys might be engaged at *one-third of the wages earned by the girls*, and that the money thus saved should be devoted to the payment of two more journeymen. Such an employment of boys was against the rules of their Association, but that was treated as a trifle, if they could but drive out the women.

After this interview, the proprietors of the *Observer*, in a long letter to the President and Members of the Auckland Typographical Association, set forth "an appeal to be allowed to live." In reply, they were graciously told "that this meeting does not deny the right of women to aspire to any position in life they prove themselves capable of filling; but the Society, being desirous of strengthening its position by affiliation with the Australasian Typographical Union, whose rules do not recognise the eligibility of females as members, it has therefore to decline the candidature of women for membership." The Auckland printers would, nevertheless, strain a point, and permit journeywomen to retain their positions, and even apprentices, provided that none received less than £2 10s. a week, and for the future there must be no more girl apprentices. If these rules were not promptly obeyed, it did not exactly appear what was to happen, but a terrible punishment of the offending employers was darkly hinted at. The *Observer* declined to yield, and "awaited with patience the 'dealing' of the Typographical Association's executive."

This attempt of certain men to put a few more pence or shillings into their own pockets at the expense of everything possessed by a number of respectable working women, even all their living, was afterwards alluded to by myself as cowardly and unmanly, and the printers did not like it. They remonstrated that they did not deserve these epithets, which ought not to have been applied to them, since they had good reasons for their action. These reasons, as stated by themselves, were, first, that they did not consider the work of a compositor

to be fit for women, who might find more suitable employment; and secondly, that it was very unpleasant to themselves, the printers, to be continually laughed at by the Australasian Union for suffering the employment of women. Views of this kind are no novelty. The "shirt-button potato" question has always been urged against any plan for opening the way to an honest living for some of those numerous women who do not happen "to belong to a man." The objectors being convinced that, as far as their own comfort is concerned, the scheme of the universe would be a much better one if all women were contented with the home duties of attendance on men, try to put a gloss upon the selfishness of such a statement by protesting that the employment aimed at really is not good for "females," their favourite word in speaking of the opposite sex. Yet all adult persons have a right to the full development of their opinions and faculties in any honest and innocent work which they may choose; and interference with this right is tyranny, and tyranny over the weak and defenceless, who alone can be forced to submit, is cowardly and unmanly. So, though it is really very unpleasant to be obliged to say hard things of one's fellow-countrymen, still if they will so act as to deserve them, justice requires that the truth should be spoken, and the epithets, with the grounds for them, were repeated.

But the war against women is by no means confined to the printers, even in this hemisphere: the Auckland bootmakers have not been ashamed to attempt a similar cruelty, while in New South Wales the Labour Party have used their power to ensure the rejection of Sir H. Parkes' resolution in favour of woman's suffrage; thus, as has been rightly pointed out, placing themselves, as far as principle is concerned, pretty nearly on a level with the most "bloated aristocracy" of the old world.

Notwithstanding all this, while we can but feel that such conduct on the part of operatives must arise, in part, from a want of faith in the value of their own work, that it is beneath their dignity as men, and deserving of unsparing condemnation, it is only fair to consider whether they are altogether without excuse; whether, in fact, they are not simply following the fashion set by others who have enjoyed far greater advantages of education, and wider opportunities of observation, than fall to the lot of the average handicraftsman. All women who have wished to enter the medical profession, and others, who feel it natural and seemly to consult one of their own sex on matters of physical ailment, know the desperate resistance offered by the doctors' trades-union, and can never forget the determination of the majority of these unionists to force their services upon those who would infinitely prefer the sisterly offices of a fellow-woman, if only that woman might be permitted to qualify herself for rendering them. By patient effort, women have, it is true, succeeded in so qualifying them-

selves, but it has been in the teeth of every variety of discouragement from the men who had the power.

If we turn to the English universities, the example set by those who have the power, and mean to keep it, is not much better. At Cambridge it was only after a strong expression of outside opinion, after the nation had made its voice pretty loudly heard, that admission of right to the University examinations was somewhat grudgingly conceded. That was eleven years ago, but still, though women have shown themselves capable of taking the highest places in the Triposes, the degree is denied them, for reasons which till lately were a mystery to those unacquainted with the university, though no secret to persons who had studied the discussions on the memorial of 1880, which led to the opening of the Tripos Examinations. In November last, in acknowledging the receipt of a memorial from New Zealand, asking that the degrees of the University may be opened to properly qualified women, the Vice-Chancellor made the following important statement :

"The question was raised about three years ago, and it became at once plain that, if persevered in, it would produce a very serious division in the ranks of those members of the University who had all shown themselves in the past friends to the higher education of women. Many of those who had earnestly supported the admission of women to Tripos examinations would not support their admission to the B.A. degree. Into their mostly practical reasons I cannot fully enter. One was the belief that admission to B.A. must lead in the end (in spite of any provisions which might be introduced) to admission to M.A., and consequently to a share in the management of the University; it was also apprehended that difficulties would arise in the several colleges with respect to fellowships, &c."

A very intelligent colonial family, who had collected many signatures for the memorial, listened to this letter, with comments both edifying and amusing: "I should *think* so, indeed"; "That is just what we want"; "To be sure—why not?" and so on. Finally, they came to the conclusion that such reasons were too trivial to have any weight, and that if these were all that could be produced against it, the request of the memorial must soon be granted; but then, of course, the persons who thus judged on merely common-sense grounds are not members of the University.

The Vice-Chancellor intimates that if the question of the degree be persevered in, it will produce a very serious division among the friends of the higher education for women. Well, then, let them divide. At every step in the right direction there are always some who "linger, shivering, on the brink, and fear to launch away," and whom it becomes necessary to leave behind, if truth and justice are to rule. Precisely the same plea was urged against the memorial of 1880; and the inquiry presents itself, how much longer is this subservience to some unnamed persons to be patiently endured? Nor is it altogether clear

that a friendship which so largely consists in blocking the way deserves to be very highly valued. It is generally allowed that women ought to learn the alphabet, and perhaps a little more; as to how much more, the line depends upon the person who takes upon himself to draw it. Among those who at Cambridge pose as the patrons of learning for the sex to whom it has been so long denied, there appear to be some who are very unwilling to yield the position of male superiority; who will grant almost anything short of that, if the women will only continue humbly to say, "If you please," and "Thank you," but who object strongly to putting them on a level with men. Like a village Lady Bountiful, these well-meaning people are ready to bestow many favours, and to enjoy the gratitude and laudation thence arising, but do not see that it is a far nobler thing to help their fellow-creatures to equality of rights with themselves, than to keep them in a dependent position, constantly needing help, even though that help may be generously given.

Why are women still to be denied the B.A. at Cambridge? Because the M.A. would inevitably follow. Why should not women have the M.A.? Because that would mean a share in the government of the University. Why should not women have a share in the government of the University? Because then—oh, horrid thought!—they might want to be permitted to compete for fellowships. They could not, to be sure, even then take these prizes unless they outdid the other candidates, but from what has been already achieved, it looks as if this might sometimes happen. The objection, in the eyes of the lukewarm friends of higher education for women, is that the men want to keep these good things for their own sex—precisely the argument of selfishness adopted by those trades-unions which war against women. A member of one of these unions therefore, an Auckland printer, for instance, if remonstrated with by a Fellow of Cambridge or Oxford for carrying on such ignoble warfare, might at once reply: "Thou art the man," and the cutting retort would be unanswerable, for it is a melancholy fact that these labour organisations, in their blind self-seeking, do but follow the example set them by the ancient Universities of England. This matter of fellowships was hinted at eleven or twelve years ago, and it is now evident that the question must be faced, whether endowments left for the education of the nation should any longer be withheld from one half of that nation.

It is sometimes said that women, having gained the substantial advantage of a University course with University examinations, do not need to trouble themselves about the mere hall-mark of a degree. This argument, to be worth anything, must apply to men also. If a degree be really worth nothing at all, the sooner it is abolished and an end put to a mischievous sham, the better. If, on the contrary, men do find a well-earned degree to be a thing worth having, if even

an honorary degree be gladly accepted and used by them, why should the experience of women be otherwise, or how can it be a matter of indifference to them to be shut out from all the good things which are only open to graduates? A Girton or Newnham student, for example, however high her standing, cannot claim an *ad eundem* at any University, though it would be as useful to her as to a man. Neither, though she be declared to have surpassed the senior wrangler, can she go in for the Smith's prize, or for any other for which the candidate is required to hold either the B.A. or the M.A. of the University of Cambridge, so that the grievance is clearly substantial. In the same number of the *University Reporter* as that in which the New Zealand memorial was published by the Vice-Chancellor, it is stated that Lord Walsingham, the new High Steward of the University, has offered a gold medal annually for the best monograph, giving evidence of any original research in botany, geology, or zoology, subject to the condition that candidates must be Bachelors of Arts of not more than two years' standing. Women, being denied the B.A., cannot compete for this prize.

The hall-mark may in itself be a trifle, but when the want of it places an article upon a lower level commercially, the refusal to put it upon that which has been shown to be sound metal cannot honestly be described as a trifle. Rather, it is an injustice the effects of which spread far and wide, and it is supported only by arguments which have grown threadbare in the defence of every unjust monopoly. The experience of the outcast sex at the University is a very close repetition of that of the outcast sects. Nonconformists were once absolutely excluded; then they were kindly permitted a share in the education of the place, and allowed to pay fees, and with that it was contended they ought to be satisfied; degrees they must not aspire to; the hall-mark was only for the faithful sons of the Church. Still, after a time, degrees were yielded, but were carefully fenced round for fear of injury to "our beloved Mother Church," in whose interests, real or supposed, justice had to give way, so that the heretics could not be admitted to any share in the government of the University. But, let the obstacles be what they may, patience and perseverance do much in a righteous cause, and it is now more than twenty years since the "national Universities" became national indeed, as far as, roughly speaking, one half of the nation is concerned. Truly national they can never be until the half still excluded shall be admitted to every right and privilege, until the question of sex shall be placed upon the same footing as the question of sect, and both be lost in the great light of justice.

Many of the endowments at the old Universities were the gift of generous women. Can it be supposed that if those large-hearted and enlightened donors were now among us they would lag behind the

age, and exclude members of their own sex from participation in their beneficence? Is it not, on the contrary, more likely that if there were any exclusion at all, it would be men who would find themselves out in the cold? Some of us remember well the dismal forebodings which preceded the abolition of University Tests. Nothing less than ruin was prophesied, but it has not come, and it never does come as the consequence of an act of justice. The nation, which has entrusted large powers and privileges to the Universities, has a right to expect from those whom it has set in so exalted a place a noble example, for if in the seats of highest learning selfishness be conspicuous as a guiding motive, how is a more lofty tone to be expected among less favoured organisations? Unfortunately, the older Universities have not distinguished themselves as leaders in the way of righteousness; they have been more concerned about getting than about giving, and, like other close corporations, have resented every attempt at breaking down their cherished exclusiveness. But it is to be hoped that these former things are passing away, and that the authorities of the Universities, bearing in mind that they are not owners, but stewards, will no longer persist in an ungracious course, which, except when viewed through the mist of prejudice and old custom, has a very unlovely look, and which arouses feelings of almost incredulous indignation among their fellow-countrymen and women far away at the Antipodes.

MARY STEADMAN ALDIS.



## TALKS WITH TENNYSON.

**T**HOUGH only my uncle by marriage, no mother's brother could have been more loving to me through life than was my guardian, Lord Tennyson. Of late years our homes had lain far apart, and my opportunities of meeting him were rare, but precious to me is the memory of those days of my youth, when we used to take cross-country walks over hedge and ditch, or ramble together over the breezy downs, and when he opened to me the treasure-house of his mind and heart.

Everything we came across interested him, and he could see something to admire even in a raw-boned old hack grazing by the wayside :

"You would scarcely call that poor beast beautiful," he exclaimed, "with his ribs almost sticking through his skin, but he is certainly picturesque as he stands shivering on the common, his meagre tail blowing in the wind. It seems to me that the picturesque is generally associated with age, or the commencement of decay ; for, take a cottage that when newly built seemed commonplace enough, and pull down some of its thatch, then break the windows, and introduce a baby clad in rags, sprawling across the threshold, and you have at once a picturesque subject for the artist."

His sympathy with Nature led him to mourn over the cutting down of trees, as if they were, like the grove in Dante's "Inferno," the abode of his personal friends, and specially did he grieve if the axe smote them in summer-time. I well remember his gazing long upon a horse-chestnut that had continued to put forth flowers days after it had been felled to the earth. "Look at it," he said, "stretching out a beseeching arm, and blossoming on, its blooms unfolding in all their beauty, quite unconscious that they can never turn to fruitage. How like they are to some men, who appear blooming outwardly, and think that they are living, whilst they are already dead within."

My uncle loved to talk of Arthur Hallam, and other friends of his youth, but he never descended to any trivial details concerning them, and he used to say :

"I cannot imagine why people should be so curious about all the petty incidents of my life. I never cared to know about the daily minutiae of great men's lives, which never interested me in the least. I remember when Mrs. Langton showed me a glass from which she said 'Johnson used to drink lemonade, stirring it with fingers *which were, I am sorry to say, not too clean,*' I thought she had much better have omitted such details."

There was one incident in his life that Tennyson knew had often been misunderstood, and he most solemnly laid upon me the charge that I who, he said, could best undertake the task, should let all the world know "*how great a sacrifice*" (these were his very words, uttered in a tone of intense earnestness) he had practised in yielding to Mr. Gladstone's pressing entreaties that he should take the peerage.

Tennyson was by no means blind to the darker side of Nature. "She will never teach men morality," he would say, "and her ravening tooth is a cruel one. Indeed, it was the observed cruelty of Nature that gave rise to the cult of the Khonds, with their human sacrifices."

"You could not learn to know the higher attributes of God from Nature," he continued, "even with the aid of science. In fact, when I think how much more important the world must have seemed when men believed it the centre of the universe, I am sometimes half-disposed to regret the discoveries of astronomy, because they have in no wise exalted men's conception of God's power, since they had already conceived of Him as Almighty, and all is comprehended in that term. But how amazing astronomy is. I am overwhelmed with awe when I think that in a space of the heavens that looks smaller than the palm of my hand, there are 60,000 suns; yet, did you ever reflect on the not less wonderful fact that the whole starry heavens are retained on your retina?"

He looked upon astronomy and geology as the greatest of the sciences, and was never weary of dwelling upon the marvels they unfold :

"When I think," he used to say, "of the immensity of the universe, I am filled with the sense of my own utter insignificance, and am ready to exclaim with David : 'What is man that Thou art mindful of him !' The freedom of the human will and the starry heavens are the two greatest marvels that come under our observation, and when I think of all the mighty worlds around us, to which ours is but a speck, I feel what poor little worms we are, and ask myself, What is greatness? I do not like such a word as *design* to be applied to the Creator of all these worlds, it makes Him seem a mere artificer. A certain amount of anthropomorphism must, however, necessarily enter into our conception of God, because, though there may be infinitely higher beings than ourselves in the worlds beyond ours, yet to our conception man is the highest form of being.

"Matter, time, and space are all illusions, but above and beyond them all

is God, who is no illusion. Time has no absolute existence, and we can as little conceive of space being finite as of its being infinite. We can really understand the existence of spirit much better than that of matter, which is to me far more incomprehensible than spirit. We see nothing as it really is, not even our fellow-creatures; and perhaps when we see each other as we really are, we shall no more know each other than dogs do their masters in the path or on the snow."

My uncle always seemed to like best to talk about spiritual matters, and no clergyman was ever a more earnest student of the Bible, or a more impressive reader thereof. It used to be a treat to me to hear him recite one of his new poems, in that grand, sonorous voice of his, but it was a still greater delight to listen to his reading of a chapter of Isaiah, for then, so thoroughly did he send his whole soul forth with his words, that one was reminded of Bunsen's remark on F. D. Maurice's reading of the Church Service, "Such reading is in itself a sermon." He could not find words strong enough to express his love of and reverence for the sacred volume, and when his picture of old age, in the "Ancient Sage," was said to be like that by Solomon in Ecclesiastes, "I only wish it were," he replied, "I never could equal that description."

Yet surely that sublime poem is well worthy to have been written by the author of Ecclesiastes, and it must be studied attentively by all who desire to enter into the mind of Tennyson, for, from what he used to tell me when thinking it into being, I can testify that the "Ancient Sage" sets forth his own views more fully than any of his other poems. How like a clarion his voice rang forth in these lines, which are a very gospel of hopefulness:

"Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt  
And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith!  
She reels not in the storm of warring words,  
She brightens at the clash of 'Yes' and 'No,'  
She sees the Best that glimmers thro' the Worst,  
She feels the Sun is hid but for a night,  
She spies the summer thro' the winter bud,  
She tastes the fruit before the blossom falls,  
She hears the lark within the songless egg,  
She finds the fountain where they wailed 'Mirage.'"

I asked my uncle whether he agreed with Bacon's dictum that Pilate's question, "What is truth?" was put jestingly:

"No," he unhesitatingly answered, "it was in no spirit of jesting he uttered those words. They may have been accompanied with a shrug of the shoulder, and spoken in a cynical tone, but I rather believe they were wrung from the depths of a heart that had learnt that there was no truth in the religious systems then in vogue, and knew not where to seek it. Alas! that we should hear this cry repeated in our own age, and that men should fail to find their soul's craving for truth satisfied by Christianity. The great spread of Agnosticism and unbelief of all kinds seems to me to show that there is an evil time close at hand. Sometimes I feel as if it would not surprise me to see all things perish. I firmly believe that if God

were to withdraw Himself from the world around us, and from within us, for but one instant, every atom of creation, both animate and inanimate, would come utterly to naught, for in Him alone do all beings and things exist. He can and does answer every earnest prayer, as I know from my own experience. E—— says there is something higher than God. If there be, then it must be God. Whatever is the highest of all must be the Deity, call it by what name you will. Wherever life is, there God is, specially in the life of man. We are all sons of God, but One alone is worthy to be called *the* Son of Man, the representative of the whole of humanity. That to my mind is the diviner title of the two, for none dare apply to himself this title save Christ, who is the representative of the whole human race.

“I believe that beside our material body we possess an immaterial body, something like what the ancient Egyptians called the *Ka*. I do not care to make distinctions between the soul and the spirit, as men did in days of old, though perhaps the spirit is the best word to use of our higher nature, that nature which I believe in Christ to have been truly divine, the very presence of the Father, the one only God, dwelling in the perfect man. Though nothing is such a distress of soul to me as to have this divinity of Christ assailed, yet I feel we must never lose sight of the unity of the Godhead, the three persons of the Trinity being like three candles giving together one light. I love that hymn, ‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,’ and should like to write such a one.

“We shall have much to learn in a future world, and I think we shall all be children to begin with when we get to heaven, whatever our age when we die, and shall grow on there from childhood to the prime of life, at which we shall remain for ever. My idea of heaven is to be engaged in perpetual ministry to souls in this and other worlds.”

AGNES GRACE WELD.

## THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

*Πιστεύω μίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*  
*Credo unam Catholicam et Apostolicam ecclesiam.*  
I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church.

**T**HESE are the noble, the inspiring words in which, at the celebration of the holy mysteries, Christian congregations, both of the East and of the West, Greek, Roman, and Anglican, profess their belief in the Church of the living God. It is a cheering thought that, notwithstanding all our divisions and all our controversies, the ancient creeds still form a basis of unity, and that in our most solemn acts of worship we can make the profession of our faith in identical words. Nor need we altogether exclude Protestant Non-conformists from this outward bond of union. For although, with the important exception of the Wesleyans, they profess to be bound by no creed, yet the authoritative standards of the older congregations for the most part recognise and adopt the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, which include the creeds.

And so long as we are speaking of the Godhead, there is no doubt that the majority of orthodox Christians make their confession in the same sense. There may be something in the phraseology that is archaic; but on the whole the Creed of Constantinople expresses what most Christians believe, in words which they would heartily accept. But when we come to the belief of one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the case is different. For the question at once confronts us, **What is this Church which you profess to believe? What are its limitations, and what its essential characteristics?** And to this question the different Churches will give widely different answers. The great Roman Church meets us at once with the answer: That, and that only, is the Catholic and Apostolic Church which is in communion with the Roman See, and which acknowledges the Roman Pontiff as its supreme ruler and as the Vicar of Christ. The Eastern Church, while denying the Papal supremacy, would limit the Church

Catholic to the Greek and Roman communions; for the Oriental recognition of Anglicanism, of which much has been made of late years, is at the utmost of a reserved and distant character. But what concerns us practically is the question, What precise meaning do we of the Anglican communion attach to the words of the Creed: I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church? The Roman definition is clear and distinct; the Greek, though differing from the Roman on the one point of the Papal supremacy, yet assigns to the term Catholic and Apostolic Church a perfectly consistent meaning. Can we say as much of the Anglican?

There is, it is true, a definition of the Church which would be accepted by a large and perhaps an increasing section of the English clergy as adequate and theologically accurate, and which certainly has the merit of being simple and intelligible: "I believe that Jesus Christ, before He ascended into Heaven, when He spoke to His disciples the things concerning the kingdom of Heaven, revealed to them His will to found a society, consisting of those who in all ages should believe and be baptised, which should be united in the possession of the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and in the two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, and in the belief in all that God should reveal by the Holy Spirit that should be given after His ascension." This seems to express fairly and adequately the belief which is probably held by a majority of the clergy and a minority of the laity of the Church of England in the present day. Put in the form of a definition, it would assume somewhat of the following form: The Catholic Church is a society of persons, baptised on condition of repentance, faith, and obedience, and governed by bishops, priests, and deacons, deriving their orders by legitimate succession from the Apostles. I propose in the first place to discuss the question—Is this definition adequate and tenable?

It may be observed at starting that, until the publication of the "Tracts for the Times," the theory of Apostolic Succession (to express it by a convenient formula) was by no means generally accepted, or even generally known, by the clergy of the Church of England. Cardinal Newman's humorous story of an Anglican bishop, who, on reading an exposition of this theory in the "Tracts for the Times," could not make up his mind whether he held it or not, expresses very fairly the position of most of the clergy at that time. Of one thing they were clear—the Church of England was in the right and the Dissenters were in the wrong; but if they had been pressed for a reason for this belief they would probably have betrayed the fact that they had never thought much about the matter. The position of the Royal Arms over the chancel arch in most of our churches sixty years ago was in fact an outward and visible sign of the position of the Church of England in the minds of most of its adherents. It was

before all things "the Establishment"; it was part of that order of things of which the monarch was the head. A man could hardly be a true Englishman if he were not ready on all fitting (or unfitting) occasions to drink the toast of Church and King; to be of the King's religion was the duty of every loyal Englishman. Even men who passed for High Churchmen of the old sort, like Sir Robert Inglis for example, regarded the Presbyterian Church of Scotland as having the same claim on the allegiance of Scotsmen as the Church of England had on that of Englishmen, and looked upon the Episcopal Church north of the Tweed as a body of Dissenters, to be discouraged as much as possible. To belong to the Church "as by law established," was the respectable and proper and orthodox thing. Nor was this a mere outgrowth of the much-abused eighteenth century. Although at the English Reformation there was no breach of ecclesiastical continuity, and the framework of the Church remained unchanged, yet it cannot be doubted that to Henry VIII., and those through whom he acted, the idea of a National Church, with its functionaries deriving their authority from the king, was the dominant one. Cranmer's theory, given in the year 1540, is worth noting, as indicating the lines on which, so far as he was concerned, the Reformation was likely to be conducted :

"All Christian princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole cure of all their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, as concerning the ministration of things political and civil; and in both these ministrations they must have sundry ministers under them to supply that which is appointed to their several offices. The civil ministers under the king's majesty in this realm of England be those whom it shall please his highness for the time to put in authority under him: as, for example, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, &c. The ministers of God's word, under his majesty, be the bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his highness to that ministration: as, for example, the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Duresme, the Parson of Winwick, &c. All the said offices and ministers, as well of the one sort as of the other, be appointed, assigned, and elected in every place by the laws and orders of kings and princes."

The picture here presented to us is of the king governing all his subjects in all their interests, in the State through one set of officials, in the Church through another; and there is obviously no place either in the one or in the other for separation. This is to be borne in mind when we read of Mary's dealings with Protestants and of Elizabeth's with Popish recusants and Nonconformists; to refuse to conform to the National Church was a kind of *incivisme*, which it was necessary for the ruler to correct, just as he would correct political sedition. And this national aspect of the Church continued to dominate men's minds through very various types of ecclesiastical organisation. Laud's ideal was a National Church, Catholic no doubt

in doctrine, but in which the king and the archbishop were to fill the place formerly held by the Pope. The Presbyterians clung to the idea of a National Church, only without bishops. The Roman Catholics and the Independents seem to have stood alone, down to the Restoration in 1660, in contemplating an ecclesiastical organisation divested of any national character. After the Revolution of 1688, the gradual and grudging recognition of Nonconformity as a permanent element in English society forced those who wished to maintain the exclusive claims of the Church of England to choose their ground. It was open to them to do this on the ground of the exclusive validity of Episcopal government, or on the ground of what Coleridge calls "the National Clerisy"; that the clergy were, not, as the Nonconformists are fond of calling them, State officials, but "officiaries of the National Church," just as the magistrates were officaries of the English State. To have chosen the former ground would have been to stultify the position of the English Church since the Reformation as the leader of the Protestant interest, and as practically, if not formally, in communion with the non-Episcopal Churches of the Continent and of Scotland. And accordingly, down to about the end of the third decade of the present century,\* it is not as an Episcopal Church tracing its descent from the Church of the Apostles, but rather as the national embodiment of Christianity, retaining the ancient Episcopal organisation, not as essential, but as a desirable symbol of continuity, that the Church of England is for the most part presented to us. But the Reform Bill of 1832, preceded by Catholic Emancipation and followed by the suppression of the Irish bishoprics and by the Ecclesiastical Commission, made it clear that the relations between Church and State were likely to undergo revision; and Churchmen had again to consider on what basis they should rest the exclusive claims of the Church of England to the allegiance of all English people. A theory of the Church was needed which should rest on something more secure and more august than an Act of Parliament: it was found in the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession. The real work that was done by the leaders of the Oxford movement was to impress upon the clergy of the Church of England that it was not as "the national clergy," but as the ministers of the Catholic Church in England that they were to hold their churches and their benefices against all comers. And there can be little doubt that, whether or no this theory has gained much acceptance with the laity, a very large proportion of the clergy hold that no non-Episcopal body of Christians has any right to regard itself as part of the Church universal.

\* It may be well to explain that this was written before the appearance, in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of November 1892, of Mr. Gilbert Child's article on the Position of the High Church Party, in which the argument from the disappearance of the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession in the Church of England from the accession of Elizabeth to the time of Laud is fully and clearly drawn out.



There are two main difficulties in the way of this theory : (1) the existence of the Roman Church ; and (2) the existence of the various non-Episcopal Churches. I propose to consider each of these in turn.

1. The Churchman who bases his Churchmanship on Apostolical Succession must by logical consequence regard the Roman Church as a co-ordinate and sister Church. But the Church of Rome herself is by no means prepared to accept this position. She repudiates the Anglican Church as schismatic, the Anglican clergy as lacking lawful orders, and Anglican sacraments as null and void. She treats an English Churchman living in a Roman Catholic land as a heathen man : he cannot communicate at her altars ; his children cannot be confirmed by her bishops ; if he dies, he must be buried with the burial of an ass. And she simply ignores the Anglican communion. The Archbishop of Canterbury is for her simply a layman and a Privy Councillor. She forbids her members to join in the worship or to enter the buildings of the Church of England. And from this springs another difficulty for the Anglo-Catholic theory. The Roman Church, that august and splendid system which, on the other side of the Straits of Dover, an Anglican venerates as the Catholic Church, on this side he must treat as the Roman schism. So that a French Roman Catholic who comes to England, until he leaves Boulogne is a Catholic Churchman ; when he reaches Folkestone, without any change in his views, he is a schismatic. And, on the contrary, an English Churchman going to reside at Paris,\* ought to submit himself to the Archbishop of the Diocese ; only, unfortunately, if he does so, he must renounce his Anglicanism, not merely during his sojourn abroad, but for good and all. An Anglican and a Roman priest and a Nonconformist minister are shipwrecked together on a desert island : the Anglican congratulates his Roman brother that the Catholics are two to one. Not at all, replies the Roman ; you Protestants are two to one ; leave me alone, if you please ; I am the only Catholic.

2. On the other hand, the Anglican finds himself confronted with a large number of active and flourishing Christian communities which have no episcopal organisation, but which claim to be legitimate branches of the Church universal, and in which undoubtedly the signs of a Church are wrought. What is he to say to these ? If the Apostolical Succession is of the essence of the Church, he must tell

\* A certain number of Anglicans endeavour to carry out this principle by absenting themselves entirely from the English churches on the Continent except for the purpose of communicating, which they cannot do elsewhere, and frequenting for their ordinary worship the Roman Mass, where they are conspicuous above other worshippers for the frequency and fervour of their crossings and genuflections. An English clergyman, on being appointed to a Continental chaplaincy, wrote to the (Roman) Bishop of the Diocese to which he was going, begging that he might be allowed to consider himself one of his clergy. It would have been interesting to see the bishop's answer to this request.

them that they are outside the pale of the Church of Christ, that they have no lawful ministers, that their sacraments are invalid ; in short, he must adopt towards them precisely the attitude which his Roman brother adopts towards him. In this way the position of the Anglican communion in Christendom becomes an altogether isolated one. The older Churches, to which the Apostolical Succession theory would unite her, are agreed in rejecting her claim to Catholicity ; the more modern and progressive bodies of Christians she, on this hypothesis, must reject as not Catholic. It must be confessed that this is not a satisfactory position ; a regiment which is in no relation with the rest of the army must lose somewhat of its efficiency in battle, and, moreover, isolation induces a certain narrowness and stiffness of character which is inconsistent with the freedom and versatility that is essential for a Catholic or universal body. Still, if indeed the position of the Anglican Church demands it, we must be content to accept and make the best of a condition of isolation. But the question is, does belief in one Catholic and Apostolic Church involve the exclusion from its pale of all non-Episcopal communities, and, if not, is there not a possibility of at least some inchoate and rudimentary form of unity which may in time develop into some closer bond among Christians ?

Few persons who have studied the subject would now refuse assent to the very guarded and moderate statement prefixed to the English Ordinal : " It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church : bishops, priests, and deacons." For this statement in no way militates against the view put forth with unanswerable learning by Bishop Lightfoot in his " Essay on the Christian Ministry," that these three orders were never formally instituted by the Apostles, but were evolved gradually to meet the needs of the Church, first the diaconate, then the priesthood, finally the episcopate. Nor does it assert that these orders are of the essence of the Church, or that no Church has ever been without one or more of them ; they seem to do no more than to place episcopacy in the Church on the same footing as monarchy in the State, as the form of government which connects us most visibly with the past, not as the one type to which all Churches or all States are bound to conform. And if this is so, it is surely possible to say, I believe in the Holy Catholic Church, without " unchurching " (to use Baxter's phrase) those who, while holding the Catholic faith, have adopted a more or less different type of ministry. Hooker's conclusion,\* " that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language. Even so the

\* " Eccl. Polity," B. III. ch. ii. § 2.

necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all"—expresses very clearly the view which the author of the "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," whose work has always been regarded as a text-book of the English Church, held as the theory of Church polity in his day.

Indeed, in his controversy with Cartwright, the champion of Puritanism, his contention is not that Episcopacy is the only lawful, but that it is a lawful and a preferable form of Church government. It is to Laud, and not to any of the earlier and greater names in the Anglican Church, that we owe the assertion of the divine right of bishops, a theory, however, which he managed to hold without refusing the name and status of Churches to the foreign Protestant communions; Laud used it, vigorously but unsuccessfully, as a weapon against the attacks of Presbyterianism and Independency; after his time it may be said to have been laid by in the ecclesiastical armoury for nearly two centuries, until it was discovered and sharpened and brought into the battle by the authors of the Oxford Tracts, at a time when the forces of Nonconformity were once more marshalled in array against the ranks of Anglicanism. By them it was wielded with better success. They did not indeed succeed in routing the opposing enemy; but the vigour and enthusiasm of their defence infused new spirit and courage into the drooping hearts of their followers, nor did the discovery which some of the leaders made, that Apostolical Succession might be more securely and more logically enforced in the Roman than in the Anglican camp, prevent the belief from gaining a hold upon the English clergy which it had never had before. Nor is it now held only by the High Church party, whose war-cry it originally was; it is professed, in a somewhat timid and apologetic manner no doubt, by a large proportion of the Evangelicals; and the few survivors of the old "*Apostolical*" school (to use a word which Newman coined, but which never gained currency) may congratulate themselves on having brought in their ancient adversaries in triumph to their camp.

"But," it may fairly be asked, "if you do not hold that the unity of the Church depends on uniformity of government, what interpretation do you give to the profession of belief in one Catholic and Apostolic Church?" This is the question which I propose to endeavour now to answer.

We must not overlook a distinction between this and the other articles of the Creed. In dealing with the belief in the Godhead, it is concerned with perfection, and, however lofty the expression of our faith, the reality must be infinitely above it. But in professing our belief in the Church, we at once come into contact with human nature, and we have to deal, not with perfect, but with imperfect and finite subject-matter. And therefore in speaking of the Church

we speak of that which in regard to its head is divine, but in regard to its members is human, and therefore liable to corruption. And from this it follows that the ideal Church must be something very different from the actual. But the more this is the case, the more necessary is it to keep steadily before our eyes the ideal, lest we become content with the actual. It would not be an improvement if the terms of the Creed were carefully reduced into conformity with existing facts. It would not be an edifying exercise to profess one faith in such a Church, or chaos of conflicting Churches, as we see around us. The statements of the Creed are not true—it would be paradoxical to maintain that they are true—of any one existing Church, or of the whole of Christendom; they are true only of that ideal Church which exists in the Divine Mind, and which can be realised only in the Holy City, New Jerusalem, but which must be the aspiration and the hope of every Christian. The Holy Catholic Church—that is the ideal; “in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good”—that is the actual. And in the same way, with regard to the unity of the Church, it is surely neither necessary nor desirable, on the one hand, to shut our eyes to the fact that Christendom is split into a great number of competing bodies; or, on the other hand, to assert in the teeth of facts that the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican Churches are the one Catholic Church, and the rest are nowhere. The Church is one, and it is holy—not in present fact, but in its ideal perfection; the statement of the Creed keeps before us the perfect heavenly ideal, not the imperfect earthly reality. And it would be a poor religion of which the theory was not higher than the fact. It is the same with all the later articles of the Creed, which refer not to the divine perfection, but to human imperfection. “The communion of saints,” where shall we find this? Not assuredly in the strife of tongues, the competitions and controversies of the existing communions of Christendom; but in the secret and perhaps unconscious brotherhood which unites good men of all creeds and of no creed. “The forgiveness of sins”:—“whosoever is born of God,” says St. John, “sinneth not”; and yet the most saintlike Christians are precisely those who are most conscious of sin. “The resurrection of the body”:—this surely points not to a renewal of life under existing corporeal conditions, but to an ideal spiritual life, with such unimaginable spiritual organisation (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*) as is adapted for such a state of existence. “The life everlasting”:—we “know that we have eternal life,” and yet the life everlasting, or the life of the world to come spoken of in the Creeds, is something far higher and diviner than any of which the most exalted Christian has any actual experience. The Creeds are not of the earthly, but of the heavenly; not of the actual, but of the ideal; the one Catholic and Apostolic Church which exists among

us, whatever definition of it we may adopt, is assuredly very far short of the divine conception, and if we in our impatience insist that the Church of which we profess our belief in the Creed is this or that existing and definable body of Christians, we are dwarfing the divine idea to the measure of our preconceptions.

There is, however, another theory which is identified with Richard Baxter and the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century, and which finds favour in our own day with large numbers of persons; the theory that any outward unity is unimportant, and that (as Baxter puts it)\* the Catholic Church is one, and that all Christians are members of it. But it was felt that a unity which consists neither in unity of organisation nor in vital religion (for Baxter admits that "men are called Christians either because they are truly and heartily the disciples of Christ, or else because they seem so by their profession"†) was after all not of much value; and accordingly a distinction was made between the Visible and the Invisible Church. The Invisible Church consisted of true believers, and of them only: its members were known to God alone; their names were written in heaven; they were attracted to each other by a kind of spiritual freemasonry. The Visible Church, on the other hand, in which "the evil be ever mingled with the good," was that mixed multitude of those who profess and call themselves Christians, which was prefigured by the drag-net cast into the sea, and which is liable to heresies and manifold corruptions. Naturally, spiritually-minded men thought little of the Visible in comparison with the Invisible Church; a unity which depended on government by bishops—and such bishops as some of them were!—was of no account compared with "the unity of the Spirit," which was independent of outward forms and limitations. Thus the Evangelicals fraternised much more with men like-minded with themselves than with their fellow Churchmen as such. And it is often impossible to discern from their writings in what branch of the Visible Church their names were enrolled. But (to use the words of Bishop Harold Browne on Article XIX.) "There does not appear anything in the Liturgy or formularies of the Church which specially alludes to this distinction of the Visible and Invisible Church." Indeed, it hardly seems consistent with our Lord's parables of the tares and of the drag-net, and with St. Paul's application of the title "saints" to Churches which contained many unworthy members. And the result of this theory has been to extinguish the idea of the Church as a coherent, organised, co-operative body. The popular modern idea of "Undenominationalism" (an unlovely name for an unlovely thing) tends to reduce the idea of the Church to a mere arrangement for united worship, and to resolve the Christian body into its primitive atoms.

\* "The True Catholic," p. 10.

† *Ibid.* p. 13.

"But," it may naturally be asked, "what is the practical outcome of all this? Do you desire to see unity restored by all Christians at once ranging themselves under the banner of the Historic Episcopate?" I answer, the thing is so impossible, so inconceivable, that I do not trouble myself to consider whether I desire it or not. The old wine-skins burst three centuries and a half ago, and to endeavour to force the new wine back into them would be the wildest of folly. Whether when the time comes the new skins shall be shaped somewhat after the pattern of the old is a question for later generations to decide. Indeed, when we think of the persecutions, the bloodshed, the desolation that has been caused by the attempt—the hopeless and unavailing attempt—to compel Christians into one fold—when we look back to Simon de Montfort and the Albigenses, to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Dragonnades, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—to the depopulation and devastation of the Netherlands by Philip II. and Alva—to the dealings of Mary with the Protestants, of Elizabeth with the Roman Catholics, of Laud with the Puritans, of Charles II. with the Covenanters—we may well acknowledge that the present incoherent state of Christendom is the direct result of human folly, and that the cause of organic unity has been so discredited by violence and wrong-doing that reunion is neither to be hoped nor wished for until the first principles of Christian morality have penetrated human society far more deeply and widely than they have done as yet, until outward unity is the result and expression of "the unity of the Spirit." Nor need we by any means regard our present "unhappy divisions" as intolerable, so long as we look upon the existing conditions as provisional and not as normal. To dwell in tabernacles as heirs of a future promise, looking for a city which hath foundations, is not necessarily an evil; it may be an indispensable discipline, a preparation for better things to come, provided we recognise it as a mere stage in the development of the Church of the future. It was necessary that the unity of Judaism should be broken up in order to make way for the spiritual unity of the Catholic Church: it may be that the dissolution of the organic unity of Christendom will result in a higher and purer and more spiritual conception of unity.

Meanwhile, the first requisite for better things is forbearance and modesty. Both in the political and in the ecclesiastical sphere we are apt to go wrong by taking too narrow and limited a view. We lose sight of the past and of the future, and we think only of some strong remedy by which at once to cure present evils. But we need to look before and after, in order to see things in their true proportion. It would be amusing, if it were not sad, to see how many men of every denomination are possessed with the conviction that if only their special system could be fully carried out all would go well:

"John P.  
Robinson, he  
Sez the world'll go right if he hollers out Gee."

And so well-meaning Christians are too apt to assert, we Episcopalians, we Presbyterians, we Wesleyans, we Congregationalists, we Undenominationalists, possess the only true key to the perplexities of the age. But in so doing they are only postponing the ripening of the great solution. In this connection it is worth while to quote the noble words of a great but almost forgotten Bampton Lecturer: \*

"As in warfare, in night assaults and other hazardous encounters, vagueness of intention, indefiniteness of orders, watchwords not common to all the forces which are to act together, ill understood by them; or too much resembling those which are in use in the adverse army, lead of necessity to doubt and hesitation in individual soldiers, to confusion in the ranks, and cause the rolling back of a victory already won; so, in the Christian army, if the moral ends of the great battle of Armageddon are not set forth, or if, while they should be engaged with the common foe, sections of that soldiery are opposing one another in mutual conflict for the honour of separate standards; no wonder that the Apostolic mission of the Church, its moral mission to the world at large, should be at a halt; no wonder that many Christian martyrs should seem to have shed their blood in vain, for any great results upon the sin and selfishness of humanity. . . .

"Above all, let not Christian ministers be the means of perpetuating divisions in the Christian name, when their people would gladly be at one. Let them not think that the remedy of schism and dissension is to be found in perpetual narrowing of the Catholic Church.

"If the thought of rending the seamless coat of Christ was a desecration, no less unholy was the struggle which ensued for its undivided possession."

It is a melancholy thought that "the grand old name of" Catholic should be

"Defamed by every charlatan  
And soiled by all ignoble use;"

that arrogant young Anglican curates, having little else to boast of, should boast themselves to be Catholics, and should stigmatise as Schismatics men like Erskine of Linlathen, J. M. Campbell, Tulloch, and a great cloud of witnesses to the validity and vitality of non-Episcopal orders and sacraments. It would be well if the spirit of Baxter's title-page to the little book already quoted prevailed more generally among Christians of all names: "The true Catholick, and Catholick Church described. And the vanity of the Papists, and all other Schismatics, that confine the Catholick Church to their sect, discovered and shamed. By Richard Baxter, a Member of that one Catholick Church which containeth all the true Christians in the world."

It is commonly urged that the recognition of other Christian bodies as lawful Churches (except, indeed, the Roman and the Eastern) is incompatible with loyalty to the Church of England. It may be

\* H. B. Wilson's Bampton Lectures on the Communion of Saints, 1851, pp. 247-8.

suggested that a principle of unity which binds us to the Coptic, the Abyssinian, and the Russian Churches, and separates us by an impassable gulf from the Presbyterians, the Wesleyans, and the Congregationalists, is after all not a very real thing; but, further, it has been abundantly shown that this was not the point of view of any of the great Anglican divines since the Reformation—not of Jewel, not of Hooker, not of Bramhall, not of Andrewes, not of Laud; and that even those who valued Episcopacy most highly acknowledged the foreign Protestant communions\* as sister Churches. And, indeed, as long as the XIXth Article is retained, it would be difficult to hold the Church of England committed to the theory that the non-episcopal communions are no Churches, and that their sacraments are not valid. And there are not wanting instances of brotherly recognition of non-Episcopal Churches by men high in position in the Anglican Church, and that not only by men like the Bishops of Winchester and Liverpool, who belong to the Evangelical school, but by the venerable Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, lately departed, who (as is recorded by Dr. Boyd in his second volume of “Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews”) preached in his episcopal robes in the Presbyterian Parish Church of his own city on March 16, 1884, and thereby gladdened the hearts of many who long for unity, not by absorption or submission, but by gradual approximation.

For the ideal that we shall keep before us, if we are wise, is the triumph, not of Episcopacy, nor of Presbyterianism, nor of Wesleyanism, nor of Undenominationalism, but of Christian charity, the bond of perfectness. True Churchmanship should consist, not in an attitude of haughty and rigid isolation from all forms of government and worship but our own, but in that spirit of wide sympathy, of mutual understanding, of unselfishness, of looking for points not of difference but of agreement, of which the Christian Church ought to be the most perfect embodiment. When once Christians have learnt that love is, as Latimer says, “Christ’s livery,” some kind of outward unity will come of itself; but we shall only hinder its coming if we attempt to prescribe the How and the When.

R. E. BARTLETT.

\* Cf. Wake’s “Epistle to Le Clerc”: “Ecclesias Reformatas, etsi in aliquibus a nostra Anglicana dissentientes, libenter amplector.”



## THE LAST OF THE VAMPIRES.

**D**O you remember the discovery of the "man-lizard" bones in a cave on the Amazon some time in the forties? Perhaps not. But it created a great stir at the time in the scientific world and, in a lazy sort of way, interested men and women of fashion. For a day or two it was quite the correct thing for Belgravia to talk of "connecting links," of "the evolution of man from the reptile," and "the reasonableness of the ancient myths" that spoke of Centaurs and Mermaids as actual existences.

The fact was that a German Jew, an india-rubber merchant, working his way with the usual mob of natives through a cahucho forest along the Marañon, came upon some bones on the river-bank where he had pitched his camp. Idle curiosity made him try to put them together, when he found, to his surprise, that he had before him the skeleton of a creature with human legs and feet, a dog-like head and immense bat-like wings. Being a shrewd man, he saw the possibility of money being made out of such a curiosity; so he put all the bones he could find into a sack and, on the back of a llama, they were in due course conveyed to Chachapoyas, and thence to Germany.

Unfortunately, his name happened to be the same as that of another German Jew who had just then been trying to hoax the scientific world with some papyrus rolls of a date anterior to the Flood, and who had been found out and put to shame. So when his namesake appeared with the bones of a winged man, he was treated with very scant ceremony.

However, he sold his india-rubber very satisfactorily, and as for the bones, he left them with a young medical student of the ancient University of Bierundwurst, and went back to his cahucho trees and

his natives and the banks of the Amazon. And there was an end of him.

The young student one day put his fragments together, and, do what he would, could only make one thing of them—a winged man with a dog's head.

There were a few ribs too many, and some odds and ends of backbone which were superfluous; but what else could be expected of the anatomy of so extraordinary a creature? From one student to another the facts got about, and at last the professors came to hear of it; and, to cut a long story short, the student's skeleton was taken to pieces by the learned heads of the college, and put together again by their own learned hands.

But do what they would, they would only make one thing of it—a winged man with a dog's head.

The matter now became serious: the professors were at first puzzled, and then got quarrelsome; and the result of their squabbling was that pamphlets and counterblasts were published; and so all the world got to hear of the bitter controversy about the "man-lizard of the Amazon."

One side declared, of course, that such a creature was an impossibility, and that the bones were a remarkably clever hoax. The other side retorted by challenging the sceptics to manufacture a duplicate, and publishing the promise of such large rewards to any one who would succeed in doing so, that the museum was beset for months by competitors. But no one could manufacture another man-lizard. The man part was simple enough, provided they could get a human skeleton. But at the angles of the wings were set huge claws, black, polished, and curved, and nothing that ingenuity could suggest would imitate them. And then the "Genuinists," as those who believed in the monster called themselves, set the "Imposturists" another poser; for they publicly challenged them to say what animal either the head or the wings had belonged to, if not to the man-lizard? And the answer was never given.

So victory remained with them, but not, alas! the bones of contention. For the Imposturists, by bribery and burglary, got access to the precious skeleton, and lo! one morning the glory of the museum had disappeared. The man half of it was left, but the head and wings were gone, and from that day to this no one has ever seen them again.

And which of the two factions was right? As a matter of fact, neither; as the following fragments of narrative will go to prove.

Once upon a time, so say the Zaporos Indians, who inhabit the district between the Amazon and the Marañon, there came across to Pampas de Sacramendo a company of gold-seekers, white men, who drove the natives from their workings and took possession of them.

They were the first white men who had ever been seen there, and the Indians were afraid of their guns; but eventually treachery did the work of courage, for, pretending to be friendly, the natives sent their women among the strangers, and they taught them how to make tucupi out of the bread-root, but did not tell them how to distinguish between the ripe and the unripe. So the wretched white men made tucupi out of the unripe fruit (which brings on fits like epilepsy) and when they were lying about the camp, helpless, the Indians attacked them and killed them all.

All except three. These three they gave to the Vampire.

But what was the Vampire? The Zaporos did not know. "Very long ago," said they, "there were many vampires in Peru, but they were all swallowed up in the year of the Great Earthquake when the Andes were lifted up, and there was left behind only one 'Arinchi,' who lived where the Amazon joins the Marañon, and he would not eat dead bodies—only live ones, from which the blood would flow."

So far the legend; and that it had some foundation in fact is proved by the records of the district, which tell of more than one massacre of white gold-seekers on the Marañon by Indians whom they had attempted to oust from the washings; but of the Arinchi, the Vampire, there is no official mention. Here, however, other local superstitions help us to the reading of the riddle of the man-lizard of the University at Bierundwurst.

When sacrifice was made to "the Vampire," the victim was bound in a canoe, and taken down the river to a point where there was a kind of winding back-water, which had shelving banks of slimy mud, and at the end there was a rock with a cave in it. And here the canoe was left. A very slow current flowed through the tortuous creek, and anything thrown into the water ultimately reached the cave. Some of the Indians had watched the canoes drifting along, a few yards only in an hour, and turning round and round as they drifted, and had seen them reach the cave and disappear within. And it had been a wonder to them, generation after generation, that the cave was never filled up, for all day long the current was flowing into it, carrying with it the sluggish flotsam of the river. So they said that the cave was the entrance to Hell, and bottomless.

And one day a white man, a professor of that same University of Bierundwurst, and a mighty hunter of beetles before the Lord, who lived with the Indians in friendship, went up the backwater, right up to the entrance, and set afloat inside the cave a little raft, heaped up with touch-wood and knots of the oil-tree, which he set fire to, and he saw the raft go creeping along, all ablaze, for an hour and more, lighting up the wet walls of the cave as it went on either side; and then *it was put out*.

It did not "go" out suddenly, as if it had upset, or had floated over the edge of a waterfall, but just as if it had been beaten out.

For the burning fragments were flung to one side and the other, and the pieces, still alight, glowed for a long time on the ledges and points of rock where they fell, and the cave was filled with the sound of a sudden wind and the echoes of the noise of great wings flapping.

And at last, one day, this professor went into the cave himself.

"I took," he wrote, "a large canoe, and from the bows I built out a brazier of stout cask-hoops, and behind it set a gold-washing tin dish for a reflector, and loaded the canoe with roots of the resin-tree, and oil-wood, and yams, and dried meat; and I took spears with me, some tipped with the woorali poison, that numbs but does not kill. And so I drifted inside the cave; and I lit my fire, and with my pole I guided the canoe very cautiously through the tunnel, and before long it widened out, and creeping along one wall I suddenly became aware of a moving of something on the opposite side.

"So I turned the light fair upon it, and there, upon a kind of ledge, sate a beast with a head like a large grey dog. Its eyes were as large as a cow's.

"What its shape was I could not see. But as I looked I began gradually to make out two huge bat-like wings, and these were spread out to their utmost as if the beast were on tiptoe and ready to fly. And so it was. For just as I had realised that I beheld before me some great bat-reptile of a kind unknown to science, except as prediluvian, and the shock had thrilled through me at the thought that I was actually in the presence of a living specimen of the so-called extinct flying lizards of the Flood, the thing launched itself upon the air, and the next instant it was upon me.

"Clutching on to the canoe, it beat with its wings at the flame so furiously that it was all I could do to keep the canoe from capsizing, and, taken by surprise, I was nearly stunned by the strength and rapidity of its blows before I attempted to defend myself.

"By that time—scarcely half a minute had elapsed—the brazier had been nearly emptied by the powerful brute; and the vampire, mistaking me no doubt for a victim of sacrifice, had already taken hold of me. The next instant I had driven a spear clean through its body, and with a prodigious tumult of wings, the thing loosed its claws from my clothes and dropped off into the stream.

"As quickly as possible I rekindled my light, and now saw the Arinchi, with wings outstretched upon the water, drifting down on the current. I followed it.

"Hour after hour, with my reflector turned full upon that grey dog's head with cow-like eyes, I passed along down the dark and silent waterway. I ate and drank as I went along, but did not dare to sleep. A day must have passed, and two nights; and then, as of course I had all along expected, I saw right ahead a pale eye-shaped glimmer, and knew that I was coming out into daylight again.

"The opening came nearer and nearer, and it was with intense eagerness that I gazed upon my trophy, the floating Arinchi, the last of the Winged Reptiles.

"Already in imagination I saw myself the foremost of travellers in European fame—the hero of my day. What were Banks' kangaroos or De Chaillu's gorilla to my discovery of the last survivor of the pterodactyles, of the creatures of Flood—the flying Saurian of the pre-Noachian epoch of catastrophe and mud?

"Full of these thoughts, I had not noticed that the vampire was no longer moving, and suddenly the bow of the canoe bumped against it. In an instant it had climbed up on to the boat. Its great bat-like wings once more beat me, and scattered the flaming brands, and the thing made a desperate effort to get past me back into the gloom. It had seen the daylight approaching and rather than face the sun, preferred to fight.

"Its ferocity was that of a maddened dog, but I kept it off with my pole, and seeing my opportunity as it clung, flapping its wings, upon the bow, gave it such a thrust as made it drop off. It began to swim (I then for the first time noticed its long neck), but with my pole I struck it on the head and stunned it, and once more saw it go drifting on the current into daylight.

"What a relief it was to be out in the open air! It was noon, and as we passed out from under the entrance of the cave, the river blazed so in the sunlight that after the two days of almost total darkness I was blinded for a time. I turned my canoe to the shore, to the shade of trees, and throwing a noose over the floating body, let it tow behind.

"Once more on firm land—and in possession of the Vampire!

"I dragged it out of the water. What a hideous beast it looked, this winged kangaroo with a python's neck! It was not dead; so I made a muzzle with a strip of skin, and then I firmly bound its wings together round its body. I lay down and slept. When I awoke, the next day was breaking; so, having breakfasted, I dragged my captive into the canoe and went on down the river. Where I was I had no idea; but I knew that I was going to the sea: going to Germany: and that was enough.

\* \* \* \* \*

"For two months I have been drifting with the current down this never-ending river. Of my adventures, of hostile natives, of rapids, of alligators, and jaguars, I need say nothing. They are the common property of all travellers. But my vampire! It is alive. And now I am devoured by only one ambition—to keep it alive, to let Europe actually gaze upon the living, breathing, survivor of the great Reptiles known to the human race before the days of Noah—the missing link between the reptile and the bird. To this end I denied

myself food; "denied myself even precious medicine. In spite of itself I gave it all my quinine, and when the miasma crept up the river at night, I covered it with my rug and lay exposed myself. If the black fever should seize me!

\* \* \* \* \*

"Three months, and still upon this hateful river! Will it never end? I have been ill—so ill, that for two days I could not feed it. I had not the strength to go ashore to find food, and I fear that it will die—die before I can get it home.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Been ill again—the black fever! But *it* is alive. I caught a vicuna swimming in the river, and it sucked it dry—gallons of blood. It had been unfed three days. In its hungry haste it broke its muzzle. I was almost too feeble to put it on again. A horrible thought possesses me. Suppose it breaks its muzzle again when I am lying ill, delirious, and it is ravenous? Oh! the horror of it! To see it eating is terrible. It links the claws of its wings together, and covers over the body; its head is under the wings, out of sight. But the victim never moves. As soon as the vampire touches it there seems to be a paralysis. Once those wings are linked there is absolute quiet. Only the grating of teeth upon bone. Horrible! horrible! But in Germany I shall be famous. *In Germany with my Vampire?*

\* \* \* \* \*

"Am very feeble. It broke its muzzle again. But it was in the daylight—when it is blind. Its great eyes are blind in sunlight. It was a long struggle. This black fever! and the horror of this thing! I am too weak now to kill it, if I would. I *must* get it home alive. Soon—surely soon—the river will end. Oh God! does it never reach the sea, reach white men, reach home? But if it attacks me I will throttle it. If I am dying I will throttle it.\* If we cannot go back to Germany alive, we will go together dead. I will throttle it with my two hands, and fix my teeth in its horrible neck, and our bones shall lie together on the bank of this accursed river."

\* \* \* \* \*

This is nearly all that was recovered of the professor's diary. But it is enough to tell us of the final tragedy.

The two skeletons *were* found together on the very edge of the river-bank. Half of each, in the lapse of years, had been washed away at successive flood-tides. The rest, when put together, made up the man-reptile that, to use a Rabelaisian phrase, "*metagrobolised* all to nothing" the University of Bierundwurst.

PHIL ROBINSON.

## THE NEW HYPNOTISM.

### A REPLY.

**A**S one of the earliest writers on the new hypnotism in this country,\* and almost if not quite the first physician to practise it, I feel called upon to make some reply to the article Mr. Ernest Hart has contributed to the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*, entitled "The Revival of Witchcraft."

Mr. Hart has dealt unfairly with the subject by confounding medical hypnotism with matters totally unconnected with it, and I hope to point out in the following pages, that the so-called hypnotic phenomena described by him have nothing in common with the method of treatment by suggestion, which is being successfully practised by a large number of highly qualified physicians in Great Britain and all parts of the world. Nothing is harder to contend against than a half truth, and Mr. Hart's articles are full of half truths and of false deductions drawn therefrom. I am entirely at one with him in his sweeping condemnation of the practices indulged in by Dr. Luys at La Charité Hospital. I paid several visits to that institution with my friend Dr. Kingsbury, of Blackpool, in 1891, and we saw quite enough to enable us to come to the same conclusions as Mr. Hart arrived at after a series of elaborate control experiments. Dr. Luys is an amiable and successful physician, and has in times past done useful work in physiology and pathology; but it is absurd to put him forward at the present day as the representative of hypnotic practice. He told me three years ago that hypnotism was finished, and treatment by transfer was the coming method of cure, and at that time he was making very little use of hypnotic suggestion. Ever since 1889, when his experiments with drugs in sealed tubes were tested by the Academy of Medicine, and found untrustworthy and based

\* "Faith Healing as a Medical Treatment," *Nineteenth Century*, December 1888.

on error, he has been left severely alone by French doctors, and his doings have been little regarded by French men of science. So much is this the case that I found few of my friends in Paris or the provinces had visited his clinique, and they seemed to regard him as a good man gone wrong.

Mr. Hart's trenchant articles are an unnecessary expenditure of energy, and he has but achieved the slaying of one who was already *hors de combat*. It is not pleasant to have to write thus of Dr. Luys, for his geniality and candour must win the esteem of all those who visit his hospital; but the truth must be spoken, and one can only say that he is not the first man of science who has allowed himself to be deceived by a too fervid imagination. Dr. Elliotson came to grief in the same way when he was investigating mesmerism forty years ago, when the Okey sisters and other impostors made a good thing out of his credulity. James Braid, the exposé of the trickery associated with mesmerism, and the pioneer of scientific hypnotism, allowed himself for a time to be drawn into professing a belief in various extravagances; and we have not to carry our memories very far back to remember the easy credulity shown by many eminent doctors in the alleged discovery of Koch's cure for consumption.

So far the only fault I have to find with Mr. Hart is that he has entirely misrepresented Luys' position in the scientific world; but his wholesale denunciation of hypnotism is a different matter. His verdict based on what he saw at La Charité is as unfair as would be the opinion of an intelligent foreigner who visited one of the much advertised nostrum-shops, with the view of describing the present position of medical electricity in England.

The greater part of Mr. Hart's article is taken up with the exposure of the frauds practised by Dr. Luys' mediums, but towards its close he attacks hypnotism, and trots out the old bogey about it producing a condition of mental thralldom or dependence of the subject on the operator. No one who has studied hypnotism can ignore the fact that it is open to grave abuse in the hands of unscrupulous persons, and one of the main objects physicians practising it have in view is the recognition by the profession and the public of the real nature of hypnotism, and that it is not merely a conjuring trick or drawing-room entertainment. The same objections which are urged against the medical employment of hypnotism may be used with equal justice against the administration of chloroform and the prescription of most drugs. I am not an advocate for the indiscriminate employment of hypnotism, and I should regard any such consummation as a profound calamity, but I am speaking only of its application for medical purposes by medical men. The sale of poisons is regulated by law, and accident and crimes arising from their use are therefore reduced to a minimum; but accidents and poisonings do occur, and



that sometimes in the practice of medical men. Yet Mr. Ernest Hart does not propose the giving up of chloroform because a certain number of fatalities and outrages are brought about through its agency ; nor do medical men cease to prescribe strychnia or aconite, even when a Palmer or a Lamson among them uses these drugs to commit murder.

As the use of poisonous drugs is restricted to medical men, so I consider that hypnotism should be practised only by doctors ; and this not because medical men are better than other people, but because they are already the licensed depositories of the health interests of the community, and are accustomed to bear such responsibilities as the practice of hypnotism demands. Doctors already exert influences of various kinds over their patients, and it may be safely affirmed that their power in this direction is seldom abused. They may be trusted to exercise wisely and well the slightly increased influence hypnotism will enable them to wield. They are generally men of some social standing, and if they abuse their position they can be readily reached by the arm of the law. Mr. Hart seems to be quite sure that if hypnotism becomes a common method of treatment it will be abused, thereby showing a want of confidence in the members of his own profession, at which, I imagine, they will not feel highly flattered. No discreet practitioner would administer an anæsthetic except in the presence of a third person, and the same thing will apply when hypnotism is used. The danger run by neglect of this precaution is not always confined to the patient, as the reports of many a blackmailing case testify.

I agree with Mr. Hart that, at any rate for as long as the present ignorance of the subject prevails, hypnotism should only be used after careful consideration, and when other methods of treatment have failed or are inadmissible. I should not advocate its employment for the simple extraction of a tooth, not because I should dread the terrible moral consequences Mr. Hart fears, but because nitrous oxide gas is so much more easily applied ; nor should I care to employ it in a case of transient neuralgia or headache, for there are plenty of simple remedies available.

But it is in cases where other remedies have failed, or perhaps done mischief, that the good effects of hypnotic treatment are seen. It is applicable in many cases of confirmed insomnia, inveterate neuralgia, exhaustion after severe illness, the results of nervous shock or prolonged worry, the pain and restlessness of incurable disease, such as cancer, and in some cases of mental impairment and perverted instincts ; and we have not too many remedies for combating such conditions that we can afford to neglect so powerful an adjuvant as hypnotic suggestion places at our disposal. Mr. Hart speaks elsewhere of drugs being cheap, easily procured, certain in their action,

safe, and free from the dangers which, he says, surround hypnotism, even when used by medical men.\* Many of us do not agree with him in this complacent view of drug action; and if the dead could speak, what a host of lost spirits would rise up and denounce the insidious narcotic which had proved their ruin! Moreover, narcotics, of which Mr. Hart speaks with such approval, have an unfortunate way of leaving the sufferer in the lurch at the very time their services are most required, as every one who has nursed cases of painful chronic disease can testify, and as those who have got into the habit of taking narcotics for insomnia have experienced.

To cure an intractable neuralgia, or to soothe the last weeks of a poor sufferer dying from a chronic disease, is a common and delightful experience with the physician who has added hypnotism to his armamentarium; but it is even more gratifying for him to find that he is often enabled by its means to reform the vicious and restore the drunkard to society. That hypnotism enables us to achieve this is a matter of daily experience, and is borne out by the testimony of eminent medical men in all parts of the world.†

Mr. Hart, in asserting the subjective nature of the hypnotic state, would almost lead one to suppose that he was enunciating some new and startling truth, whereas Braid demonstrated the fact nearly fifty years ago, and no scientific physician believes it to be anything else. The reader is no doubt aware that hypnotism is but a means to an end, and that we induce the hypnotic state to prepare the mind for the reception of suggestion. If there were other ways of making the mind receptive, we should not require the aid of hypnotism; but we know of no such agent. Mr. Hart says‡ that a piece of stick or a bright pebble is as good a hypnotiser as the most practised physician, and seems to imply that medical knowledge is therefore not necessary for the practice of this treatment. It is certainly true that most persons could hypnotise if they tried, just as it is possible for any one to give drugs; but the art of the physician is called into play in determining when and where to use the appropriate remedy. What applies in the case of drugs applies with additional force in employing a psychical treatment such as hypnotic suggestion. Professor Bernheim has shown that for a suggestion to act it is essential that it should be received by the mind as true. In the normal state, we receive and act upon a suggestion from a person we know and respect much more readily than from a stranger or from one we despise, and the same applies to the hypnotic state, only to a greater

\* *British Medical Journal*, December 3, 1892.

† I read a paper on this subject at the last annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Nottingham, and in this I related my experience for over three years, supplemented by the testimony of a number of other physicians, British and foreign. The paper is published in pamphlet form by Messrs. Churchill, 11 New Burlington Street, under the title of "The Value of Hypnotism in Chronic Alcoholism."

‡ *British Medical Journal*, December 3, 1892.

degree. It is therefore of the greatest importance that the hypnotist should be a person of tact and experience as well as of good character. The personal equation cannot be altogether ignored, but there should certainly be no undue dependence of the patient on the operator. It should rather be the object of the physician to develop the subject's own powers, and to make it clear that it is his own capabilities which are being evoked by suggestion. There are already too many people dependent on their medical advisers, and the action of hypnotism, if properly used, will be rather to diminish than to increase the number of these.

I would paraphrase Matthew Arnold's definition of conscience as being something within ourselves not ourselves which makes for righteousness, by saying that there exists within the sick man some latent power which makes for health. This power may often be evoked by various means. Sometimes by emotional excitement, as in cases where cure results from a nervous shock, sometimes from religious influence, as in the cures which take place at Lourdes and other shrines. But it is most readily and most scientifically evoked by suggestions applied in the hypnotic state.

A writer in the *Spectator*,\* in an article reviewing my book on psycho-therapeutics, says, "There seems to be within us some hidden consciousness or deeper self which is both capable of understanding an order and obeying the order, and this deeper self has a much greater power over organic life than the conscious self." That the personality of the hypnotiser is a factor in the result obtained, though not in the way the believers in animal magnetism suppose, has been brought home to me on several occasions. Thus, among my earlier patients was a very intelligent tradesman, who was almost crippled by rheumatic gout; various treatments had failed to give him relief, and I tried hypnotism to see what that would do for him. I hypnotised him a few times, and after each operation improvement was most marked, so that at the end of a week the man could rise from his couch without assistance, and was almost free from pain. Then things came to a standstill, and little improvement was effected at future sittings.

A start had, however, been made, and a month at the brine baths of Droitwich completed his cure, and he has since continued fairly well. Long afterwards he told me the reason why my suggestions had suddenly ceased to benefit him. He was, it appears, an ardent and aggressive teetotaler, and he was shocked at noticing one day when he called about my luncheon-time that my breath smelt of wine! A spirit of antagonism was aroused, and he found himself unable to accept as true the suggestions I afterwards made to him. Again, some years ago, I cured a lady patient of a very troublesome and obstinate internal neuralgia by hypnotism, for which at the time she

\* *Spectator*, January 27, 1892.

expressed herself properly grateful. But her friends assured her that she had been subjected to a terrible process, and entirely destroyed her faith in the treatment. When therefore, a few months ago, she began to suffer from a very similar pain on the other side of the body, and I proposed hypnotism, she declined to submit to it; and it was only after other means had been tried in vain, and the pain had become worse, that with a rather bad grace she consented. I noticed that it took much longer than on the previous occasions to induce the condition of drowsiness and languor which with her constituted the hypnotic state, and on arousing her she informed me that the pain was little, if any, better. She had been thinking all the time of her friends' criticism, and their suggestions entirely destroyed the efficacy of mine. In these two cases the degree of hypnosis produced was very far short of somnambulism or loss of normal consciousness; but even in the more profound stages it is generally possible for the subject to resist suggestions, and Lombroso has proved that even in somnambulism there remains a power of resisting suggestions of a hurtful tendency or of a nature opposed to the subject's moral sense. That hypnotism may be so used as to induce a state of helplessness and automatism, so deprecated by Mr. Hart and every right thinking person, is unfortunately true, and I have given some melancholy examples of this abuse of a beneficent power in a previous article in this REVIEW; \* but such an abuse is not likely to occur in medical practice.

A clerical opponent brought forward some time ago the condition of a person who had been hypnotised, and made to do absurd actions twice a day for a year by a public performer for purposes of gain, as an argument against the medical employment of hypnotic suggestion. Such abuse of a powerful agent is unpardonable, and is, I think, as wrong as it would be to give a person chloroform the same number of times for purposes of experiment. What would be the mental condition of a person subjected to daily administration of chloroform for twelve months? I imagine at least as bad as that of the paid hypnotic subject, but I should not regard that as a valid argument against the use of chloroform as an anæsthetic.

One would think from much of the literature against hypnotism that it was an agent which would be always abused, and that a state of somnambulism was always sought for and induced, whereas all medical writers on the subject, and their number is legion, have shown that somnambulism is obtained with comparative rarity, and that all that is required for medical purposes is a state of drowsiness or heaviness, in which it is found the mind is acted upon by suggestion. Thus, if we were to take and hypnotise a hundred persons who happened to pass a certain point—say, for instance, the Marble Arch—in a given time, we should probably find that, though about eighty

\* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November 1891.

per cent. would be sufficiently influenced to feel the force of suggestion and to derive benefit from hypnotic treatment if their cases needed it, not more than ten or twelve of these would be affected to the extent of somnambulism.

Mr Hart refers to Professor Charcot, and speaks with approval of his experiments with hypnotism at the Salpêtrière. Charcot may be called the Grand Old Man of French physic, and has well earned the world-wide reputation he enjoys ; but it must be confessed that he is largely responsible for the altogether wrong lines upon which investigation of hypnotism has been conducted in many of the Paris hospitals. He has experimented almost entirely on hysterical subjects drawn from the female patients of the Salpêtrière, and it is not therefore surprising that he has obtained only one class of phenomena, and that his opinion of hypnotism as a curative agent is not very favourable, as we know that such subjects are by no means the most suitable for the treatment. It is natural that other observers, less shrewd perhaps than Charcot in experimenting with the same class of subjects, have allowed themselves to be duped by the deceptions in which hysterical women are so adept. When, as at Nancy, healthy and able-bodied subjects are chosen, there is much less chance of error or imposture. I confess I fail to see the utility of such experiences as Luys records, even if they were proved to be genuine. What purpose can it serve to show that a hysterical woman believes herself to be a cat, and acts as such on the application of a sealed tube containing valerian to her neck ? The thing is such child's play that it is melancholy to see a physician of eminence believing in it ; and strange, I think, to find a man of science wasting his time in writing about it. I have always held that the only justification for producing hypnosis is the relief of suffering or the correction of vicious habits. Studied in a proper spirit, hypnotism will prove of benefit both to medical men and the public, for it offers a key to the solution of many psychical problems. In an age of materialism it is well to be reminded that the mind counts for something, and no physician who has studied hypnotism will make the too common mistake of ignoring the psychical factor in disease.

That hypnotism is making good progress is a fact which is brought forward every day, and English medical men are beginning to use this important means of cure in all parts of the country. This is as it should be, for the public will have the treatment ; and if doctors take it up and apply it in suitable cases we shall be spared the experience which ruined mesmerism, and shall not see a method of practice which above all others demands tact and integrity, handed over to unscrupulous charlatans.

CHAS. LLOYD TUCKEY.

## THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE LAND.

AT the present time, when the struggle for existence in our towns is becoming, week by week, more hard in consequence of increasing foreign competition and other causes, and when all workers engaged in ameliorating the condition of the poor agree that thousands of willing workers are destitute and almost starving through want of employment, it is right that serious consideration should be given to the question of whether the land of this country can be utilised as a means for giving the employment so much needed. Some writers and speakers contrast the thousands of workers out of employment with the thousands of acres annually going out of arable cultivation. They suggest that some means should be found for employing these destitute workers upon the land in such a manner that a given area, either now grass or only partially tilled, may be made to yield increased produce, and that thereby these men may obtain a maintenance for themselves and families. The question has become sufficiently important to justify some consideration of its practical bearings in order to determine whether the suggestions made can be actually carried out, and, if so, in what manner and to what extent.

Attempts have been made on the Continent, and also within the past two years in England, to obtain profitable work on the land for men unskilled in this description of labour. Having had an opportunity of giving critical consideration to these attempts, I propose in this article briefly to review the results which have been achieved, and then to suggest certain conclusions based upon the experience gained.

### SETTLEMENT AT FREDERIKSOORD, NORTH HOLLAND.

The first effort to find work for the unemployed upon the land was

made by a General of the Dutch army, who, seeing that many men disbanded at the peace of 1815 were unable to obtain work, formed the idea that they could obtain a living from the land. To try this experiment a large, rough, uncultivated area was obtained on the borders of Friesland, situate near the small town of Steenwyck. A settlement was here formed, known as Frederiksoord, and at the present time it consists of six farms of over 200 acres each, worked by the society owning the settlement, and over 220 farms of an area of about seven acres each worked by independent tenants. The history and work of the settlement have lately been described in a small volume written by Mr. H. G. Willink, entitled "The Dutch Home Labour Colonies," published in 1889; and in an article by Mr. Ernest Clarke, in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, of December 1891. With two so recent and accessible accounts, it is unnecessary to notice in any detail the present arrangements of the settlement. The writer has visited these farms, and, as the result of his investigation, it seems that the tenants are not in so satisfactory a condition as at first appeared to be the case. They all receive special assistance from the Society owning the settlement; several, even with this help, admitted that they could not make a sufficient maintenance without taking outside work, and many were considerably in arrear with their rent. The standard of living and the wages given for agricultural work are very low in the district of the settlement, farm labourers seldom obtaining higher wages than 1s. 2d. per day. An income from a small holding, which would be considered satisfactory in comparison with such a daily wage, would be looked upon by an English labourer, able to earn twice the amount, as a starvation allowance.

As to the results to the Society, soon after the commencement of the work it undertook the maintenance of a large number of paupers upon other properties, under an arrangement made with the Government, and within ten years there were nearly 5000 persons upon land under its control. Under many difficulties the work went on until 1859, when the Government granted an amount of over £450,000 to relieve the Society from its liabilities, and took these other properties, known as the Beggar Colonies, under its own control. In consequence of this early connection of Frederiksoord with the Beggar Colonies it is difficult to say what has been the cost of the settlement, but the founding of each household is estimated by the Society to cost about £140. As to the present revenue, the rents receivable from the farms are over £1500 a year, and this amount, supplemented by charitable contributions of £1200 a year, with a profit from the farms worked by the Society, is sufficient to pay the administration charges. These include the expenses of education of the children, the costs of technical training, and the provision of medical advice; but no interest on capital

is payable. The fact that the colony is not self-supporting is owing, in my opinion, to the unsuitable situation and poor soil.

PENAL COLONY AT VEENHUIZEN, HOLLAND.

The Baggar Colonies, previously referred to, taken over by the Dutch Government in 1859, have now been concentrated in one settlement, known as Veenhuizen, in North Holland. Any man found begging in Holland is brought before the magistrates, and on conviction is sentenced to a short imprisonment, followed by a term of from six months to two years of forced labour upon this colony. When I visited the colony in 1891, it appeared that all the men were engaged, during favourable weather, in the manual work of improving waste land and ordinary farming. By their labour large areas of what had previously been unproductive soil had been brought into a good condition of cultivation, yielding remunerative crops. During unfavourable weather, or when not wanted for the outdoor work, the men were employed in various indoor industries. Certain rewards are given for special industry, which are paid to the men at the expiration of their term. As to the financial results, the farming and industries are both extremely well managed, and the returns are usually sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the men, but not to pay the costs of administration, which, as the colony is regarded as a penal settlement, are naturally heavy. A colony founded on a similar basis for those who voluntarily offer to work in consequence of being unable to obtain other employment would, in my opinion, have more favourable results. The costs of administration of such a colony with the same number of men as at Veenhuizen would be less than half of what is there expended. Then more value would be obtained from the work, partly because the men would be of a more honest class, and partly because, the work being of a voluntary nature, more inducement could be offered to ensure its faithful execution.

FARM LABOUR COLONIES IN GERMANY.

We now come to a consideration of what has been done in Germany. In that country far more help is given to the unemployed than in England, one of the means so used being the Farm Labour Colonies. These originated with Pastor von Bodelschwingh, who told me, during an interview I had the pleasure of having with him, how he had recognised fifteen years ago that the relief the unemployed wanted was work, and not money, and he had gone to the land as, in his opinion, being the only means of providing that work. The first colony was started near Bielefeld. The estate originally consisted of a large area of rough land, thickly timbered. About 300 acres of this has been cleared and brought under cultivation by the work of the men



coming upon the colony, and is worked under the ordinary system of culture, the unskilled labour being used to some extent. It is unnecessary for me to give any description of the method and organisation of the work, for it is fully described in the *Nineteenth Century* of February 1891, in an article by Lord Meath; and there have also been many references to it in other journals. On consideration of the results, it appears that the average length of residence of each man is less than four months. Only those are admitted who claim that they are destitute, and can get no work elsewhere. Any man may remain if he is of good conduct till he has obtained a permanent situation, or thinks he can do better for himself elsewhere. During this period he is provided with maintenance only, but on his discharge a gift, calculated at about 2½*d.* per day for the period for which he has remained, is given to him. The results of the first colony were considered so satisfactory that others have, year by year, been established in various provinces, there being twenty-two Farm Labour Colonies in the whole country. Nearly 50,000 men have passed through these colonies, and have from them obtained at least temporary assistance, while in many cases the moral training and assistance given have been of permanent use. As to the financial results of the colony at Bielefeld, the cost per man is about 6*d.* per day in excess of the profit from the farm. This amount is partly contributed from charitable funds, and partly from public resources. The improvement in the capital value of the land, towards which the labour of the men is, for the most part, directed, is not considered in arriving at the financial result named. No indoor industries being in operation, a large amount of time must be wasted in unfavourable weather. If greater care were exercised in the management of the hand labour, if the number of horses kept were considerably lessened, and if more attention were given to the work of each man, more satisfactory results could be obtained than at present. Under no conditions, however, do I think that the Bielefeld colony could be made self-supporting; for the soil is not sufficiently favourable. Some of the other German Farm Labour Colonies are, I understand, more satisfactory in financial results.

The founder of the Farm Labour Colonies has also organised near Bielefeld a colony for the employment of those who are out of work in consequence of being subject to epilepsy. Investigation of this work shows that men, even under this great disadvantage, can raise sufficient for their maintenance by their labour on the land.

#### MUNICIPAL HAND-LABOUR FARMS NEAR BERLIN.

References have frequently been made to the employment of a large number of men in the cultivation by hand labour of farms near Berlin, worked by the municipality. Much information concerning these farms was courteously given me by the Chief of the Poor-Law Board

of that city. In Berlin there are Homes for the Aged Poor, while those men who are destitute through being unable to find employment can avail themselves of the free Town Shelters, which take the place of our casual wards. After any man has availed himself of the free shelters for a few nights without obtaining employment, he is sent for a definite term to the workhouse. Of the 1300 housed in this building at the time of my visit, nearly 900 were employed upon the farms, situate about eight miles from the city. As a result of a day spent upon these farms, I formed the opinion that the work was not arranged in such a manner as would economically utilise the whole power of the men. Far too large a number were employed to produce certain results, and the expense of administration was out of all proportion to the value of work obtained. It must be remembered that on such a property as this there are great difficulties. The number of men is constantly varying; the workhouse is situate some miles from the farms: the labour available is of the most ineffective kind; and the work is regarded more as we regard prison labour—viz., as a means of employment, rather than as an attempt to give self-supporting labour to the men maintained. From the official annual report to April 1890, it appeared that the cost of food and clothes of each man was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day in excess of the value of his labour. The costs of administration were nearly as much as the expenses of maintenance, the total cost for each man being rather over £11 for the entire year.

#### FARMS AT DARTMOOR WORKED BY CONVICT LABOUR.

Having thus glanced at what has been done abroad in the employment upon the land of those unskilled in agricultural work, we will now notice the results achieved by the few attempts already made in England. The earliest of these was the employment of the convicts at Dartmoor. A large extent of rough, desolate moorland was here in the possession of the Government, and since the buildings upon it were utilised as a convict prison, nearly 1000 acres have been reclaimed solely by convict labour. This has been mainly under the skilful direction of Mr. Alexander Watt, F.S.I., to whom I am indebted for much information as to the work, given me during my inspection of the farms. The results amply show what can be done in rough improvement work by careful management of labour, even if untrained. Unfortunately, the position is so bleak and exposed that it is unusual for corn to ripen. The land therefore, when brought into cultivation, is mainly sown down to grass and used for stock-raising. Remembering the poor quality of the land when reclaimed, the improvement work carried out could not have been profitable. The experience gained is not therefore of use to us in the consideration of the subject of this article.

## SETTLEMENT OF HOME COLONISATION SOCIETY.

Probably the first actual attempt in England to form a practical scheme which might enable men, with no knowledge of agricultural labour, to find work on the land from which they could gain their maintenance, was that of the Rev. Herbert Mills, in his book entitled "Poverty and the State." The Home Colonisation Society was founded as a result of this publication. Its objects were recently defined by Mr. Mills to be as follows :

"The principle involved in Home Colonisation is that the market for human labour regulated by the demands of commerce and modified by the introduction of labour-saving machines, is hopelessly unable to offer work to every one. The commercial method of production means that articles shall only be made for sale ; the unemployed, consequently from lack of work and lack of wages, cannot become purchasers. With a market overstocked with food and clothing manufactured for sale, multitudes are ragged and hungry, seeking work with despairing skill, accepting charity unwillingly, and with a sense of shame. The Home Colonisation Society claims that such persons ought to be enabled to work in self-supporting villages, where production should be carried on for the use of the workers and not for sale in over-supplied competitive markets."

The proposal made is so good that the details suggested for giving effect thereto are worthy of close attention to ascertain whether the same are practicable. In the chapter in "Poverty and the State" giving these details, it is stated that the object can be achieved by 2000 acres being made to yield sufficient produce for the maintenance of 4000 people. This is impossible, and on consideration of the details given to support this contention various serious mistakes in the estimates given will be noticed. It will be seen that the ordinary farming expenses are not sufficiently considered, the area allowed for the maintenance of the live stock is not adequate, and the yield both from the land and live stock is estimated at far more than could be obtained. As an instance of the last-named error, a calculation is based upon the fact that a cow will yield over 2000 gallons of milk per annum, which is three times as much as the average given by a good cow. Even if such a settlement were agriculturally possible and the necessary capital were provided, experience seems to indicate that work on the communal basis suggested would have little chance of permanency, because no satisfactory plan could be devised by which sufficient reward could be given for special energy or ability shown by any of the workers. Those who possessed either of these qualities would soon become dissatisfied with the less successful workers. This would cause dissension and difficulty of management while they remained upon the settlement. Then it is certain that the best men would soon leave, becoming dissatisfied with the maximum reward which could, in addition to maintenance, be given on such a communal

farm. No doubt the plan suggested would be welcomed by men lacking in energy, enterprise and independence, who only wanted to do a minimum of labour, but such men would not make any work successful. Probably in consequence of the unpractical nature of the proposals made, it was found difficult to get sufficient money to attempt a trial of the principles of the Home Colonisation Society. In May 1892, however, work was commenced on a small but more practical basis than advocated in "Poverty and the State." In that month possession was obtained of a water-mill and some cottages in Westmoreland with eight acres of land. In the following October further land was acquired, making a total area of under 130 acres, and upon this an industrial and farming community is being established. The total capital involved is nearly £5000, and it will probably be found possible to maintain twenty to thirty workers. As, however, the land has been in possession of the Society for so short a time, no definite opinion can yet be expressed as to the success of this particular effort.

#### THE HADLEIGH COLONY OF THE SALVATION ARMY.

The only other scheme now in operation in England with the object of finding self-supporting work upon the land for unskilled men, is the Hadleigh Farm Colony of the Salvation Army. The results obtained there must be considered in some detail, for the organisers of the scheme had the full benefit of the experience gained from all the work previously mentioned, and, not being pledged to any particular system, were free to adopt whatever basis was considered best to achieve the object in view. The best results therefore were to be anticipated. The suitability of the farms chosen has been generally agreed upon by all critics, and is mentioned in the Report issued by the Special Committee of Inquiry last December. As the Colony was described in an article by Mr. Arnold White in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* of July 1892, I do not propose to mention the methods of work, but only to refer to the results shown by the various statements which have been published.

When entering into possession of the property, it was pointed out that in comparison with an ordinary farm the Colony would have special advantages. There would be no rent or interest on purchase-money to be provided; sufficient capital was available for working purposes; extra labour would be obtainable at a cheap cost whenever wanted at harvest or haytime; the other various branches of the Salvation Army would afford a market at full prices for many of the farm products; extra returns were realisable from garden produce, without the usual risks of a market-gardener, by reason of the consumers being upon the property; and, lastly, better results in some cases could be obtained by utilising the cheap labour available in working up

the raw produce. The first report and balance-sheet issued was for the period from the commencement of the work in May to November 30, 1891. Referring to the financial statement contained therein, it appears that the farm working account, excluding the poultry, showed a profit of £42 after meeting all expenses except the general Colony administration. Among the expenses was the amount of the valuation paid on entry, this including, in accordance with the ordinary custom, the rent, rates, and tithe on some of the arable land for the previous year, and the cost of cultivations to the growing crops. In this particular case such arrangement was unfavourable, as the farm was in a poor and foul condition, and some of the wheat upon which the heaviest valuation must have been paid proved to be valueless and was ploughed before harvest. Taking into consideration this valuation, the difficulties of organising the labour, and the expense of starting any new work, the result named must be considered satisfactory. The loss on the poultry department of £160 was the most startling fact in the balance-sheet. This department was in charge of a special manager, who claimed to have made substantial profits from a poultry farm of his own and had volunteered to do the same at the Colony. His failure during this first year he alleged was owing to not having proper arrangements, unexpected death of stock, and other accidents incidental to work at a new place. From the report, for which I was partly responsible (having been concerned in the early organisation of the Colony), it would appear that the labour of those engaged on excavation and land reclamation was satisfactory. It is stated that this class of work was being executed by the men at less cost than if it had been done by paid labour on ordinary terms. It further appears that the men proved of good conduct, easy of control, and willing to work. Lastly, it was said that the men were of a most dependent character when coming upon the Colony, and in order to improve them in this respect, a course of special training for those who wished to become emigrants was being settled, and complete technical training had been arranged in various indoor industries. This latter had proved the most difficult work to organise. The minor industries had to be of a kind which required but little capital; could be carried on by intermittent labour; would utilise the full value of any experienced man on the Colony, and give a return of not less than 1s. 6d. per day for the work of each man. Then the products had to be of such a nature as were required on the Colony or by some of the other branches of the Army work; or of a class not now made in this country; or of a character for which the demand exceeded the existing supply. Unless these conditions were complied with the work on the Colony might lead to unfair competition, or tend to increase the unemployed class. The difficulties of finding the industries and arranging for instruction in them was at

length surmounted. Such were the results obtained up to the issue of the first report.

The further progress of the work is shown by the report and balance-sheet up to September 30, 1892, issued by the Committee of Inquiry. Turning first to the working account of the farm, the result is decidedly disappointing, the whole period from May 1, 1891, showing a loss of £1590. As the first balance-sheet had shown a small profit, the loss from the last year was really somewhat greater. This result is without charging rent, tithe, rates, interest on capital, or administration expenses. The first reason apparent for the disappointing results is the low price of all farm produce at the date of the farm valuation on September 30, 1892. On inspection of the working account, a second cause will be at once apparent, for those acquainted with the cultivation of a farm will see that the working expenses were excessive, and that at least the same returns should have been produced without the important item of £1145, entered as the cost of maintenance of colonists employed in farm work. It is evident that upon the engagement of each colonist on the land, either horse labour or paid men should be correspondingly reduced. This, however, necessitates great skill, trouble, and special powers of management on the part of the farm superintendent. Unless these are exercised, the farming is allowed to continue on the ordinary basis of horse husbandry, and the unskilled men are only employed upon non-essential work, of which there is always a large variety on any important landed property. Such was evidently the case upon the Colony last year. The first farm superintendent had shown special appreciation of the necessity for the most careful organisation of the hand labour, but unfortunately he died in December 1891. The financial results seem to show that his successor was unable at once to devise plans for profitable employment of this labour, except in gardening work. A third cause for the poor results was that no substantial addition to the area under cultivation had been made during the year. If greater attention had been given to this profitable work, at least 120 acres of the rough land should have been brought under cultivation without any addition to the expenses. This area might have yielded an additional income of £1000. Another cause of the diminished farm returns was from the planting of about forty acres of fruit. The actual cost of this work is charged to capital account, and may in the future yield productive revenue; but it prevents any appreciable return for the first year or two from the area so planted, which appears to include some of the best cultivated land. But the cause which must have made the most substantial difference to the revenue is the non-development of the minor industries, for it appears that there was practically no income from this source. It must be remembered that there is darkness during some of the

working hours of each day for four months; and there will probably be some weeks of frost, with days of continuous rain every year. During the whole of this time outdoor work is either unprofitable or impossible. There are also certain to be periods when field work is not a necessity, even when the weather is favourable. It was in consequence of these circumstances that so much prominence was given to industries in the objects as printed in the first Report, and so much care taken in the arrangement of the technical training therein named. The system of paying cash grants in addition to maintenance might possibly have been stopped, if every man had been forced to adopt some industry, and allowed to retain for himself all that he earned from his industrial work. Even if no such important alteration could have been made, there can be little doubt that, with reasonable care, each man, in the time which it was impossible to utilise on outdoor work, could have made an average return of 2s. per week, as well as receive training which might have proved useful to him in the future. These industries could have been commenced in December 1891, and on the number of men kept up to the date of the Report the returns at the rate just named would have exceeded £1200. Yet no industries, except what were required for building work, have been in operation; and until the past winter no technical instruction had been given, nor assistance afforded for the commencement of these minor industries.\*

Can the Colony be made self-supporting? This should be considered, for if with all the special advantages it possesses men unskilled in agricultural work cannot be there maintained from the produce of their labour on the land, it must be admitted that no means can be devised by which this can be accomplished. The loss for the year, as before mentioned, proved to be over £1600. Before the possibility of the maintenance of the men can be shown, in addition to making up this amount, there must be a sufficient surplus to pay interest on capital, tithe, and rates, which together amount to about £1600 a year. Adding to these two sums a sufficient amount

\* In case it may be thought that the poor results from the sources of revenue named have been owing to oversight or neglect, I should point out that it was evidently considered the best course to develop on a large scale certain manufactures involving large capital outlay. In the expenditure of this capital the labour of the colonists has been largely used, the necessary result being the postponement of the development of the landed resources and non-introduction of productive industries. By comparison of the balance-sheets of November 30 1891 and September 30 1892, it appears that over £18,000 were spent in permanent works during that period of ten months. Some are of opinion that the greater part of this expenditure being upon a wharf, railway, brickworks, and large working plant was not of that character likely to directly achieve the objects of the Colony. The Special Committee of Inquiry considered it was too early to express an opinion upon this point. If the capital thus absorbed does not prevent the completion of the objects of the Colony, and returns in the future a profit perhaps of £2000 or £3000 a year, it may be thought to have been wisely expended, even though the diversion of the colonists' labour to the work involved in the capital outlay may have been the reason for such unfavourable results from the Colony last year.

to cover cost of general administration, we arrive at a total of about £4000. Can this additional revenue be made from the Colony without expenditure greater than last year? This I believe to be possible. If the capital expenditure on matters not affecting the land be now stopped; if attention be given to the profitable improvement of the land and raising therefrom the maximum amount of produce; if the horse labour be economised and the men more largely employed on the hand cultivation of ordinary crops; if poultry and other speculative branches involving much attention be abandoned; if the treatment or partial manufacture of the farm products be introduced instead of their being sold in the raw state; and if minor productive industries be organised for the utilisation of the time which must otherwise be spent in idleness during the year; then it will probably be agreed, after consideration of the foregoing, that it is possible to obtain the additional return named without an increase in the expenses. Some of these reforms are being carried out now, and the additional revenue is not impossible even during the current year. If this result be achieved, the possibility of a self-supporting colony would be made manifest. In any case, for the reasons stated, it cannot be considered that the Hadleigh Colony has shown such a result to be impossible of attainment.

Other results of the work should be referred to as affording useful experience for those taking into consideration the possibility of finding work for the unemployed on the land. In the first place, it has been proved that this class of men will work. The labour test of each man coming upon the Colony was digging gravel or excavating foundations. This, it will be admitted, was a test which would deter those who were afraid of hard labour from remaining upon the Colony, and yet less than ten per cent. of the men left during their trial period. The majority of the men, moreover, were found capable of executing land improvement work at a less cost than ordinary "navvy" labour, thus confirming the results of previous experiments showing that the labour of these men can be profitably used in this class of work. Then, having been trained by such employment, some of the men have been engaged on trenching and other branches of gardening work in which their labour has proved successful. Lastly, residence upon the Colony has undoubtedly better fitted men physically, mentally, and morally to obtain independent maintenance in the future. The greater number of the men arriving upon the Colony were of a most dependent class, and in an article by Mr. Francis Peek, in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* of last July, fear was expressed that the Colony would render them still more dependent. This does not appear to have been the case. The general wish of the men seems to be to do something for themselves. Some express dissatisfaction in consequence of the Over-Sea Colony not being acquired; but large



numbers are grateful for even the temporary assistance which the Colony has afforded them.

#### PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Having thus noticed the results of all the efforts which have been made, it is possible to form definite opinions as to the possibility of maintenance being found upon the land for men now unemployed. It is evident that if this be practicable, it must be in one of three different ways—viz., either by the men becoming (1) independent tenants of small holdings collected together with the view of obtaining the advantages of co-operation in working their land, and dealing with the produce; or (2) labourers banded together into a community, and working under the directions of an elected committee having control of the necessary capital; or (3) labourers employed by individuals or organisations finding the requisite money.

I believe the first to be possible, but too costly to be considered a practical scheme for supplying work in this country. Experience shows that with good land and under such favourable conditions as could ordinarily be secured for such a settlement here, the failures of Frederiksoord could be avoided. If then, not fewer than twenty-five tenants possessing the necessary knowledge were settled upon one property with six to seven acres of arable land each, they could secure a living. In order to do this, each tenant would have to possess experience, work his holding entirely by his own hand labour, and have a competent wife to assist him. An area of two to three acres would be sufficient by means of its produce to provide food for the family, and the remainder of the holding would be required for growing produce to be sold for payment of the other costs of the family and the farming expenses. To establish in this way competent and hard-working agricultural labourers who have saved money, but who under the present condition of agriculture cannot be certain of permanent employment, is a step which a private landowner with ample capital can safely take. For any committee to establish men on land specially purchased and laid out would require far too large an amount of capital to be considered a practicable scheme. The sum of £350 would be the lowest cost for land, buildings, and working capital for each man. Expenditure on land and buildings would not involve much risk, being under control of the capitalist. Of the working capital, however, £60 to £70 in cash or stock would have to be under the control of the tenant. If he found one-half this amount, there would be some security for the other portion. If, however, any man had proved his competency and found one-half the working capital, and if the greater part of the remainder of the £350 were found on no more onerous terms than

provided under the Small Holdings Act, yet the balance of the amount wanted, and the liabilities necessary to be undertaken, would generally be considered too heavy to allow of a Committee carrying out such a scheme.

The disadvantages of the second proposal have been previously noticed when referring to the objects of the Home Colonisation Society. The capital necessary would be considerably less than that required for independent holdings, but would be subject to greater risk.

When we come to consider the third method, experience has shown that it is practicable as a temporary expedient. The question, however, to be decided before expressing approval of such a plan is whether the results of providing self-supporting work in this manner will be worth the capital involved. This can only be determined after consideration of the best basis for carrying on the work in such a manner as to be self-supporting. The main features of the system to be adopted must be the same as those which are found in the German colonies—that is to say, the giving of work to any man who, being destitute, is prepared to give his services in exchange for his maintenance only, and assisting him in every way possible while on the farm, in order that in the future he may be better able to get an independent livelihood.

The first thing necessary is to obtain a suitable estate. This should be a property with some area in cultivation; but the greater part must be cheap, improvable land of a character capable of tillage. This can be readily secured, for unfortunately at the present time there are many large tracts of land of good quality which, through being situated in districts not readily accessible, or having inferior buildings, are either entirely unfarmed or in a poor condition of cultivation. On obtaining such a property, the ordinary amount of farming capital would be requisite for the part in cultivation. For such improvable land as required nothing to be done but breaking up the rough grass before being cropped, a sum of £4 per acre would be necessary. This sum is sufficient to pay for breaking-up by steam-power, and subsequently preparing for a crop by hand labour. If land could be found at a still cheaper price which required embanking or draining, or any other work upon which rough labour could be profitably employed, it would be specially desirable. The estate having been obtained, shelters would first be erected for the men. These, if carefully designed, would cost about £15 for each man. Then workshops would have to be provided which, with the working capital necessary for the industries, would cost a further £10 to £12 for each man. The colony having thus been equipped, men could be received who had passed a labour test. Only such a number should be admitted as could be maintained upon the net returns of the farm,

and upon the money to be expended in the land improvement work. At the commencement, the men who were physically equal to outdoor employment would be engaged on the rough landed work, and those who were not so fitted would be employed in the industrial departments. The cultivated portion would at first be worked under the ordinary system, being more especially used for growing the produce needed for consumption by those upon the settlement, and crops such as flax, which would employ labour in their after-treatment. As the rough land was broken up and brought under cropping, the productive powers of the property would be raised, the number of men being correspondingly increased, and those who had proved to be efficient workers could be placed to work upon the cultivated portion, gradually displacing horse labour. With good management even these unskilled men would be able to give work which would yield more returns than would pay for their maintenance. Assuming, as an example, that 900 acres were in cultivation, these could be worked by from 120 to 150 men with the assistance of occasional steam power. If all produce consumed by the men were credited to the farm at market prices, then taking into account the garden and special crops that could be grown, and the extra yield from hand husbandry, this area would certainly give a return of £8000. The interest on capital and the total farm expenses, excluding hand labour, would not exceed £1000, leaving a balance of £4000, which would suffice for the expenses of maintenance of 220 men. This would be more than the number actually needed, but would provide for loss of time on fresh men and for their trial. Any surplus labour would then go to increasing the capital value of the property. Then there would be the value of the time spent on industries. This, after paying costs of administration, might belong individually to the men, and the sum thus gained would assist them in their future life. The differences which would render such a colony self-supporting as compared with the German Farm Labour Colonies which are not so, would be the better quality of the land, the greater use of hand culture, increased experience in the management of the work, the introduction of industries, and the improvement in certain administrative details.

In order to determine the capital required for a colony on this basis, we will assume the acquisition of 1200 acres of land upon which eventually 300 men might be maintained. The housing arrangements for the number named would cost £4500, workshops and working capital for industries £3500, farming capital £6000, and if the land with any capital expenditure immediately necessary upon the same cost £16,000, the total amount necessary would thus be £30,000. This, in my opinion, would be sufficient, although I am well aware that the total capital expenditure on the Hadleigh Farm

Colony is more than twice this sum. Are the results worth the expenditure of this large amount? Probably not, if the sum needed is to be taken from funds which would otherwise be devoted to charity in a more direct manner. If, however, the amount be looked upon in the nature of an investment of capital, it is a matter for consideration whether it would not be desirable for our Local Poor-Law authorities to take up the matter. The London County Council has recently spent £20,000 in providing a lodging-house for 300 men. Surely similar sums would be obtainable for work as certainly productive of revenue, when the land, which must increase in value in consequence of hand tillage, and which at the same time would lessen the cost of casual relief; would give to a destitute man a chance of earning that maintenance which he would otherwise only get by becoming dependent on public or private charity; would afford the best possible test as to whether a destitute man was a lazy tramp, or an honest worker worthy of future assistance; and lastly, if of the latter class, would provide an opportunity of assisting him to gain an independent life in the future. It was because these results were considered worthy of achievement that the settlement at Bielefeld was initiated nearly fifteen years ago; and it is because it has proved useful that twenty-one farm colonies have been founded in Germany since that date. As we are in a position to obtain similar results on a self-supporting basis, is it not possible that some English capitalists in co-operation with Local Poor-Law authorities are prepared to make the experiment in this country?

It has been mentioned that the work on the land under such a scheme will only be a temporary expedient. No man of good powers would be satisfied to remain for a lengthened period on the terms named. When he had been relieved from absolute destitution by the work thus temporarily provided, he would be helped to start again in life. This might be in a trade in which he had previously worked, but which illness or other cause had temporarily forced him to give up; it might be in some industry for which he had received training while on the colony, or for which he could be supplied there with the necessary tools; or it might be as a gardener or labourer on land in some form in this country. But the best opening for the majority would probably be emigration. The work each man would do upon the colony would be of a nature which would test his capabilities, and give him some experience in that class of labour which, as a settler in a new country he would have to do. He would thus be far better qualified for emigration than many now being assisted abroad by various emigration societies. To establish a man on a small holding in this country, if even only as a tenant, would be, as has already been pointed out, too costly a step to undertake. In a new country the land can be obtained for a nominal payment, and the sum necessary for the

erection of the buildings, with working capital and maintenance for the first year, would be less than one-half what would be required in this country for the same purpose. Moreover, the possession of the freehold of the land, which, if well selected, would increase in value, would give a better security than could be given by a small tenant in England. The comforts of life would be less and the work harder than in this country, but the additional reward not obtainable here would be the freehold value of a comparatively large property.

It seems therefore, on consideration of previous experience, that though it is impossible to find any means of permanent occupation, or independent establishment of the unemployed upon the land in this country, yet it would be possible to provide rough landed work by doing which men could be maintained without dependence upon charity. Further, it would appear that such work and the general industries provided would afford useful training and experience, especially to those who wished to be established upon land abroad, a course which is financially practicable.

HAROLD E. MOORE.

## THE INADEQUACY OF "NATURAL SELECTION."

*(Concluded.)*

**A**LONG with that inadequacy of natural selection to explain changes of structure which do not aid life in important ways, alleged in § 166 of "The Principles of Biology," a further inadequacy was alleged. It was contended that the relative powers of co-operative parts cannot be adjusted solely by survival of the fittest; and especially where the parts are numerous and the co-operation complex. In illustration it was pointed out that immensely developed horns, such as those of the extinct Irish elk, weighing over a hundred-weight, could not, with the massive skull bearing them, be carried at the extremity of the outstretched neck without many and great modifications of adjacent bones and muscles of the neck and thorax; and that without strengthening of the fore-legs, too, there would be failure alike in fighting and in locomotion. And it was argued that while we cannot assume spontaneous increase of all these parts proportionate to the additional strains, we cannot suppose them to increase by variation one at once, without supposing the creature to be disadvantaged by the weight and nutrition of parts that were for the time useless—parts, moreover, which would revert to their original sizes before the other needful variations occurred.

When, in reply to me, it was contended that co-operative parts vary together, I named facts conflicting with this assertion—the fact that the blind crabs of the Kentucky caves have lost their eyes but not the foot-stalks carrying them; the fact that the normal proportion between tongue and beak in certain selected varieties of pigeons is lost; the fact that lack of concomitance in decrease of jaws and teeth in sundry kinds of pet dogs, has caused great crowding of the teeth ("The Factors of Organic Evolution," pp. 12, 13). And I then argued that if co-operative parts, small in number and so closely

associated as these are, do not vary together, it is, unwarrantable to allege that co-operative parts which are very numerous and remote from one another vary together. After making this rejoinder I enforced my argument by a further example—that of the giraffe. Tacitly recognising the truth that the unusual structure of this creature must have been, in its more conspicuous traits, the result of survival of the fittest (since it is absurd to suppose that efforts to reach a high branch could lengthen the legs), I illustrated afresh the obstacles to co-adaptation. Not dwelling on the objection that increase of any components of the fore-quarters out of adjustment to the others would cause evil rather than good, I went on to argue that the co-adaptation of parts required to make the giraffe's structure useful, is much greater than at first appears. This animal has a grotesque gallop, necessitated by the great difference in length between the fore and the hind limbs. I pointed out that the mode of action of the hind limbs shows that the bones and muscles have all been changed in their proportions and adjustments; and I contended that, difficult as it is to believe that all parts of the fore-quarters have been co-adapted by the appropriate variations now of this part, now of that, it becomes impossible to believe that all the parts in the hind-quarters have been simultaneously co-adapted to one another and to all the parts of the fore-quarters: adding that want of co-adaptation, even in a single muscle, would cause fatal results when high speed had to be maintained while escaping from an enemy.

Since this argument, repeated with this fresh illustration, was published in 1886, I have met with nothing to be called a reply; and might, I think, if convictions usually followed proofs, leave the matter as it stands. It is true that, in his "Darwinism," Mr. Wallace has adverted to my renewed objection and, as already said, contended that changes such as those instanced can be effected by natural selection, since such changes can be effected by artificial selection: a contention which, as I have pointed out, assumes a parallelism that does not exist. But now, instead of pursuing the argument further along the same line, let me take a somewhat different line.

If there occurs some change in an organ, say, by increase of its size, which adapts it better to the creature's needs, it is admitted that when, as commonly happens, the use of the organ demands the co-operation of other organs, the change in it will generally be of no service unless the co-operative organs are changed. If, for instance, there takes place such a modification of a rodent's tail as that which, by successive increases, produces the trowel-shaped tail of the beaver, no advantage will be derived unless there also take place certain modifications in the bulks and shapes of the adjacent vertebræ and their attached muscles, as well, probably, as in the hind limbs, enabling them to withstand the reactions of the blows given by the

tail. And the question is, by what process these many parts, changed in different degrees, are co-adapted to the new requirements—whether variation and natural selection alone can effect the readjustment. There are three conceivable ways in which the parts may simultaneously change:—(1) they may all increase or decrease together in like degrees; (2) they may all simultaneously increase or decrease independently, so as not to maintain their previous proportions or assume any other special proportions; (3) they may vary in such ways and degrees as to make them jointly serviceable for the new end. Let us consider closely these several conceivabilities.

And first of all, what are we to understand by co-operative parts? In a general sense, all the organs of the body are co-operative parts, and are respectively liable to be more or less changed by change in any one. In a narrower sense, more directly relevant to the argument, we may, if we choose to multiply difficulties, take the entire framework of bones and muscles as formed of co-operative parts; for these are so related that any considerable change in the actions of some entails change in the actions of most others. It needs only to observe how, when putting out an effort, there goes, along with a deep breath, an expansion of the chest and a bracing up of the abdomen, to see that various muscles beyond those directly concerned are strained along with them. Or, when suffering from lumbago, an effort to lift a chair will cause an acute consciousness that not the arms only are brought into action, but also the muscles of the back. These cases show how the motor organs are so tied together that altered actions of some implicate others quite remote from them.

But without using the advantage which this interpretation of the words would give, let us take as co-operative organs those which are obviously such—the organs of locomotion. What, then, shall we say of the fore and hind limbs of terrestrial mammals, which co-operate closely and perpetually? Do they vary together? If so, how have there been produced such contrasted structures as that of the kangaroo, with its large hind limbs and small fore limbs, and that of the giraffe, in which the hind limbs are small and the fore limbs large—how does it happen that, descending from the same primitive mammal, these creatures have diverged in the proportions of their limbs in opposite directions? Take, again, the articulate animals. Compare one of the lower types, with its rows of almost equal-sized limbs, and one of the higher types, as a crab or a lobster, with limbs some very small and some very large. How came this contrast to arise in the course of evolution, if there was the equality of variation supposed?

But now let us narrow the meaning of the phrase still further; giving it a more favourable interpretation: Instead of considering separate limbs as co-operative, let us consider the component parts of the same limb as co-operative, and ask what would result from varying



together. It would in that case happen that, though the fore and hind limbs of a mammal might become different in their sizes, they would not become different in their structures. If so, how have there arisen the unlikeness between the hind legs of the kangaroo and those of the elephant? Or if this comparison is objected to, because the creatures belong to the widely different divisions of implacental and placental mammals, take the cases of the rabbit and the elephant, both belonging to the last division. On the hypothesis of evolution these are both derived from the same original form, but the proportions of the parts have become so widely unlike that the corresponding joints are scarcely recognised as such by the unobservant: at what seem corresponding places the legs bend in opposite ways. Equally marked, or more marked, is the parallel fact among the *Articulata*. Take that limb of the lobster which bears the claw and compare it with the corresponding limb in an inferior articulate animal, or the corresponding limb of its near ally, the crayfish, and it becomes obvious that the component segments of the limb have come to bear to one another in the one case proportions immensely different from those they bear in the other case. Undeniably, then, on contemplating the general facts of organic structure, we see that the concomitant variations in the parts of limbs have not been of a kind to produce equal amounts of change in them, but quite the opposite—have been everywhere producing inequalities. Moreover, we are reminded that this production of inequalities among co-operative parts, is an essential principle of development. Had it not been so, there could not have been that progress from homogeneity of structure to heterogeneity of structure which constitutes evolution.

We pass now to the second supposition:—that the variations in co-operative parts occur irregularly, or in such independent ways that they bear no definite relations to one another—miscellaneously, let us say. This is the supposition which best corresponds with the facts. Glances at the faces around yield conspicuous proofs. Many of the muscles of the face and some of the bones, are distinctly co-operative; and these respectively vary in such ways as to produce in each person a different combination. What we see in the face we have reason to believe holds in the limbs as in all other parts. Indeed, it needs but to compare people whose arms are of the same lengths, and observe how stumpy are the fingers of one and how slender those of another; or it needs but to note the unlikeness of gait of passers-by, implying small unlikenesses of structure; to be convinced that the relations among the variations of co-operative parts are anything but fixed. And now, confining our attention to limbs, let us consider what must happen if, by variations taking place miscellaneously, limbs have to be partially changed from fitness for one function to fitness for another function—have to be re-adapted. That the reader

may fully comprehend the argument, he must here have patience while a good many anatomical details are set down.

Let us suppose a species of quadruped of which the members have for long past periods been accustomed to locomotion over a relatively even surface, as, for instance, the "prairie-dogs" of North America; and let us suppose that increase of numbers has driven part of them into a region full of obstacles to easy locomotion—covered, say, by the decaying stems of fallen trees, such as one sees in portions of primeval forest. Ability to leap must become a useful trait; and, according to the hypothesis we are considering; this ability will be produced by the selection of favourable variations. What are the variations required? A leap is effected chiefly by the bending of the hind limbs so as to make sharp angles at the joints, and then suddenly straightening them; as any one may see on watching a cat leap on to the table. The first required change, then, is increase of the large extensor muscles, by which the hind limbs are straightened. Their increases must be duly proportioned, for if those which straighten one joint become much stronger than those which straighten the other joint, the result must be collapse of the other joint when the muscles are contracted together. But let us make a large admission, and suppose these muscles to vary together; what further muscular change is next required? In a plantigrade mammal the metatarsal bones chiefly bear the reaction of the leap, though the toes may have a share. In a digitigrade mammal, however, the toes form almost exclusively the fulcrum, and if they are to bear the reaction of a higher leap, the flexor muscles which depress and bend them must be proportionately enlarged; if not, the leap will fail from want of a firm *point d'appui*. Tendons as well as muscles must be modified; and, among others, the many tendons which go to the digits and their phalanges. Stronger muscles and tendons imply greater strains on the joints; and unless these are strengthened, one or other dislocation will be caused by a more powerful spring. Not only the articulations themselves must be so modified as to bear greater stress, but also the numerous ligaments which hold the parts of each in place. Nor can the bodies of the bones remain unstrengthened; for if they have no more than the strengths needed for previous movements they will fail to bear more violent movements. Thus, saying nothing of the required changes in the pelvis as well as in the nerves and blood-vessels, there are, counting bones, muscles, tendons, ligaments, at least fifty different parts in each hind leg which have to be enlarged. Moreover, they have to be enlarged in unlike degrees. The muscles and tendons of the outer toes, for example, need not be added to so much as those of the median toes. Now, throughout their successive stages of growth, all these parts have to be kept fairly well balanced; as any one may infer on remem-

bering sundry of the accidents he has known. Among my own friends I could name one who, when playing lawn-tennis, snapped the Achilles tendon; another who, while swinging his children, tore some of the muscular fibres in the calf of his leg; another who, in getting over a fence, tore a ligament of one knee. Such facts, joined with every one's experiences of sprains, show that during the extreme exertions to which limbs are now and then subject, there is a giving way of parts not quite up to the required level of strength. How, then, is this balance to be maintained? Suppose the extensor muscles have all varied appropriately; their variations are useless unless the other co-operative parts have also varied appropriately. Worse than this. Saying nothing of the disadvantage caused by extra weight and cost of nutrition, they will be causes of mischief—causes of derangement to the rest by contracting with undue force. And then, how long will it take for the rest to be brought into adjustment? As Mr. Darwin says concerning domestic animals:—"Any particular variation would generally be lost by crossing, reversion, &c. . . . unless carefully preserved by man." In a state of nature, then, favourable variations of these muscles would disappear again long before one or a few of the co-operative parts could be appropriately varied, much more before all of them could.

With this insurmountable difficulty goes a difficulty still more insurmountable—if the expression may be allowed. It is not a question of increased sizes of parts only, but of altered shapes of parts, too. A glance at the skeletons of mammals shows how unlike are the forms of the corresponding bones of their limbs; and shows that they have been severally remoulded in each species to the different requirements entailed by its different habits. The change from the structures of hind limbs fitted only for walking and trotting to hind limbs fitted also for leaping, implies, therefore, that along with strengthenings of bones there must go alterations in their forms. Now the spontaneous alterations of form which may take place in any bone are countless. How long, then, will it be before there takes place that particular alteration which will make the bone fitter for its new action? And what is the probability that the many required changes of shape, as well as of size, in bones will each of them be effected before all the others are lost again? If the probabilities against success are incalculable, when we take account only of changes in the sizes of parts, what shall we say of their incalculableness when differences of form also are taken into account?

"Surely this piling up of difficulties has gone far enough"; the reader will be inclined to say. By no means. There is a difficulty immeasurably transcending those named. We have thus far omitted the second half of the leap, and the provisions to be made for it. After ascent of the animal's body comes descent; and the greater the

force with which it is projected up, the greater is the force with which it comes down. Hence, if the supposed creature has undergone such changes in the hind limbs as will enable them to propel it to a greater height, without having undergone any changes in the fore limbs, the result will be that on its descent the fore limbs will give way, and it will come down on its nose. The fore limbs, then, have to be changed simultaneously with the hind. How changed? Contrast the markedly bent hind limbs of a cat with its almost straight fore limbs, or contrast the silence of the upward spring on to the table with the thud which the fore paws make as it jumps off the table. See how unlike the actions of the hind and fore limbs are, and how unlike their structures. In what way, then, is the required co-adaptation to be effected? Even were it a question of relative sizes only, there would be no answer; for facts already given show that we may not assume simultaneous increases of size to take place in the hind and fore limbs; and, indeed, a glance at the various human races, which differ considerably in the ratios of their legs to their arms, shows us this. But it is not simply a question of sizes. To bear the increased shock of descent the fore limbs must be changed throughout in their structures. Like those in the hind limbs, the changes must be of many parts in many proportions; and they must be both in sizes and in shapes. More than this. The scapular arch and its attached muscles must also be strengthened and remoulded. See, then, the total requirements. We must suppose that by natural selection of miscellaneous variations, the parts of the hind limbs shall be co-adapted to one another, in sizes, shapes and ratios; that those of the fore limbs shall undergo co-adaptations similar in their complexity, but dissimilar in their kinds; and that the two sets of co-adaptations shall be effected *pari passu*. If, as may be held, the probabilities are millions to one against the first set of changes being achieved, then it may be held that the probabilities are billions to one against the second being simultaneously achieved, in progressive adjustment to the first.

There remains only to notice the third conceivable mode of adjustment. It may be imagined that though, by the natural selection of miscellaneous variations, these adjustments cannot be effected, they may nevertheless be made to take place appropriately. How made? To suppose them so made is to suppose that the prescribed end is somewhere recognised; and that the changes are step by step simultaneously proportioned for achieving it—is to suppose a designed production of these changes. In such case, then, we have to fall back in part upon the primitive hypothesis; and if we do this in part, we may as well do it wholly—may as well avowedly return to the doctrine of special creations.

What, then, is the only defensible interpretation? If such modifications of structure produced by modifications of function as we see

take place in each individual, are in any measure transmissible to descendants, then all these co-adaptations, from the simplest up to the most complex, are accounted for. In some cases this inheritance of acquired characters suffices by itself to explain the facts; and in other cases it suffices when taken in combination with the selection of favourable variations. An example of the first class is furnished by the change just considered; and an example of the second class is furnished by the case before named of development in a deer's horns. If, by some extra massiveness spontaneously arising, or by formation of an additional "point," an advantage is gained either for attack or defence, then, if the increased muscularity and strengthened structure of the neck and thorax, which wielding of these somewhat heavier horns produces, are in a greater or less degree inherited, and in several successive generations, are by this process brought up to the required extra strength, it becomes possible and advantageous for a further increase of the horns to take place, and a further increase in the apparatus for wielding them, and so on continuously. By such processes only, in which each part gains strength in proportion to function, can co-operative parts be kept in adjustment, and be readjusted to meet new requirements. Close contemplation of the facts impresses me more strongly than ever with the two alternatives—either there has been inheritance of acquired characters, or there has been no evolution.

This very pronounced opinion will be met on the part of some by a no less pronounced demurrer, which involves a denial of possibility. It has been of late asserted, and by many believed, that inheritance of acquired characters cannot occur. Weismann, they say, has shown that there is early established in the evolution of each organism, such a distinctness between those component units which carry on the individual life and those which are devoted to maintenance of the species, that changes in the one cannot affect the other. We will look closely into his doctrine.

Basing his argument on the principle of the physiological division of labour, and assuming that the primary division of labour is that between such part of an organism as carries on individual life and such part as is reserved for the production of other lives, Weismann, starting with "the first multicellular organism," says that—"Hence the single group would come to be divided into two groups of cells, which may be called somatic and reproductive—the cells of the body as opposed to those which are concerned with reproduction" ("Essays upon Heredity, p. 27).

Though he admits that this differentiation "was not at first absolute, and indeed is not always so to-day," yet he holds that the differentiation eventually becomes absolute in the sense that the somatic cells, or those which compose the body at large, come to

have only a limited power of cell-division, instead of an unlimited power which the reproductive cells have ; and also in the sense that eventually there ceases to be any communication between the two, further than that implied by the supplying of nutriment to the reproductive cells by the somatic cells. The outcome of this argument is that, in the absence of communication, changes induced in the somatic cells, constituting the individual, cannot influence the natures of the reproductive cells, and cannot therefore be transmitted to posterity. Such is the theory. Now let us look at a few facts—some familiar, some unfamiliar.

His investigations led Pasteur to the positive conclusion that the silkworm diseases are inherited. The transmission from parent to offspring resulted, not through any contamination of the surface of the egg by the body of the parent while being deposited, but resulted from infection of the egg itself—intrusion of the parasitic organism. Generalised observations concerning the disease called *pébrine* enabled him to decide by inspection of the eggs which were infected and which were not : certain modifications of form distinguishing the diseased ones. More than this, the infection was proved by microscopical examination of the contents of the egg ; in proof of which he quotes as follows from Dr. Carlo Vittadini :—

“ Il résulte de mes recherches sur les graines, à l'époque où commence le développement du germe, que les corpuscules, une fois apparus dans l'œuf, augmentent graduellement en nombre, à mesure que l'embryon se développe ; que, dans les derniers jours de l'incubation, l'œuf en est plein, au point de faire croire que la majeure partie des granules du jaune se sont transformés en corpuscules.

“ Une autre observation importante est que l'embryon aussi est souillé de corpuscules, et à un degré tel qu'on peut soupçonner que l'infection du jaune tire son origine du germe lui-même ; en d'autres termes que le germe est primordialement infecté, et porte en lui-même ces corpuscules tout comme les vers adultes, frappés du même mal.” \*

Thus, then, the substance of the egg, and even its innermost vital part, is permeable by a parasite sufficiently large to be microscopically visible. It is also of course permeable by the invisible molecules of protein, out of which its living tissues are formed, and by absorption of which they subsequently grow. But, according to Weismann, it is not permeable by those invisible units of protoplasm out of which the vitally-active tissues of the parent are constituted : units composed, as we must assume, of variously-arranged molecules of protein. So that the big thing may pass, and the little thing may pass, but the intermediate thing may not pass !

A fact of kindred nature, unhappily more familiar, may be next brought in evidence. It concerns the transmission of a disease not unfrequent among those of unregulated lives. The highest authority concerning this disease, in its inherited form, is Mr. Jonathan

\* “ Les Maladies des Vers à soie,” par L. Pasteur, i. 39.

Hutchinson; and the following are extracts from a letter I have received from him, and which I publish with his assent.

"I do not think that there can be any reasonable doubt that a very large majority of those who suffer from inherited syphilis take the taint from the male parent. . . . It is the rule when a man marries who has no remaining local lesion, but in whom the taint is not eradicated, for his wife to remain apparently well, whilst her child may suffer. No doubt the child infects its mother's blood, but this does not usually evoke any obvious symptoms of syphilis. . . . I am sure I have seen hundreds of syphilitic infants whose mothers had not, so far as I could ascertain, ever displayed a single symptom."

See, then, to what we are committed if we accept Weismann's hypothesis. We must conclude that, whereas the reproductive cell may be effectually invaded by an abnormal living element in the parental organism, those normal living elements which constitute the vital protoplasm of the parental organism, cannot invade it. Or if it be admitted that both intrude, then the implication is that, whereas the abnormal element can so modify the development as to cause changes of structure (as of the teeth), the normal element can cause no changes of structure! \*

We pass now to evidence not much known in the world at large, but widely known in the biological world, though known in so incomplete a manner as to be undervalued in it. Indeed, when I name it probably many will vent a mental pooh-pooh. The fact to which I refer is one of which record is preserved in the museum of the College of Surgeons, in the shape of paintings of a foal borne by a mare not quite thoroughbred, to a sire which was thoroughbred—a foal which bears the markings of the quagga. The history of this remarkable foal is given by the Earl of Morton, F.R.S., in a letter to the President of the Royal Society (read November 23, 1820). In it he states that wishing to domesticate the quagga, and having obtained a male, but not a female, he made an experiment.

"I tried to breed from the male quagga and a young chestnut mare of seven-eighths Arabian blood, and which had never been bred from; the result was the production of a female hybrid, now five years old, and bearing, both in her form and in her colour, very decided indications of her mixed origin. I subsequently parted with the seven-eighths Arabian mare to Sir Gore Ouseley, who has bred from her by a very fine black Arabian horse. I

\* Curiously enough, Weismann refers to, and recognises, syphilitic infection of the reproductive cells. Dealing with Brown-Séquard's cases of inherited epilepsy (concerning which, let me say, that I do not commit myself to any derived conclusions), he says:—"In the case of epilepsy, at any rate, it is easy to imagine [many of Weismann's arguments are based on things 'it is easy to imagine'] that the passage of some specific organism through the reproductive cells may take place, as in the case of syphilis" (p. 82). Here is a sample of his reasoning. It is well known that epilepsy is frequently caused by some peripheral irritation (even by the lodging of a small foreign body under the skin), and that, among peripheral irritations causing it, imperfect healing is one. Yet though, in Brown-Séquard's cases, a peripheral irritation caused in the parent by local injury was the apparent origin, Weismann chooses gratuitously to assume that the progeny were infected by "some specific organism," which produced the epilepsy! And then, though the epileptic virus, like the syphilitic virus, makes itself at home in the egg, the parental protoplasm is not admitted!

yesterday morning examined the produce, namely, a two-year-old filly and a year-old colt. They have the character of the Arabian breed as decidedly as can be expected, where fifteen-sixteenths of the blood are Arabian; and they are fine specimens of that breed; but both in their colour and in the hair of their manes, they have a striking resemblance to the quagga. Their colour is bay, marked more or less like the quagga in a darker tint. Both are distinguished by the dark line along the ridge of the back, the dark stripes across the fore-hand, and the dark bars across the back part of the

Lord Morton then names sundry further correspondences. Dr. Wollaston, at that time President of the Royal Society, who had seen the animals, testified to the correctness of his description, and, as shown by his remarks, entertained no doubt about the alleged facts. But good reason for doubt may be assigned. There naturally arises the question—How does it happen that parallel results are not observed in other cases? If in any progeny certain traits not belonging to the sire, but belonging to a sire of preceding progeny, are re-produced, how is it that such anomalously-inherited traits are not observed in domestic animals, and indeed in mankind? How is it that the children of a widow by a second husband do not bear traceable resemblances of the first husband? To these questions nothing like satisfactory replies seem forthcoming; and, in the absence of replies, scepticism, if not disbelief, may be held reasonable.

There is an explanation, however. Forty years ago I made acquaintance with a fact which impressed me by its significant implications; and has, for this reason I suppose, remained in my memory. It is set forth in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, vol. xiv. (1853), pp. 214 *et seq.*, and concerns certain results of crossing English and French breeds of sheep. The writer of the translated paper, M. Malingié-Nouel, Director of the Agricultural School of La Charmoise, states that when the French breeds of sheep (in which were included "the *mongrel* Merinos") were crossed with an English breed, "the lambs present the following results. Most of them resemble the mother more than the father; some show no trace of the father." Joining the admission respecting the mongrels with the facts subsequently stated, it is tolerably clear that the cases in which the lambs bore no traces of the father were cases in which the mother was of pure breed. Speaking of the results of these crossings in the second generation "having 75 per cent. of English blood," M. Nouel says:—"The lambs thrive, wear a beautiful appearance, and complete the joy of the breeder. . . . No sooner are the lambs weaned than their strength, their vigour, and their beauty begin to decay. . . . At last the constitution gives way . . . he remains stunted for life:" the constitution being thus proved unstable or unadapted to the requirements. How, then, did M. Nouel succeed in obtaining a desirable

\* "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for the Year 1821," Part I. pp. 20-24.



combination of a fine English breed with the relatively poor French breeds?

"He took an animal from 'flocks originally sprung from a mixture of the two distinct races that are established in these two provinces [Berry and La Sologne],' and these he 'united with animals of another mixed breed . . . which blended the Tourangelle and native Merino blood of' La Beauce and Touraine, and obtained a mixture of all four races 'without decided character, without fixity . . . but possessing the advantage of being used to our climate and management.'

"Putting one of these 'mixed-blood ewes to a pure New-Kent ram . . . one obtains a lamb containing fifty-hundredths of the purest and most ancient English blood, with twelve and a half hundredths of four different French races, which are individually lost in the preponderance of English blood, and disappear almost entirely, leaving the improving type in the ascendant. . . . All the lambs produced strikingly resembled each other, and even Englishmen took them for animals of their own country."

M. Nouel goes on to remark that when this derived breed was bred with itself, the marks of the French breeds were lost. "Some slight traces could be detected by experts, but these soon disappeared."

Thus we get proof that relatively pure constitutions predominate in progeny over much mixed constitutions. The reason is not difficult to see. Every organism tends to become adapted to its conditions of life; and all the structures of a species, accustomed through multitudinous generations to the climate, food, and various influences of its locality, are moulded into harmonious co-operation favourable to life in that locality: the result being that in the development of each young individual, the tendencies conspire to produce the fit organisation. It is otherwise when the species is removed to a habitat of different character, or when it is of mixed breed. In the one case its organs, partially out of harmony with the requirements of its new life, become partially out of harmony with one another; since, while one influence, say of climate, is but little changed, another influence, say of food, is much changed; and, consequently, the perturbed relations of the organs interfere with their original stable equilibrium. Still more in the other case is there a disturbance of equilibrium. In a mongrel the constitution derived from each source repeats itself as far as possible. Hence a conflict of tendencies to evolve two structures more or less unlike. The tendencies do not harmoniously conspire; but produce partially incongruous sets of organs. And evidently where the breed is one in which there are united the traits of various lines of ancestry, there results an organisation so full of small incongruities of structure and action, that it has a much-diminished power of maintaining its balance; and while it cannot withstand so well adverse influences, it cannot so well hold its own in the offspring. Concerning parents of pure and mixed breeds respectively, severally tending to reproduce their own structures in progeny, we may therefore say, figuratively, that the house divided against itself cannot withstand the house of which the members are in concord.

Now if this is shown to be the case with breeds the purest of which have been adapted to their habitats and modes of life during some few hundred years only, what shall we say when the question is of a breed which has had a constant mode of life in the same locality for ten thousand years or more, like the quagga? In this the stability of constitution must be such as no domestic animal can approach. Relatively stable as may have been the constitutions of Lord Morton's horses, as compared with the constitutions of ordinary horses, yet, since Arab horses, even in their native country, have probably in the course of successive conquests and migrations of tribes become more or less mixed, and since they have been subject to the conditions of domestic life, differing much from the conditions of their original wild life, and since the English breed has undergone the perturbing effects of change from the climate and food of the East to the climate and food of the West, the organisations of the horse and mare in question could have had nothing like that perfect *harmonious co-operation* produced in the quagga by a hundred centuries of harmonious co-operation. Hence the result. And hence at the same time the interpretation of the fact that analogous phenomena are not perceived among domestic animals, or among ourselves; since both have relatively mixed, and generally extremely mixed, constitutions, which, as we see in ourselves, have been made generation after generation, not by the formation of a mean between two parents, but by the jumbling of traits of the one with traits of the other, until there exist no such conspiring tendencies among the parts as cause repetition of combined details of structure in posterity.

Expectation that scepticism might be felt respecting this alleged anomaly presented by the quagga-marked foal, had led me to think over the matter; and I had reached this interpretation before sending to the College of Surgeons Museum (being unable to go myself) to obtain the particulars and refer to the records. When there was brought to me a copy of the account as set forth in the "*Philosophical Transactions*," it was joined with the information that there existed an appended account of pigs, in which a parallel fact had been observed. To my immediate inquiry—"Was the male a wild pig?"—there came the reply: "I did not observe." Of course I forthwith obtained the volume, and there found what I expected. It was contained in a paper communicated by Dr. Wollaston from Daniel Giles, Esq., concerning his "sow and her produce," which said that

"she was one of a well-known black and white breed of Mr. Western, the Member for Essex. About ten years since I put her to a boar of the wild breed, and of a deep chestnut colour, which I had just received from Hatfield House, and which was soon afterwards drowned by accident. The pigs produced (which were her first litter) partook in appearance of both boar and sow, but in some the chestnut colour of the boar strongly prevailed.

"The sow was afterwards put to a boar of Mr. Western's breed (the wild boar having been long dead). The produce was a litter of pigs, some of

which, we observed with much surprise, to be stained and clearly marked with the chestnut colour which had prevailed in the former litter."

Mr. Giles adds that in a second litter of pigs, the father of which was of Mr. Western's breed, he and his bailiff believe there was a recurrence, in some, of the chestnut colour, but admits that their "recollection is much less perfect than I wish it to be." He also adds that, in the course of many years' experience, he had never known the least appearance of the chestnut colour in Mr. Western's breed.

What are the probabilities that these two anomalous results should have arisen, under these exceptional conditions, as a matter of chance? Evidently the probabilities against such a coincidence are enormous. The testimony is in both cases so good that, even apart from the coincidence, it would be unreasonable to reject it; but the coincidence makes acceptance of it imperative. There is mutual verification, at the same time that there is a joint interpretation yielded of the strange phenomenon, and of its non-occurrence under ordinary circumstances.

And now, in the presence of these facts, what are we to say? Simply that they are fatal to Weismann's hypothesis. They show that there is none of the alleged independence of the reproductive cells; but that the two sets of cells are in close communion. They prove that while the reproductive cells multiply and arrange themselves during the evolution of the embryo, some of their germ-plasm passes into the mass of somatic cells constituting the parental body, and becomes a permanent component of it. Further, they necessitate the inference that this introduced germ-plasm, everywhere diffused, is some of it included in the reproductive cells subsequently formed. And if we thus get a demonstration that the somewhat different units of a foreign germ-plasm permeating the organism, permeate also the subsequently-formed reproductive cells, and affect the structures of the individuals arising from them, the implication is that the like happens with those native units which have been made somewhat different by modified functions: there must be a tendency to inheritance of acquired characters.

One more step only has to be taken. It remains to ask what is the flaw in the assumption with which Weismann's theory sets out. If, as we see, the conclusions drawn from it do not correspond to the facts, then, either the reasoning is invalid, or the original postulate is untrue. Leaving aside all questions concerning the reasoning, it will suffice here to show the untruth of the postulate. Had his work been written during the early years of the cell-doctrine, the supposition that the multiplying cells of which the Metazoa and the Metaphyta are composed, become completely separate, could not have been met by a reasonable scepticism; but now, not only is scepticism justifiable, but denial is called for. Some dozen years ago it was discovered

that in many cases vegetal cells are connected with one another by threads of protoplasm—threads which unite the internal protoplasm of one cell with the internal protoplasm of cells around. It is as though the pseudopodia of imprisoned rhizopods were fused with the pseudopodia of adjacent imprisoned rhizopods. We cannot reasonably suppose that the continuous network of protoplasm thus constituted has been produced after the cells have become adult. These protoplasmic connections must have survived the process of fission. The implication is that the cells forming the embryo-plant retained their protoplasmic connections while they multiplied, and that such connections continued throughout all subsequent multiplications—an implication which has, I believe, been established by researches upon germinating palm-seeds. But now we come to a verifying series of facts which the cell-structures of animals in their early stages present. In his "Monograph of the Development of *Peripatus Capensis*," Mr. Adam Sedgwick, F.R.S., Reader in Animal Morphology at Cambridge, writes as follows:—

"All the cells of the ovum, ectodermal as well as endodermal, are connected together by a fine protoplasmic reticulum" (p. 11).

"The continuity of the various cells of the segmenting ovum is primary, and not secondary; *i.e.*, in the cleavage the segments do not completely separate from one another. But are we justified in speaking of cells at all in this case? *The fully segmented ovum is a syncytium, and there are not and have not been at any stage cell limits*" (p. 41).

"It is becoming more and more clear every day that the cells composing the tissues of animals are not isolated units, but that they are connected with one another. I need only refer to the connection known to exist between connective-tissue cells, cartilage cells, epithelial cells, &c. And not only may the cells of one tissue be continuous with each other, but they may also be continuous with the cells of other tissues" (pp. 47-8).

"Finally, if the protoplasm of the body is primitively a syncytium, and the ovum until maturity a part of that syncytium, the separation of the generative products does not differ essentially from the internal germination of a Protozoon, and the inheritance by the offspring of peculiarities first appearing in the parent, though not explained, is rendered less mysterious; for the protoplasm of the whole body being continuous, change in the molecular constitution of any part of it would naturally be expected to spread, in time, through the whole mass" (p. 49).

Mr. Sedgwick's subsequent investigations confirm these conclusions. In a letter of December 27, 1892, passages, which he allows me to publish, run as follows:—

"All the embryological studies that I have made since that to which you refer confirm me more and more in the view that the connections between the cells of adults are not secondary connections, but primary, dating from the time when the embryo was a unicellular structure. . . . My own investigations on this subject have been confined to the Arthropoda, Elasmobranchii, and Aves. I have thoroughly examined the development of at least one kind of each of these groups, and I have never been able to detect a stage in which the cells were not continuous with each other; and I have studied innumerable stages from the beginning of cleavage onwards."

So that the alleged independence of the reproductive cells does not exist. The *soma*—to use Weismann's name for the aggregate of cells forming the body—is, in the words of Mr. Sedgwick, "a continuous mass of vacuolated protoplasm;" and the reproductive cells are nothing more than portions of it separated some little time before they are required to perform their functions.

Thus the theory of Weismann is doubly disproved. Inductively we are shown that there *does* take place that communication of characters from the somatic cells to the reproductive cells, which he says cannot take place; and deductively we are shown that this communication is a natural sequence of connections between the two which he ignores: his various conclusions are deduced from a postulate which is untrue.

From the title of this essay, and from much of its contents, nine readers out of ten will infer that it is directed against the views of Mr. Darwin. They will be astonished on being told that, contrariwise, it is directed against the views of those who, in a considerable measure, dissent from Mr. Darwin. For the inheritance of acquired characters, which it is now the fashion in the biological world to deny, was, by Mr. Darwin, fully recognised and often insisted on. Such of the foregoing arguments as touch Mr. Darwin's views, simply imply that the cause of evolution which at first he thought unimportant, but the importance of which he increasingly perceived as he grew older, is more important than he admitted even at the last. The neo-Darwinists, however, do not admit this cause at all.

Let it not be supposed that this explanation implies any disapproval of the dissentients, considered as such. Seeing how little regard for authority I have myself usually shown, it would be absurd in me to reflect in any degree upon those who have rejected certain of Mr. Darwin's teachings, for reasons which they have thought sufficient. But while their independence of thought is to be applauded rather than blamed, it is, I think, to be regretted that they have not guarded themselves against a long-standing bias. It is a common trait of human nature to seek some excuse when found in the wrong. Invaded self-esteem sets up a defence, and anything is made to serve. Thus it happened that when geologists and biologists, previously holding that all kinds of organisms arose by special creations, surrendered to the battery opened upon them by "The Origin of Species," they sought to minimise their irrationality by pointing to irrationality on the other side. "Well, at any rate, Lamarck was in the wrong." "It is clear that we were right in rejecting his doctrine." And so, by duly emphasising the fact that he overlooked "Natural Selection" as the chief cause, and by showing how erroneous were some of his interpretations, they succeeded in mitigating the sense of their own error. It is true their creed was

that at successive periods in the Earth's history, old Floras and Faunas had been abolished and others introduced; just as though, to use Professor Huxley's figure, the table had been now and again kicked over and a new pack of cards brought out. And it is true that Lamarck, while he rejected this absurd creed, assigned for the facts reasons some of which are absurd. But in consequence of the feeling described, his defensible belief was forgotten and only his indefensible ones remembered. This one-sided estimate has become traditional; so that there is now often shown a subdued contempt for those who suppose that there can be any truth in the conclusions of a man whose general conception was partly sense, at a time when the general conceptions of his contemporaries were wholly nonsense. Hence results unfair treatment—hence result the different dealings with the views of Lamarck and of Weismann.

"Where are the facts proving the inheritance of acquired characters"? ask those who deny it. Well, in the first place, there might be asked the counter-question—Where are the facts which disprove it? Surely if not only the general structures of organisms, but also many of the modifications arising in them, are inheritable, the natural implication is that all modifications are inheritable; and if any say that the inheritableness is limited to those arising in a certain way, the *onus* lies on them of proving that those otherwise arising are not inheritable. Leaving this counter-question aside, however, it will suffice if we ask another counter-question. It is asserted that the dwindling of organs from disuse is due to the successive survivals in posterity of individuals in which the organs had varied in the direction of decrease. Where now are the facts supporting this assertion? Not one has been assigned or can be assigned. Not a single case can be named in which *panmixia* is a proved cause of diminution. Even had the deductive argument for *panmixia* been as valid as we have found it to be invalid, there would still have been required, in pursuance of scientific method, some verifying inductive evidence. Yet though not a shred of such evidence has been given, the doctrine is accepted with acclamation, and adopted as part of current biological theory. Articles are written and letters published in which it is assumed that this mere speculation, justified by not a tittle of proof, displaces large conclusions previously drawn. And then, passing into the outer world, this unsupported belief affects opinion there too; so that we have recently had a Right Honourable lecturer who, taking for granted its truth, represents the inheritance of acquired characters as an exploded hypothesis, and thereupon proceeds to give revised views of human affairs.

Finally, there comes the reply that there *are* facts proving the inheritance of acquired characters. All those assigned by Mr. Darwin, together with others such, remain outstanding when we find that

the interpretation by *pamnicia* is untenable. Indeed, even had that hypothesis been tenable, it would have been inapplicable to these cases; since in domestic animals, artificially fed and often overfed, the supposed advantage from economy cannot be shown to tell; and since, in these cases, individuals are not naturally selected during the struggle for life in which certain traits are advantageous, but are artificially selected by man without regard to such traits. Should it be urged that the assigned facts are not numerous, it may be replied that there are no persons whose occupations and amusements incidentally bring out such facts; and that they are probably as numerous as those which would have been available for Mr. Darwin's hypothesis, had there been no breeders and fanciers and gardeners who, in pursuit of their profits and hobbies, furnished him with evidence. It may be added that the required facts are not likely to be numerous, if biologists refuse to seek for them.

See, then, how the case stands. Natural selection, or survival of the fittest, is almost exclusively operative throughout the vegetal world and throughout the lower animal world, characterised by relative passivity. But with the ascent to higher types of animals, its effects are in increasing degrees involved with those produced by inheritance of acquired characters; until, in animals of complex structures, inheritance of acquired characters becomes an important, if not the chief, cause of evolution. We have seen that natural selection cannot work any changes in organisms save such as conduce in considerable degrees, directly or indirectly, to the multiplication of the stirp; whence failure to account for various changes ascribed to it. And we have seen that it yields no explanation of the co-adaptation of co-operative parts, even when the co-operation is relatively simple, and still less when it is complex. On the other hand, we see that if, along with the transmission of generic and specific structures, there tend to be transmitted modifications arising in a certain way, there is a strong *a priori* probability that there tend to be transmitted modifications arising in all ways. We have a number of facts confirming this inference, and showing that acquired characters are inherited—as large a number as can be expected, considering the difficulty of observing them and the absence of search. And then to these facts may be added the facts with which this essay set out, concerning the distribution of tactual discriminativeness. While we saw that these are inexplicable by survival of the fittest, we saw that they are clearly explicable as resulting from the inheritance of acquired characters. And here let it be added that this conclusion is conspicuously warranted by one of the methods of inductive logic, known as the method of concomitant variations. For throughout the whole series of gradations in perceptive power, we saw that the amount of the effect is proportionate to the amount of the alleged cause.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## THE POPE AND THE BIBLE.



I DEEPLY regret that by my paper on the "Policy of the Pope," which appeared in the October issue of this REVIEW, I contrived to pour abundant oil not, as I had fondly hoped, upon troubled waters, but upon tongues of consuming fire; and that the views which, in the interests of our Church and in the name of numerous co-religionists, I ventured respectfully there to put forward, are answerable for much wrath, bitterness, and, I fear, less venial sin. A reply to my paper—universally regarded as semi-official—appeared recently in Rome over the signature of the Rev. "Salvatore M. Brandi, of the Society of Jesus, Editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*," and is now being distributed broadcast in Europe and America.<sup>1</sup>

Having read that and other pamphlets, I owe it to my readers frankly to acknowledge, and sincerely to deplore, the circumstance, that when dealing with the political events of many years and many countries, the records of which were not at hand at the time of writing, certain inaccuracies unavoidably crept into my article; and I owe it to the advocates of the Papal policy to express my profound regret that these slips leave each and every one of my contentions as to the final aim and immediate results of the policy of our Holy Father absolutely unweakened and untouched.

And here the matter would naturally have rested, were it not for two unlooked-for circumstances, which will grievously pain every Catholic who refuses to admit that the spirit of our holy Church, in order to be orthodox, must necessarily be hostile to the truths of profane science, and that the methods of our theological controversialists, in order to be effective, must be potent solvents of the

<sup>1</sup> "Die Politik des Papstes Leo XIII., vertheidigt gegenüber der Contemporary Review, von P. Salvatore M. Brandi, S.J., Redakteur der *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1893," p. 17. All the following references are to the pages of this pamphlet.



principles of ethics. In the first place, the Rev. Father Brandi, S.J., proclaims the existence in the Church of a hitherto unknown agency warranted to discover, and empowered to impose, new articles of belief upon the "crowd of the faithful";<sup>1</sup> and he then goes on to prove by the help of overwhelming evidence, the cogency of which I am unable to impair, that some of the members of this new and important body, in their zeal for theological truth, display a very rudimentary sense of that veraciousness which plain people hold to be an indispensable condition of all relations between man and man.

In the course of my article, I repeated an assertion which many eminent members of our communion, like the late Cardinal Newman, had made over and over again in the course of their lives—namely, that no Catholic is bound to believe that it is absolutely indispensable to the weal of Catholicism that his Holiness should be the kinglet of a few thousands of discontented Italians, as well as the supreme Head of the whole Catholic Church. I might have gone further, and contended that no such proposition could possibly be the subject-matter of a revelation to Pope or Council; because the temporal power of the Pontiffs having been acquired centuries after the time of the Apostles, there can be no apostolic traditions on which to ground any such dogma. This line of reasoning, I take it, is simple and clear. We refuse to believe in the necessity of the temporal power of the Pope, for reasons which strongly appeal to our intellect, our humanity, and our religious sense. We would willingly waive these considerations, if the contrary proposition were embodied in a dogma obligatory upon all Catholics. This however, we submit, is out of the question, because the apostolic tradition, which is the indispensable basis of all such dogmas, never existed.

The reply to this argument is a declaration so astounding as, if true, to mark the beginning of a new era in the history of our Church. We were grievously mistaken, Father Brandi tells us, in supposing this question to be still open to discussion. It has been decided long ago, "solemnly decided, that the temporal power is necessary to the freedom of the Church," and "the crowd of the faithful"<sup>1</sup> must bow before the decision. And by what mysterious agency has this important truth been discovered and promulgated? By the "teaching Church," answers Father Brandi, "and for a Catholic that must suffice."<sup>2</sup>

If this be indeed the doctrine of the Catholic Church, I humbly submit to its ruling; but only on condition that the Copernican system of astronomy be proclaimed heretical and damnable. For it was the same "teaching Church" which condemned as false and heretical the proposition of the "starry Galileo" that the earth revolves round the sun and whenever non-Catholics attempt to impale

<sup>1</sup> "Die Menge der Gläubigen," p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> P. 17.

us on one of the horns of the dilemma:—either the Copernican system is false, or else the infallible Church was then mistaken, our only chance of escape is to protest that the “teaching Church” is not infallible, nor its views binding upon Catholics. It will not answer, even as a mere matter of policy, for our theologians in this last decade of the nineteenth century to blow hot in one case, and cold in the other. It must be either yea or nay; we cannot deny, in order to confound our enemies, what we affirm in order to convince our friends. And the thought that any such attempt should have been made by a venerable Father of the influential Order of the Jesuits, and at the very moment when his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan announces that he is about to begin his “gigantic task of converting thirty millions of Englishmen” to our faith,<sup>1</sup> sends a pang of despair to the heart of every zealous Catholic. Tactics of this kind are eminently calculated to render the missionary’s task more difficult, and provoke disheartening replies similar to that made by an uneducated Englishwoman, to the priest who endeavoured to induce her to enter our communion: “I shouldn’t object so strongly to the Catholic Church, if it were not for oracular confusion; but that goes against the grain of the English people.”

It does, and likewise against the grain of all fair-minded people, whatever their nationality or religion. As a Catholic, I protest against such methods in the name of thousands of my co-religionists. We refuse to accept the doctrine that the belief of the “teaching Church” at any given time suffices, without Œcumenical Council or Papal declaration *ex cathedrâ*, to transform a mere opinion into a binding dogma, which the *infallible* Church will be at liberty to disavow whenever it is proved false. If the necessity of the temporal power of the Pope is indeed such a momentous truth that our eternal salvation depends on our professing it, and if, as Father Brandi declares, his Holiness is truly competent to make it the subject of an infallible declaration *ex cathedrâ*, then in God’s name let it be promulgated at once and opposition silenced for ever.

Circumstances may possibly arise which render it imperative to believe what it is dangerous to discuss, and may afterwards be convenient to deny; but we cannot admit that an isolated case should be made the basis of an elaborate system, for the purpose of turning out one-sided dogmas which seriously hamper our reason without contributing to the purity of our faith. For the ease with which all such provisional articles of belief, when once they have served their purpose, are relegated to the limbo of pious opinions, has an insidious tendency to undermine our respect for the sacredness of all truth. I will illustrate my meaning by an instance suggested by Father Brandi’s

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Vaughan is reported in the London papers to have publicly announced in Rome that he was about to return to England, to begin his gigantic task of converting thirty millions of his countrymen to Catholicism.

reply which, though not on all-fours with these provisional dogmas, appeals in a special way to English readers, and is sufficiently apposite for my purpose. I stated in my article that in 1825, when the question of Catholic Emancipation was before the public, and fears were entertained that the Pope might claim a right to interfere in politics, several of our bishops and archbishops declared upon oath before a Select Committee of the House that the Roman Pontiff possessed not the shadow of a right to meddle in political questions. Archbishop Murray, and I might have added Bishop Doyle, went so far as to depose that bishops and priests were under no obligation to obey his Holiness in any but purely religious and ecclesiastical matters. I deliberately reiterate that statement now, reinforcing it by the reminder that these declarations were again brought forward in the *Times* newspaper during the Pallium discussion last autumn, for the express purpose of dispelling the reviving fears of English Protestants. On the faith of these solemn assurances, the Catholic Emancipation Bill became law. And now the accredited spokesman of the "teaching Church," a member of our most learned order of priests, smiles away the oaths of our bishops as if they were but the idle gossip of garrulous costermongers. In point of fact, he suggests that the whole story is apocryphal. "Where and when Archbishop Murray gave expression to this *error* we know not," he observes; and then courteously adds, "and according to all appearances the anonymous writer<sup>1</sup> is equally in the dark on the subject."<sup>2</sup>

This flippant attitude towards momentous questions and solemn actions is repellent to the moral temperament of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon Catholics, who have been taught to listen with trust to the assurances of a national episcopacy and to speak with respect of the sacredness of an oath.

There is one other aspect of the question which, in the interests of the Church, we cannot afford to make light of. The people who claim this novel right of erecting new dogmatic barriers between the "crowd of the faithful" and heaven, the dogmatopœic agency, if I may be permitted to coin a word, are exclusively theologians. They alone claim the right which they alone would exercise. And if we reflect that at the present moment all Catholic theologians, without exception, are taught, guided and influenced by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who now put forward this strange claim, we must be prepared to admit, should the claim be allowed, that nothing but the well-known tact, sagacity and fine moral sense of this one body

<sup>1</sup>This is one of the names by which Father Brandi alludes to me. He declares his belief, however, that I am a member of the Austro-Hungarian Diplomatic Corps (p. 3), and generally speaks of me as a diplomatist. The Hungarian and Austrian press is equally certain that I am an Austro-Hungarian prelate.

<sup>2</sup> P. 21. "Wo und wann der Erzbischof Murray diesen Irrthum ausgesprochen hat, wissen wir nicht, aber allem Anschein nach scheint der Anonymus es auch nicht zu wissen."

of men will stand between us and a deluge of doubtful dogmas imposed without a due regard for their bearing upon the broad facts of every-day life. That this fear does not spring from a timorous imagination will be painfully evident when I come to speak of the dogmatising action of the "teaching Church" in questions appertaining to Biblical criticism. At this stage one instance will suffice of the intellectual slovenliness with which articles of belief are formulated for the benefit of the whole "crowd"; slovenliness which reminds one of the mental attitude of the absent-minded lecturer who eloquently descanted upon the unutterable feelings of joy with which Columbus's father and mother must have been filled on the day of his birth at finding themselves the parents of the renowned discoverer of half the terrestrial globe. Father Brandi, writing in 1893, declares that Pius VII., who died in 1823, Pius IX., who departed this life fourteen years ago, and our present Holy Father, decided that in the *present conjuncture* the temporal power of the Pope is indispensable to the freedom of the Church.<sup>1</sup> The same "teaching Church" tells us that Moses, when he divided the limits of fields which the Israelites did not yet possess, and gave minute directions about the leprosy of their houses while they were yet living in tents, spoke by anticipation, as a prophet. But shall we likewise place Pius VII. and Pius IX. among the prophets, or would it not be more respectful to their memory to elevate the Rev. Father Brandi's dogma to the dignity of an Irish Bull?

And we should have ample reason to congratulate ourselves if the accredited champion of our venerable Pontiff had laid himself open to no more serious charge than that of perpetrating Irish Bulls. No dogma prescribes logical acumen or precision of thought as a condition of admission to the kingdom of heaven. Unfortunately, every candid, open-minded man or woman who reads Father Brandi's pamphlet and compares it with my article will be struck with a characteristic, the classification of which charity impels me to leave to my readers when they have become acquainted with some of its concrete manifestations. That same charity moves me to give expression to heartfelt regret that any member of the learned and pious Order of the Jesuits should, in these days of carping criticism, when motives are inferred from actions and the character of public bodies judged by the motives of their individual members, have resorted to such doubtful tactics as the deliberate and systematic attribution to any writer of words and phrases which he never penned, the better to refute opinions which he never put forward. Father Brandi sees no harm in stringing together detached sentences and even isolated phrases and words of mine, in order that I should seem to say what no Catholic, nay, what no honest man, would dream of asserting. On pages 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, and 15 of his pamphlet he has the ethical hardihood

<sup>1</sup> P. 17.

to place in inverted commas statements alleged to have been written by me, some of which he himself has invented, while others acquire in the new combination a meaning widely different from that which belonged to them in my paper. On the last page of my article, for instance, I wrote: "These are some of the reasons why we view with intellectual distrust the well-meant efforts of the Pope to recover his lost inheritance, and why we wince and groan on beholding those appearances which lend colour to the accusations of his enemies who represent him as a mere diplomatist," &c. The Rev. Father Brandi translates that as follows: "That is the ground of those visible and tangible effects which inspire the simple spectator with fear, and afford *warrant and support* to the accusations of his (the Pope's) enemies who represent him as a *silly* diplomatist."<sup>1</sup> Will it be believed by those who have not seen it with their own eyes that a pious priest of the respected Order of the Jesuits should venture to employ such doubtful methods at the very time when we Catholics are striving hard to convince our opponents that our priests are the only persons capable of imparting a sound, moral education to our children,<sup>2</sup> and are moving heaven and earth in Germany to induce the Government to rescind the unjust law which forbids Jesuits to reside in that Empire? And against whom are these underhand thrusts directed? Against a Catholic and a brother. And the venerable clergyman who wields these dangerous weapons asks us to believe that he and those who do likewise are invested by God with power to regulate our beliefs, without the right of appeal on our side or the weight of responsibility on theirs,<sup>3</sup> in matters left undecided by the Church! And the sacerdotal word of these inaccurate writers is to drown the voice of God-given reason, outweigh the evidence of our senses, and curtail the freedom guaranteed us by the Church! Surely these things are not, cannot be, after the heart of our Holy Father, who would not willingly allow Cardinal Vaughan's gigantic task to be needlessly rendered more gigantic still. And yet the facts are there; they cannot be reasoned away; and not only are the words attributed to me put in inverted commas, and the

<sup>1</sup> "Sie ist auch daher der Grund 'jener sichtbaren und fühlbaren Wirkungen, welche dem einfachen Beobachter Furcht einjagen,' und 'den Anklagen jener Feinde *Stütze und Halt* geben, welche den Papst als einen *einfalligen* Diplomaten hinstellen'" (p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Father Brandi himself took a prominent part in the agitation in favour of Catholic schools in the United States. His well-meant efforts, now a matter of public history, will long be remembered by English-speaking Catholics of America. It is all the more to be regretted that he should have so soon forgotten the cordial recognition which they, pastors and people alike, are wont to bestow upon candour and straightforwardness even in an adversary and a layman, and the contemptuous ostracism with which they visit shuffling and double dealing even in an ally and a priest.

<sup>3</sup> The doctrine of our neo-theologians in its most concise form is this: the beliefs of the *teaching* Church, even when not formally declared to be dogmas, are absolutely binding upon all Catholics, who must not merely accept, but also firmly believe, them. The teachings may, however, prove false, and then the *infallible* Church can, without compromising her authority, repudiate and, if needs be, condemn them. Subject to correction, I venture to doubt whether the frame of mind which this practice presupposes or produces, is especially favourable to the cultivation of a genuine love of truth.

page given from which they are alleged to have been taken, but they are actually printed in leaded type in order to attract the special attention of the reader.

On the same page I remarked : " If the Pope's temporal dominions were an island, and we could purchase it for him by going into exile or slavery, by giving up our property or our lives, how eagerly would we not seize the opportunity, and rescue our Church and our people from the dangers that threaten and the calamities that have overtaken them ! " The Rev. Father Brandi selects as many of these words as are needful to make me appear to claim to be a man " sent by God in order to rescue the Church and the people from the dangers that threaten and the calamities that have overtaken them." <sup>1</sup> And lest his readers, the " crowd of the faithful," should doubt the word of a priest, and fancy that I had merely claimed to be a blunt, outspoken Catholic who scorns to use the poisoned daggers of disingenuous controversy, he does not hesitate to quote the page from which he claims to have taken this astounding pretension on my part ! And these are but two samples, strikingly characteristic, of his system of refuting my contentions, as any one interested in the methods of modern theological controversy can see by referring to his pamphlet.

And yet, incredible as it may seem, the writer who thus deliberately says the thing that is not, has the assurance to express his regret that liars are not punished in *Austria* with hard labour, aggravated by enforced fasts,<sup>2</sup> though he neglects to inform us how he would reconcile with his patriotism the implied exclusion of Italy and the Italians from the benefits of this salutary measure. And if, as he hopes, the Papal States are ever resuscitated, has he carefully counted up the ruinous cost of such wholesome legislation ?

One last test of the reverend gentleman's candour, and I will dismiss this uninviting branch of the subject. I asserted in my article that *Austria* is so uncompromisingly Catholic that Freemasonry of every rite is rigorously forbidden there. " This," jeeringly replies the Rev. Father Brandi, " is the reason why the Freemasons of every rite possess numerous lodges in every portion of the *entire* monarchy." <sup>3</sup> Respect for the priestly office of my opponent forbids me to characterise that statement by any harder name than that of the " truth in masquerade " ; but I do publicly call upon him to retract it, or else to prove it by naming any *one* of the numerous lodges of *any* rite in *any one* portion of *Austria* proper, whether in Vienna, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, Upper Austria, Bohemia, Styria, or Tyrol, &c. ; and to deny the fact that every Austrian official (not excluding priests when they become professors, &c.) must solemnly swear that he belongs to no secret society whatever.

The contents of the Rev. Father Brandi's reply being what they are, the tone is perhaps what it should be ; and when, among the

<sup>1</sup> P. 5.

<sup>2</sup> P. 55.

<sup>3</sup> P. 54.

epithets lavishly showered upon me by a venerable priest of our common Church I notice "malicious,"<sup>1</sup> "sly,"<sup>2</sup> "dishonourable,"<sup>3</sup> "deceitful,"<sup>4</sup> "most treacherous,"<sup>5</sup> I am only reminded of St. Paul's words to his brethren: "Let your speech be always with grace." This enumeration, however, far from exhausting the list of my qualities, as they are reflected in the ethical mirror of the Rev. Father Brandi's mind, is but the overture to the real distribution of the "sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge"; for the other characteristics charitably attributed to me include "coarseness,"<sup>6</sup> "crass ignorance,"<sup>7</sup> "lying,"<sup>8</sup> "impudent audacity,"<sup>9</sup> "outrageous calumny,"<sup>10</sup> "occasional insanity,"<sup>11</sup> and "forgery";<sup>12</sup> in a word, I am a "Janus redivivus,"<sup>13</sup> and my procedure "deserving of the profoundest contempt of every reader, Catholic and Protestant."<sup>14</sup>

At the best of times it is no easy matter to deal effectively with theological arguments of this character. It is peculiarly difficult in the case of a Catholic whose disapproval of the insuavity of a vigorous antagonist must be tempered by his reverence for the sacred character of the priest. But in spite of the circumstance that Father Brandi takes me severely to task for having published my article in a "Protestant Review, read mostly by Protestants and members of other non-Catholic Churches,"<sup>15</sup> I trust I may venture without discourtesy to call his attention to the remark of a very Protestant prelate, Bishop Hall, which all good Catholics, and even all good priests, would do well to lay to heart: "Moderation is the silken string running through the pearl-chain of all virtues"; to which the commentary might appropriately be appended, that one might do worse than strive for the string while waiting for the pearls.

I confess my friends and myself were disappointed on reading those passages of the Reply in which the writer, as the spokesman of the Vatican, might have been reasonably expected to allay a Catholic's grief at past mistakes and present prospects, by raising hopes of future improvement; and more than once have disquieting doubts flitted across my mind whether the pamphlet was indeed the work of a serious apologist, and not a masked attack levelled by a cynical satirist against his Holiness the Pope. Thus, to my complaints that Catholics in Russia are the object of a malignant persecution, our episcopacy humiliated, our clergy insulted and imprisoned, and the rank and file of the faithful driven in batches into the Orthodox Church or to Siberia, while Leo XIII. is exchanging friendly courtesies

<sup>1</sup> P. 3.      <sup>2</sup> P. 3.      <sup>3</sup> P. 3.      <sup>4</sup> P. 3.      <sup>5</sup> P. 5.      <sup>6</sup> P. 3.      <sup>7</sup> P. 22.

<sup>8</sup> P. 13.      <sup>9</sup> P. 26.      <sup>10</sup> P. 26.      <sup>11</sup> Pp. 22 and 24.      <sup>12</sup> P. 63.      <sup>13</sup> P. 53.

<sup>14</sup> P. 62. Father Brandi makes a deal of needless fuss over a printer's error, which (p. 61 of my article) transformed Gregory XVI. into Gregory XIV., while he himself twice describes Ireland as a Protestant and persecuting nation (pp. 31 and 36), forgetful of the useful maxim:

"Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum,  
Postulat ignoscet verrucis illius";

or as the English people tersely put it: "Never put at your neighbour's spots with a foul finger."

<sup>15</sup> P. 4.

with the Russian envoy in the Vatican, the Rev. Father Brandi replies : "The anonymous diplomatist would be beside himself with astonishment were it vouchsafed him to behold the five bulky volumes containing, in the handwriting of Leo XIII. himself, the records of his negotiations with Russia during the fifteen years of his pontificate." Beside myself? Surely not. But astounded I undoubtedly should be at any genuine Catholic who should seriously say: It is a mark of superior wisdom in the Pope to cultivate cordial relations with Russia, in order to recover his lost patrimony, because if, on the one hand, the Catholic Church there is steeped to the lips in misery; if morning seldom wears to evening but Catholic hearts break or Catholic souls are snatched away from God; if hundreds of our churches have been closed and millions of our brethren violently driven from the fold, it should be balm to our hearts to remember that his Holiness possesses five enormous manuscript volumes containing his correspondence with Russian officials! What comfort can it possibly be to the wretched Catholic deprived of confession at the awful moment of his death by the refined cruelty of his Holiness's ally, and therefore, as we believe, face to face with the terrible perspective of eternal damnation, to ponder on the five manuscript volumes of the Vatican?

Now I put it to my candid co-religionists, can any more conclusive evidence than this amazing plea be needed to bring home to the mind of every unbiased reader the accuracy of my views on the policy of the Pope? Does the unnatural union of religion and diplomacy which brings forth such noxious fruit stand in need of further condemnation?

Father Brandi, it is only fair to remember, suggests that, "misled by the lying statements of Austro-Polish papers," I have made too much of our losses in Russia. Would to heaven I had! But, as this is a point about which there must be no obscurity, I will put the issue before my readers as clearly as I know how, and ask in a plain, straightforward manner, expecting a plain, straightforward reply: Is it a fact, yea or nay, that every year M. Pobedonostseff, Procurer of the Holy Synod, publishes a list of Catholics "converted" to Orthodoxy, by chicanery and by force, and that no Catholic priest has the right or the courage to address one word of warning to the wretched dupes and victims, even though that word would save their souls? Is it a

<sup>1</sup> P. 49. "Der anonyme Diplomat würde vor Verwunderung ausser sich gerathen, wenn er die fünf dicken Bünde sähe, welche die von Leo XIII. selbst geschriebenen authentischen Aktenstücke über seine Beziehungen zu Russland während der 15 Jahre seines Pontificates enthalten."

<sup>2</sup> Foreign Catholics who happened to be in Rome during the dispute between Italy and the United States concerning the lynching of Sicilian Catholics, were shocked at the wild delight expressed by the organs of the Vatican, who seemed to forget that the murdered people were human beings and Catholics. It is, however, pleasing to reflect that even these un-Christian manifestations spring from holy zeal misguided by worldly diplomacy, and consoling to contemplate with prophetic eyes the beneficent effects of this admirable virtue when it shall be closely confined within a spiritual channel.



fact, yea or nay, that the administration of Confession and Extreme Unction is in many circumstances a penal offence (for instance, in the heartrending case of a repentant apostate) which our clergymen are careful not to commit? Is it true that no child, one of whose parents belongs to the Orthodox Church, can be brought up as a Catholic, or even baptised by a Catholic priest? Is it a fact that Catholicism in Russia is dwindling away in face of the iron antagonism of that ruthless Government which is now belauded and flattered at the Vatican, as the ally of Christ's Vicar on earth? Is it a fact, yea or nay, that a vast multitude, not thousands nor hundreds of thousands, but *millions* of our Catholic brethren of the Greek rite have been violently driven into the Orthodox Church, and that of all these millions of our late brothers in Christ not one remains to-day in the fold? And if these things are true, as Father Brandi and every educated Catholic and Russian knows them to be true, what are we to think of that cause which can only be defended by denying them, and insulting the Catholic who humbly ventured to point them out, as a liar, a forger, and an occasional madman?

Trusting that it may be found possible to bring this policy into perfect harmony with the spirit of Him who said, "I lay down my life for my sheep," I reluctantly confess, and many of my brethren with me, that we derive more consolation from the Mohammedan Saadi's saying, that "friendship extended to the sharp-fanged pard is an injustice done to the harmless sheep," than from all the manuscript records of the Vatican. And I oftentimes think that his Holiness himself must feel that, however sweet the diplomatic honey he contrives to extract, the bees sting, and sting unmercifully.

"The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away," is our pious commentary on the loss of the temporal power. He knoweth best what is good for each and all of us, and had He endowed the cat with wings, there would not now be one singing-bird's nest on the face of His earth.

## II.

Whatever opinion may be entertained about the boons conferred upon mankind at large, or religion in particular, by the temporal sovereigns of the Papal States, thoughtful Catholics fancy they can discern the working of a special providence in the choice of the present age as the most opportune era for the release of their chief Pastors from the sordid cares and irksome worries of civil administration. For never, at any previous epoch of her history, has our Church stood in greater need of all the human wisdom and energy with which our present Head is so abundantly endowed, than at the present critical turning-point. The fateful sphinx question which she is now called upon to answer, is one of the most complex and difficult she has ever yet had to tackle; and to merely human eyes, elements of grave danger seem to lurk in every conceivable solution. What-

ever attitude Catholicism may definitely assume towards the two principal manifestations of the modern spirit—the ascendancy of Democracy and the progress of Science—the minds of those accustomed only to the working of human causes and effects are equally filled with anxiety and misgiving. Nor is their disquietude likely to be removed by a dispassionate study of the brilliantly ingenious plan lately matured by our pious theologians for the purpose of evading, without solving, the latter problem, which is admitted on all hands to be the more pressing of the two. I shall endeavour to speak with reserve and reverence of this plan of campaign—the inauguration of a “teaching Church”—the human origin of which may ultimately be called in question or absolutely denied; and should I be so unskilful as, while gently raising the human cuticle, to prick a nerve or press a muscle, I humbly crave pardon in advance, and promise to acknowledge and atone for my unskilfulness when it is authoritatively pointed out.

The doubts and difficulties which rack the minds of educated Catholics have their source in the ambiguous attitude which we are forced to take up on the subject of historical science, applied to the study of the Bible. We believe and know that our holy religion, not being founded upon Biblical records, has nothing to fear from Biblical criticism; and we remember with pardonable pride that, as long as historical science was in its infancy, this speculative doctrine was embodied in palpable shape, and our scholars enjoyed and exercised absolute liberty to inquire into the history of the documents, and weigh the value of the narratives, of the Scriptures. And we now observe with undisguised alarm, that, science having accomplished her task and garnered in her harvest, we are forbidden to eat of the ripe fruits of knowledge. Biblical investigations are discouraged; subsidiary philological studies frowned down; the lips of our few scholars sealed; and the light of the Bible kept in chronic eclipse by the intervention of an opaque theological body.

On the one hand, our infallible Church assures us that, whatever the verdict of natural or historical science, our religion is safe beyond the range of attack. On the other hand, a most powerful agency has been set in motion for the express purpose of preventing us from opening the secret chamber in which the verdict of science is hidden away. Now, if there be indeed no danger, whence comes the fear? And if the fear be well-grounded, what becomes of the promise? It is because we implicitly trust in that promise, as the heirs of hopes too fair to turn out false, that we so ardently desired the immediate removal of those irksome restrictions which have sprung from what we hold to be craven fear. This was the grateful task which we ardently hoped would be undertaken and accomplished by Leo XIII., whom we reverently looked up to, from the day of his election, as the heaven-sent bringer of peace and light. Fourteen years have elapsed

since then; and to-day, while the newspapers pompously proclaim that the political influence of the Pope is paramount in Europe, and that Germany anxiously awaits her fate from the decree of the Vatican, our hearts mournfully whisper that upon us, his children, the door of hope is closed.

And yet our desires were not exorbitant nor our complaints unreasonable. The Church has never given much encouragement to the "crowd of the faithful" to imbibe Biblical wisdom at its fountain-head; and it would ill become us to call in question the sagacity of her policy. What we complain of is, not any ancient practice countenanced by the universal Church, but a wholly new spirit which, coeval with the progress of historical science, is become a stumbling-block in our path. In early times we could point with pride to such Biblical scholars as Origen and Jerome; after the Reformation, we could justly boast of the scholarly Masius, the Oratorian, R. Simon, and the physician, Astruc. To-day we hang our heads with shame when, in a scientific introduction to the books of the Old Testament, in which the labours of scholars are enumerated and the value of their discoveries weighed, we come across such passages as the following: "I consider that I can dispense with mentioning the works of modern Catholic theologians."<sup>1</sup>

When Eichhorn was criticising the records, and Herder interpreting the spirit, of the Book, Catholics were authoritatively told that whatever breaches these "attacks" might effect in the Churches of other denominations, the Rock upon which theirs was founded had nothing to fear. Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, and others who ground their faith directly upon the Bible, might look to their positions; but we alone, who might confess to erroneous conceptions about the Scriptures without impairing the infallible authority of our Church, could afford to indulge in the curiosity of leisurely spectators. And the reality of our liberty was proved by its exercise. In the sixteenth century the pious Catholic, Masius, fearlessly taught that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses; in the seventeenth century the Oratorian, Simon, undertook to prove the same thesis; and in the eighteenth century, our apologist, Astruc, was the first to suggest the celebrated distinction between the Elohist and Jahvistic sources in Genesis. But in the year of grace 1893 we are taught by the most learned of our professors, in text-books and manuals, that "the Pentateuch was composed in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C."; <sup>2</sup> that "it has come down to us in its substantial integrity as it left the hand of Moses, with the exception of the narrative of his death," <sup>3</sup> and that God Himself is the writer of the Bible.<sup>4</sup> Thus, while the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cornill, "Einleitung in d. alte Testament," p. 13 (1891).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vigouroux, "Manuel Biblique," Paris, 1893; t. i. p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> I am well aware that the Vatican Council uses the expression, "Deum auctorem," which is to be translated, I take it, "source." But the German word employed by the Jesuit Fathers is *Verfasser*, which can mean only what we understand by the word

Lutheran, Anglican, and other Churches have demolished the sea-wall and allowed the scientific wave to sweep over the footprints of ancient and mediæval apologists, we Catholics have hastily stepped to the rear, lest our garments should be moistened by the spray. And the voice that sternly bids us thus retreat in fear, tells us in the same breath to believe that, like Peter, we too may walk on the water without dread of sinking, while our less favoured neighbours must perish. Whence this strange antagonism between word and deed?

A partial explanation has been offered by an eminent English Catholic, who urges that

"it would be monstrously out of keeping with the character of the Church were she to allow herself to be tossed about with every chance wind of doctrine blowing from that cave of Æolus, which we call the 'higher criticism' of Germany. She will wait [he adds] until that higher criticism has really established something certain, and then will consider how far the traditional thesis taught in her schools should be modified in consequence."<sup>1</sup>

This explanation fails to satisfy me for two reasons: firstly, because the attitude which we expected our Holy Father to take up, was not that of allowing himself, still less the Church, to be "tossed about with every chance wind of doctrine," and because at this moment a movement is in progress within the Church, the evident tendency of which is to cause the present traditional views to crystallise into a dogma binding upon all the faithful; and secondly, because to suggest that higher criticism has as yet established nothing certain, is to gauge by a wholly inaccurate standard the number and significance of the facts acquired to science by the efforts of Biblical critics.

For what we ardently hoped his Holiness would feel justified in doing, was not to proclaim that Ewald, Dillman, and Nöldeke had ascertained new facts about the composition of the Bible, with which Catholics would in future have to reckon. *Naïveté* in such matters is not a common characteristic of those Catholics who yearn to make peace with all that is truest and noblest in the modern spirit. We desired to see a new direction given to Biblical studies; to behold the Chinese wall of passion and prejudice broken down, which still keeps out the genial light of the noonday sun from the readers and the Book; and liberty formally accorded to Catholic students, not merely to investigate the history of the Old and New Testaments, as they would inquire into that of the "Iliad" or "Vendidad," but likewise to proclaim the results of their researches, and obtain for them a fair share in determining the beliefs of the "teaching Church."

"But you enjoy that liberty already," I fancy I hear many an *writer*. By a curious irony of fate, one of the men who imparted the most powerful impulse to this reaction in Biblical matters among Catholics was M. Rensch, who afterwards left the Church, fell into line with critics of the new school, and can now contemplate the results of his work among us from a novel point of view.

<sup>1</sup> W. S. Lilly, "Ancient Religion and Modern Thought," p. 279.

apologist exclaim. "The traditional thesis," chimes in Mr. Lilly, "rests upon no decree of Pope or Council; nor is it true that orthodoxy obliges you or me to believe, as a condition of Catholic communion, that all our sacred books were written by those whose names they bear, or at the dates commonly attributed to them, or that their human authors possessed, in all cases, accurate conceptions of the matters, whether of physical science or of secular history, upon which they had to touch. Of course," he adds, "the formal doctrine of the Church is one thing; the current teaching at the Sorbonne, at Louvain, or even at Rome, is another. For myself, I confess that such questions possess little interest for me."<sup>1</sup>

In various London newspapers one may read every day advertisements to this effect: "Money lent to any amount on personal security. No fees." And in the same journals one may occasionally chance on a letter from one or other of the guileless borrowers who, having called at the address, learned to their cost that, although fees were formally abolished, still the expenses of inquiry would have to be paid in advance, and that the expenses of inquiry were identical in character with the abolished fees, and exactly equal in amount. Now, the only difference between these advertisements and Mr. Lilly's assurances, lies in the circumstance that the latter are *boni fide*, while the former are intended to mislead. It matters little to the taxpayer who contributes ten pounds a year under one tax that it has been reduced to six pounds, if at the same time a new one is levied which will compel him to pay up the remaining four. No doubt the formal declaration of the Church is one thing, and the current teaching in Catholic schools is another; but according to the new doctrine the difference between them does not in the slightest affect the position of the faithful, *who are bound to believe*—not merely coldly acquiesce in, but firmly believe, and hold, the views of the "teaching," as well as the dogmas of the infallible, Church.<sup>2</sup> The only difference is that the Church is forced to pin its faith for ever to the one, while it may

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Mivart, whose efforts to bridge over the abyss that divides Catholicism from modern thought deserve the heartfelt recognition of all intelligent Catholics, affirms in the February issue of the *Nineteenth Century* that "the liberty of Catholics both clergy and laity, is very much greater than it is commonly supposed by outsiders to be" (p. 320). To this I can only reply that the wish was father to that consoling thought. Catholics in England enjoy, no doubt, a certain temporary relaxation of the iron discipline under which the "crowd of the faithful" labour and groan elsewhere. The difference in the tone of the English Jesuit Father Clarke's rejoinder to Professor Mivart and the Italian Jesuit Father Brandi's reply to me, gives the measure of the difference between the ecclesiastical spirit where Catholics are in a small minority and their summary methods in countries where they have obtained a firm and solid footing. The theologians who have decreed the doctrine of the "teaching Church" are at the same time the priests who enforce it; and the faithful, who if Catholics at all, cannot dispense with the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion, must perforce submit to the novel conditions upon which the administration of these sacraments is now become contingent. In such cases it is useless to plead the opinions of respected Catholic laymen in England, which are laughed away as errors more contemptuously than the oaths of the Irish episcopacy have been brushed aside by the Rev. Father Brandi.

conveniently repudiate the other, should the other prove erroneous. And here it is that the shoe pinches.

For the "teaching Church" makes known to us, in very emphatic terms, that the results of Biblical criticism are false and dangerous; and as members of the "crowd of the faithful" it is our bounden duty to listen, believe, and be silent. And we are materially assisted in the performance of this distasteful duty by the attitude of the "teaching Church" itself. Our young men are systematically kept from all original research in the field of Biblical criticism; for the behoof of those whom eccentric tastes or exceptional duties impel to devote themselves to such studies, professors are appointed who are admittedly incompetent to the extent of being unable to decipher a Hebrew word; for those who are determined to master the difficulties of Semitic tongues, *Catholic* dictionaries have been thoughtfully provided;<sup>1</sup> while the few who have surmounted all these artificial obstacles and snatched the fruit of the tree of knowledge are fain to whisper their convictions to trusted friends in places free from eaves-droppers. This is hardly a healthy condition for any Church to subsist in, and the story of these pathological symptoms can be grateful only to those Catholics who study the past without profit, and regard the future without hope. Nor is the tale yet ended. Sadder to relate than all else, we have conscientious teachers and scholars, who day after day and year after year propound and uphold Biblical theories and systems which in their heart of hearts they believe to be false.<sup>2</sup> To silence these submissive souls may perhaps prove advantageous to the system,<sup>3</sup> but is surely prejudicial to the Church, which must take long views of expediency, wisely remembering that the wind which blows out tiny candles kindles destructive fires. For a time will certainly come when the "teaching Church" will be constrained by the force of circumstances to reconsider her position, and it will be gall and wormwood to our learned theologians to have to admit that the sun has indeed done his duty, although their grapes are still unripe.

The second reason why I cannot accept Mr. Lilly's explanation as satisfactory, lies in the difference of the respective standards by which

<sup>1</sup> For instance, Drach, "*Lexicon Catholicum hebraicum et chaldaicum*," Paris, which is an *expurgated* edition of Gesenius' dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> The most prosaic impulses might explain, but the sublimest motives could scarcely justify, such a doubtful and dangerous practice unless preceded or accompanied by an explicit declaration on the part of the professor that his own views differ from those which he thus explains and upholds. It is the occasional dissembling of his own opinions, not the expounding of other people's, to which, I fear, exception must be taken. The proof that I impute none but the most laudable motives is contained in the circumstance that I employ only such arguments as go to show that these devices injure, instead of furthering, the veritable interests of our holy Church.

<sup>3</sup> Even among our orthodox divines,

"Here and there a towering mind  
O'erlooks its prostrate fellows;"

and it would be unfair not to mention the Abbé Loisy of Paris as one who, without ceasing to be a zealous Catholic and a pious priest, is likewise a genuine Biblical scholar.

he and I gauge the results of the "higher criticism." He maintains that it has established nothing certain, while I believe that it has in the main successfully accomplished its work. There are still, no doubt, many secondary questions on which scholars are not yet at one, and undue stress has been laid upon them by our theologians, who industriously seek for extrinsic reasons for rejecting the fundamental principles of all Biblical criticism. Conclusions based upon cumulative evidence, while appealing powerfully to the judicial mind, are peculiarly liable to be misrepresented by the special pleader as halting. The results of the "higher criticism," though all of this character, are in many cases certain, in others highly probable. And yet, strange to say, the advocates of moral probabilism in matters affecting the eternal welfare of souls, who are able to discern probability in the opinions of two or three theologians, though at variance with the belief of the entire "teaching Church," lose their fine critical acumen when called upon to apply it to the fruits of historical researches.

The divergences among Biblical scholars were still numerous and important a few years ago, even in the days of Ewald, Hengstenberg, and Keil. But since Wellhausen uttered his *fiat lux* in his "Composition of the Hexateuch" and "Prolegomena to the History of Israel," unanimity prevails in essentials. Our divines, it is true, affect to regard Wellhausen as a Rationalist, and putting him out of court as such, fancy they can discover the wished-for disagreement among Protestant and other non-Catholic theologians. This, however, is a gratuitous assumption. For three centuries we Catholics had an easy task to defend our traditional thesis. To Rationalists, as unbelievers in the inspiration of the Bible, we rightly denied a hearing; and by judiciously wielding the *tu quoque* argument, effectively silenced our Christian opponents. For the enlightened Protestant who assailed the historical truth of the Deutero-canonical books, which his Church rejected, was invariably struck with short-sightedness when his own arguments were turned against the proto-canonical books which his Church accepted and revered; and whereas he made merry over the discrepancies between the first and second books of Maccabees, he illogically closed his pious eyes to the glaring contradictions between Kings and Chronicles. In those halcyon days our theologians could rejoice in the knowledge that *Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra*. But those days are gone by. Even Protestant divines now gauge all the books of the Bible by the same uniform standard—which is that of all genuine scholars, whatever their religious beliefs—and we alone are left stranded.

And I respectfully urge that we, too, should lose no time in purging our eyes with euphrasy and rue, for in truth we have much to see that is new.

But although I am unable to accept Mr. Lilly's explanations, I am quite willing to test his assurance that the Church does not oblige us to profess the traditional views about the origin of the Bible; and with this object in view I declare that, among other conclusions established by the "higher criticism," I, and many loyal Catholics with me, hold the following, and will continue to hold and profess them, until and unless they are condemned by an Œcumenical Council, or by our Holy Father the Pope, *ex cathedra*:

1. That Moses did not write or dictate any of the books commonly ascribed to him by our theologians. That the oldest portions of the Pentateuch, to which the Book of Joshua formerly belonged, consist of two distinct historical records which were welded together at a period subsequent to the time of their composition; and that a distinctive mark of the older of these two documents is the name Jahveh, for God, while Elohim is the name in the younger. That these records were originally composed, not as theologians teach, in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., but about the time of the oldest prophets whose writings form part of our Canon. That the Book of Deuteronomy came to light and received the sanction of the civil power in the reign of King Josia (621 B.C.), whereupon public worship and the offering of sacrifices were restricted to one place, although no distinction was yet made between priests and Levites. That shortly after Ezechiel, whose chapters xl.-xlviii. form an important stage in the gradual development of Jewish legislation, the so-called Laws of Holiness (Levit. xvii.-xxvi.) were written as a first step towards a codification of sacerdotal laws, the need of which was imperatively felt after the destruction of the temple and the cessation of the ritual. That this work of codification was completed in the time of Ezra by the incorporation of the bulk of the so-called Priests' Code, which for the first time established a distinction between priests—the offspring of Aaron—and the common Levites. And that this distinction was only announced in germ, and as a future measure, by Ezechiel, when he declared that henceforward only the sons of Zadok "shall come near to me to minister unto me."

2. That in the other historical books of the Bible (Judges, Samuel, and Kings) we can clearly distinguish sources which run parallel to the oldest sources of the Hexateuch and to Deuteronomy, whereas the portions which exhibit the characteristics of the Priests' Code form the contents of a separate book known as Chronicles.

3. That the sections of "Isaiah" which treat of Babylon and its destruction cannot have been composed by Isaiah, in whose time there was no Babylonian Empire, for that prophet, or rather those prophets, speak of the Jews not as destined at some future time to suffer exile, but as actually languishing in exile from which they are shortly to be delivered.



4. That there can be no reasonable doubt in the mind of any unbiassed thinker who has carefully sirted the evidence, that the Book of Daniel could not have been written in the sixth century B.C., nor indeed earlier than 164 B.C.

5. That the Psalms, most of which we commonly ascribe to David, and interpret as complaints against Saul or Absalom—whereby David cuts a very sorry figure, whining aloft on the pedestal of history—are compositions of a very late period, which gave elegiac utterance to the sorrows and hopes of the people of Israel, partly during the persecution inaugurated by Antiochus Epiphanes. This view possesses the advantage not only of being in accordance with the weight of evidence, but of incidentally imparting a much nobler significance to the complaints, and a less offensive character to the imprecations, embodied in the Psalms.

6. The number and variety of the sources of the Biblical records render it *a priori* probable, and a comparison of the contents makes it absolutely certain, that the discrepancies between the different accounts of one and the same event oftentimes amount to utter incompatibility which no force of logic, no human ingenuity, nothing, in short, but Catholic “Hermeneutics” can possibly smooth away.

7. That Jonas, Esther, Judith, Tobias, and Job are not historical writings, but religious works of fiction,<sup>1</sup> while the narratives of some of the most ancient books are as mythical as the stories of the Eddas.

I adhere to these propositions in spite of the fact that they are incompatible with the doctrines of the “teaching Church.” And among the reasons that move me thus to disregard those doctrines, I may specify the following :

The theologians who teach that their own general consensus suffices to invest an opinion with the binding force of a dogma, practically claim exemption from the law that in order to solve a complex problem one must first clearly understand it. A person who should pass an unfavourable judgment upon the works and discoveries of Newton, Euler, Monge, and Laplace, without having studied more mathematics than is comprised in the Rule of Three, would be deemed unreasonable if he waxed angry on being denied a hearing, and irreligious if he claimed to be the spokesman of God. Applying the same principle to analogous subjects, theologians should not feel offended if their ostentatious contempt of Biblical criticism, and their obstinate refusal to master its first principles, be sufficient to put them out of court when questions of this category come up for discussion. I am not now speaking exclusively, nor even principally, of those pious divines who reverentially declare that, since God Himself is the author of the

<sup>1</sup> This proposition was at one time on the point of gaining general acceptance among Catholics, but owing to the pressure exercised by the “teaching Church” it is now practically given up.

Scriptures, the history of His work possesses no interest for them. I am alluding to those specialists among them whom policy impels to claim, and duty obliges to possess, a thorough knowledge of the subject. And confining my survey to those giants among the pigmies, I find very little to justify our confidence, and absolutely nothing to command our obedience. A well-known professor of Scripture, whose name is a clarion to Continental Catholics, has for years been instilling the traditional theory into the minds of Biblical students. He is the author of a series of trenchant, and I am assured convincing, treatises against the works of the most eminent of contemporary critics, whose conclusions he rejects and condemns on the respectable ground that they are utterly unscientific. And I should be tempted to indulge in the innocent pride of pointing to this scholar as a model for the imitation of all our theologians, had he not privately made the awkward but honourable confession that he cannot read one word of Hebrew. M. Fabre d'Évieux, Professor at the Sorbonne, lately published a work in two volumes on Daniel, in which he courageously undertakes to prove that the names of musical instruments (*sumponia*, *psanterin*, and *kitaros*), the occurrence of which in that book is used as argument against its antiquity, are not the Greek words *συμφωνία*, *ψαλτήριον*, and *κίθαρς*. The greatest of our Biblical scholars, Professor Kaulen, speaking of the Psalms, lays it down as a principle that Catholic science should be satisfied with the understanding of the Latin text of the Vulgate, and the Hebrew should never be consulted unless it is absolutely needed in order to elucidate that of the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> The same illustrious scholar, discussing the chronological difficulties raised by the ages of the patriarchs, conceives it possible to solve them by holding that, although God is the author of the Bible, yet when He spoke of individual patriarchs He meant not patriarchs but dynasties. And turning our regard from individual theologians to ecclesiastical bodies, we notice with pain a Synod of Austrian Bishops declaring, on the faith of the story of the confusion of tongues, that "nationality is a relic of heathendom, inasmuch as differences of language are but a consequence of sin and apostasy from God."<sup>2</sup>

These cases are characteristic of the system. And while respecting the admirable motives of those whose names are honourably associated with it, I trust I may, without sinful presumption, differ from their views, until those views receive the sanction of infallibility and the force of dogmas. Nor is it possible for a Catholic to contemplate with equanimity the sacrifices needed to uphold a system the advantages of which are thus open to doubt, foremost among which

<sup>1</sup> "Ein Bedürfniss besteht in der römisch-katholischen Kirche nur für das wissenschaftliche Verständniss desjenigen Psalmentextes, den die Vulgata enthält. Nur in sofern ein solches herbeizuführen ist, behält der hebräische Text seinen Werth." *Cf* "Literarischer Handweiser," 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf* Rogge, "Oesterreich von Világos bis zur Gegenwart," i. p. 132.

must be reckoned the confinement of the intellectual energies of thousands of our most gifted brethren in channels, of which the best that can be said is that they are unprofitable. Turning over the pages of one Catholic Review, we are lost in wonder at the vast array of texts and syllogisms marshalled to battle, in order to decide the issue whether a main feature of the new earth foretold in Revelations will be absence of vegetable life or abundance of precious stones. Glancing at another, we admire the ingenuity, and regret the labours, of a serious theologian, who endeavours to show that our globe will continue to exist until every particle of its enormous bulk has passed through human bodies, and its weight will just barely suffice to furnish forth new bodies for all the dead members of the human race, when the blast of the trumpet calls all mankind to resurrection.<sup>1</sup> And after a course of such reading, we are puzzled to say in what these researches differ from the studies which led a plodding scholastic once to assert that there are no women's souls in heaven, and to base this amazing proposition on the text Rev. vii. 1, "There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour."

The intellectual food supplied to our Continental youth is of a somewhat similar narcotic quality, and the advantage of putting to sleep their interest in Biblical questions is outweighed by the drawbacks of one-sided Catholic science. Those who are unaware of the existence, or ignorant of the nature, of our strictly Catholic sciences will find much to interest though little to edify them in the Catholic Almanach of Donauwörth, destined for the instruction of the scholars of German Grammar Schools. A distinct feature of this widely circulated annual, now in its fifteenth year, are the popular essays on subjects included in the programme of the higher educational establishments. A few extracts from the latest issue dealing with literature will give an insight into the spirit of our Catholic teaching :

"As to Goethe, the truth must be told ; he was a great poet and a base-minded man." . . . . It is a pure fraud to speak of a cordial friendship between Goethe and Schiller. . . . Schiller, when composing, never tasted alcoholic beverages, nothing but coffee. But Goethe drank avidly much wine, and even brandy! . . . . We may affirm boldly that Goethe is morally responsible for the premature death of Schiller. . . . Lessing was a shameless literary thief,<sup>2</sup> who, in cool impudence, seeks his match in the literary history of all countries and peoples, and finds him not. . . . In 'Emilia Galotti' and 'Nathan der Weise,' there is not one single sentence<sup>3</sup> which originated in the brain of the 'immortal' Lessing. . . . He suffered from a kind of kleptomania."<sup>4</sup>

Young men educated on these lines will doubtless beware of tread-

<sup>1</sup> "The rising bodies, flying at a tangent from the earth, will leave nothing behind them of a material world." Cf. "The Final Destiny of the Earth," by Rev. J. S. Vaughan, *Dublin Review*, July 1890.

<sup>2</sup> "Ein niedriger Mensch."

<sup>3</sup> "Ein schamloser literarischer Dieb."

<sup>4</sup> "Ist nicht ein einziger Satz."

<sup>5</sup> "Lessing litt an einer gewissen Diebstahls-wuth."

ing in the footsteps of Goethe or Lessing; but I am inclined to think that the cost of this advantage is exorbitant.

But probably one of the most dangerous results of this complex system, which always reverences revelation by declaring God Himself to be the author of the Bible, and sometimes gives reason her due by allowing her to brush aside the most explicit statements of Holy Writ, lies in the antagonism it introduces between history, as explained in Catholic schools, and history as taught by men of science. Thus our children and young men are liable, even though Biblical questions should possess no interest for them, to wake up some day to the fact that while they know that, on the one hand, the present human race began with eight fortunate individuals who left the Ark in the middle of the third millennium B.C., they are equally certain that at that very moment millions of human beings were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, in the Egyptian and Babylonian States, a few days' march from the resting-place of the Ark; and that although for several generations subsequent to Noah the patriarchs lived from 200 to 600 years, without exciting envy or provoking surprise, the less favoured Egyptians and Babylonians were gathered to their fathers after the usual short span of human life. Now, I can assure my co-religionists that we are actually threatened with the danger and disgrace implied in the interference of the State to compel us to modify our facts, or alter our teaching, in such a way that the memories of our children should no longer be thus burdened with two groups of equally certain facts which are utterly irreconcilable with each other.

I am painfully aware that our "teaching Church" has made strenuous efforts to remove the difficulties which it deplures, without demolishing much else which it reveres; and that the latest and most popular of these devices comes from genial France, in the form of an epigrammatic principle of "Hermeneutics." "*Il n'y a pas de chronologie biblique,*" there is no Biblical chronology, so runs the talismanic formula. Consequently, while each and every statement of the Old Testament is absolutely true, not one of its chronological data can be alleged to contradict an established fact of history; because otherwise we should be implying the existence of a Biblical system of chronology, which *ex hypothesi* does not exist.

This explanation would be as satisfactory as it is ingenious, if only it could be brought into harmony with the facts. But what, may I ask, is the entire framework of the Priests' Code but a system of chronology pedantically positive and precise, but hopelessly fantastic and wrong? The issue is as simple as it is momentous, and can be comprehended and solved by any normal boarding-school girl in Great Britain. I think I may, without presumption, undertake to make this perfectly clear and prove my thesis to the satisfaction of every

reader. I maintain that the Bible contains a most explicit and complete system of chronology, which connects by an unbroken chain the events of the Adamic era, which are unknown to profane history, with the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, which is an undisputed historical fact. I appeal to my Catholic brethren to examine closely the links of this chronological chain, not one of which is wanting.

1. We find the exact age of *every* Patriarch, from Adam to Noah, at the time of the birth of his firstborn son, Gen. v.
2. The age of every Patriarch, at the birth of his firstborn son, from Noah to Abraham, in Gen. xi.
3. We learn Abraham's exact age when he begat Isaac, Gen. xxi. 5.
4. We learn Isaac's exact age when he begat Jacob, Gen. xxv. 26.
5. We learn Jacob's age when he went to Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9.
6. We are told how long the Israelites sojourned in Egypt, Exod. xii. 40.
7. And we are informed of the exact space of time that elapsed between their exodus from Egypt and the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, which event lands us in the realm of history, 1 Kings vi. 1.

Could evidence be more complete, more simple, and more conclusive? If in the teeth of these facts the Scriptures be said to teach no chronological system, can they be truly said to teach anything? How any person who entertains respect for the Bible can reconcile that sentiment with such a sweeping denial of its most explicit statements as is implied in the doctrine that there is no Biblical chronology, is a mystery which we piously believe is not an essential element of our holy religion. Hence, I cannot refrain from putting the plain question to our divines, which of the two methods of procedure is more agreeable to truth and more respectful to Holy Writ: to admit frankly that the Scriptures contain a precise system of chronology, and to express our reverential regret that it has turned out erroneous; or to proclaim in spite of facts that there is no chronology in the Bible, because to admit that there is, would be to find ourselves confronted with numerous difficulties which even "Hermeneutics" are powerless to solve? To state this question, is to answer it.

Summing up the more striking anomalies of our position, we find that while holding that our Church is built on an impregnable Rock, we are asked to defend it by means of wretched armour-plates of iron and of brass; that while proclaiming our religion to be the solid fabric of eternal truth, we are expected to prop it up with scaffolding of worm-eaten timber; that while believing that the conquest of the whole world is as dust in the balance compared with the loss of one human soul, we are to close our eyes upon the perdition of millions of Catholic souls, and open them with joy on the dusty records of doubtful diplomatic triumphs; that while thanking the Lord that the

vigour and vitality of our Church are sempiternal, we are also to beseech Him to inspire some French or Russian Mezentius to quicken it by strapping upon its healthy body the corpse of the Papal States; that while boasting with honourable pride that our faith, and ours alone, has nought to fear from the discoveries of Biblical criticism, we must in the same breath sorrowfully confess, and act upon the confession, that every one of its discoveries is subversive of Catholic doctrine; and while acknowledging with awe that God the Omniscient is the author of Holy Writ, we are to invest zealous but uninstructed men with the right of explaining away and even flatly denying the most explicit of its declarations. And in order to uphold this artificial system, we have introduced a novel agency, empowered to impose ever new articles of belief, on the grounds of tactical expediency, and irrespective of their inner truth.

Now I put it to my co-religionists, is it not desirable, nay, imperatively necessary, in the interests of our holy religion, that this incongruous system should be utterly swept away? And is not this Herculean task a noble one, worthy of monopolising and capable of calling into play all the wisdom, energy, and tact of our revered Chief Pastor, Leo XIII.? Humanly speaking, I, and those Catholics to whose views I here give utterance, are convinced that our house must be thus swept and garnished before our thirty million lost brothers of England will consent to enter in and enable his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan to chant, like Simeon, his *Nunc Dimittis*.<sup>1</sup> And the successful accomplishment of this work of clearing the ground and removing the useless scaffolding would confer upon our Holy Father an infinitely nobler title to the heartfelt gratitude of his devoted children than the most brilliant diplomatic triumphs and the most voluminous diplomatic records.

Until this pious desire has become an accomplished fact, we may commiserate the errors, and deplore the obstinacy, of our thirty million heretical brethren in these islands but we shall likewise have to accept our share of the responsibility for upholding and perpetuating that system of "oracular confusion" which is, perhaps, one of the principal sources of both.

#### THE AUTHOR OF "THE POLICY OF THE POPE."

A very well-known London journalist, whom Catholics have for years been hoping to welcome to the true fold, put the matter in a nutshell when, in conversation with a Catholic friend some time ago, he said: "A Church which compels its members to believe in the authenticity of Daniel, is already condemned in my eyes." A few years ago we might have replied that our Church does nothing of the kind; but since the institution of the agency known as the "teaching Church," we can only regret that Biblical questions possess such an absorbing interest for this journalist, and remain sadly silent. It is, I presume, superfluous to remind my readers of the English Catholic priests—two of them personal friends of the late Cardinal Manning—who left the Church on account of its attitude on Biblical questions.

## PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

### I.

#### AN AUSTRALIAN EXAMPLE.

INSTEAD of considering the general question, how far it is just or politic for a community who have chosen men to perform important public duties to make the performance a burden to them, or, on the other hand, whether they can safely entrust the class interests of high and low, rich and poor (which are not seldom conflicting), to the arbitrament of the rich alone, I will restrict myself to a simpler task. I will tell you how we disposed of this question in Australia, what were the motives of the action taken, and what the results : and you will judge whether the facts may be of any service in determining the policy which ought to be adopted at Westminster.

Payment of members was not the first, but the last, of a series of measures consecutively, but gradually, adopted in Australia to insure the just government of the people, and the tranquillity which just government produces. Home Rule in the colony of Victoria commenced in 1851 with a single Chamber, and for this Chamber the franchise was incredibly narrow and restricted. Almost simultaneously with the creation of a local Legislature gold was discovered in the colony, but under the first electoral law the immense industrial population of miners who were turning the little pastoral settlement into an opulent and powerful State had no votes, nor, till after a dangerous outbreak of popular rage, had they a single representative in the Chamber.

Five years later, under a new Constitution a Parliament consisting of two Houses met for the first time, and it was generally agreed that its earliest work must be to remove any remaining anomalies, and make the popular Chamber an express image of the community. The Executive in possession of office—nominees derived originally from Downing Street—was called a Conservative Government ; but, as some one has said, an Australian Conservative is a man who believes in only four points of the

People's Charter, and as Mr. Childers was a Minister, it will be understood that their Conservatism was of a mild type. This Administration set the example of reform by proposing what was practically Manhood Suffrage. They intended to accompany this wide franchise by the representation of minorities, carried out through three-cornered constituencies; but the Chief Secretary took fright at an idea pressed upon him by some of his supporters, that the scheme might give certain minorities an inordinate advantage—a complete mistake, as mathematicians demonstrated—and he dropped the proposal. His blunder was a permanent injury to fair government, for manhood suffrage, to be equitable, needs to be qualified by the practice of giving each element of the community proportionate representation; that is to say, giving it its exact share of political power and no more—without which it may be hopelessly submerged.

The Liberal Opposition supported the extension of the franchise, but appealed to the Government to enable the new constituencies to be adequately represented by abolishing the property qualification of £300 a year in real estate (which then existed), and by granting members compensation for their attendance in Parliament. The Government declined to do either. The Opposition were of opinion that the first of these reforms was urgent, as good men had been shut out of the Legislative Assembly for want of a qualification, and several members had set a bad example by evading the law, in much the same fashion as it used to be evaded in elections to the House of Commons forty years ago. I brought in a Bill abolishing property qualification for the Assembly, leaving it untouched for the other Chamber: it was carried against the resistance of the Government, and it became the first Act of the Parliament of Victoria.

The Government, of their own motion, established a kindred reform. They placed upon the estimates a sum to pay the entire cost incurred in taking the poll at elections—a charge which obviously belongs to the State and not to individuals—and this rational practice became permanent. For an election to Westminster a candidate must pay the returning officer: an inordinate toll, intended to close the way on all but the opulent.

As the question of the cost of elections will soon be before the House of Commons, I may mention that in Victoria all public buildings, such as court-houses, shire council-chambers, and in some cases State school-rooms, are granted for polling-places, and generally for election meetings. The expense of building polling-booths, which is so heavy an item in a returning officer's account at home, is almost altogether avoided. In Switzerland the State goes to much more startling extremes in appropriating public edifices; a couple of years ago, during an election in Geneva, I visited a polling-place, and in the city where Calvin, the great Sabbatarian, reigned supreme,



and which used to be called the Rome of the Reformation, to my surprise I found, not only that the election took place on a Sunday, but that the polling took place in a church.

The proposal to compensate members moved slowly. It was declared to be un-English, which no doubt it was; but as manhood suffrage, the ballot, members with no property qualification, and election expenses not levied off the candidates, which we had already adopted, were equally un-English at that time, this objection was not very persuasive. It was pronounced "ungentlemanly" to take money for performing public duties; but, as the members daily encountered Ministers of State enjoying liberal salaries, and a Governor who accepted for services not very onerous as much as the united salaries of the Prime Minister of England, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the President of the United States, this *obiter dictum* though much applauded in good society, did not frighten any one. A more serious impediment was the impression, natural in a community where wealth was so widely diffused, that the question was of little practical importance; few town or county members would care for such a paltry allowance as the State could be expected to grant, and the diggers, it was said, would willingly support their own representatives by voluntary assessment. And so indeed it seemed. In their first elation after obtaining the franchise, a third-rate gold-field not only presented the new member with a full purse, but mounted him on a horse shod with solid gold, and it was not unnaturally inferred that the same disposition would be universal and perhaps permanent. But there is no tax a community becomes so weary of as a voluntary one, and after a little the zeal on the gold-fields slackened here and there with a bad season or a shifting population. The payments might be classified, like English verbs, into "regular, irregular, and defective," the first class being the scantiest. At any rate, it is certain that some necessitous members, who had to live in Melbourne without remunerative employment, fell into illegitimate practices. They acted as paid agents at the public offices, at first for friends or constituents, and finally for all comers. Growing bold with impunity, they advertised themselves as parliamentary agents, and men with grievances—civil servants who thought their promotion too long delayed, selectors of land who had not complied with the conditions of settlement, and the like—had no more difficulty in finding an agent to take up their case at the Government offices, than in finding an attorney who would promote a suit in the Supreme Court. In the end the system found its way into the House, and Bills were said to be supported or resisted by hired agents, who were representatives of the people. These practices at length excited parliamentary inquiry, and unpleasant discoveries were made; some members were expelled,

and others, who escaped this penalty, fell into public contempt. The Opposition, who originated the inquiries, urged the Government to apply a radical remedy by granting compensation for attendance on Parliament, which would raise necessitous members above practices to which their poverty and not their will consented. At length a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the question. I was chairman; and after careful inquiry, we presented a report describing the custom in each country, respectively, possessing parliamentary institutions. It appeared that, with the exception of England, where the policy obviously was to make seats dear and difficult of attainment, payment of members was a nearly universal practice. Whether in rich countries or poor, in empire, republic, or limited monarchy, the representatives of the people were compensated for performing their public duties like other servants of the State. It was recognised as an inevitable complement of universal suffrage, and universal suffrage prevailed almost everywhere in Europe and America where free institutions existed. At length, after more than a dozen years of contest, an Act was passed conferring on members of the popular Chamber an allowance of £300 a year, to meet the expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

I should mention that after the principle was accepted by the Assembly it was several times rejected by the Upper House, but it was pointed out, significantly, that in several colonies the practice was established, not by an Act of Parliament, but simply by placing a sum on the estimates, and that it might be necessary to have recourse to this method in Victoria. It is much more desirable, however, that it should be founded by an Act in which both Houses and the Sovereign have concurred, to avoid the practice, which all friends of liberty have seen with pain and shame in the United States, of the men who received the pay suddenly increasing the amount of the honorarium, without any consultation with the country.

I sat in the Legislature under both systems, and I can affirm that the change was a salutary one. The practice of paid parliamentary agents almost disappeared, and the country insisted upon a higher standard of political morality, as well as a more punctual attention to their duties from men who were freed from all personal burdens connected with their position, both before and after election. It may be said this is not a lesson of any practical value for an Assembly like that in Westminster, which can thank God that it is not like these publicans. I don't know. The conduct of existing members may or may not be beyond all reproach; but when I was in the House of Commons it was found necessary to appoint a Corruption Committee, which made some ugly disclosures. It appeared that certain shabby members sold small shabby offices to shabby clients, for ready money, and that a person of a more pretentious class paid

his attorney's election bill by getting him made a Crown solicitor, and another procured a police magistracy for a friend, and then borrowed £1000 at six per cent., but a dozen years afterwards had never paid a penny of principal or interest. Details vary, but the principle is unchangeable; if you compel men to buy their seats by heavy expenditure in obtaining them or in performing the duties they impose, they will be apt to consider themselves entitled to dispose, for their personal advantage, of privileges so obtained.

I do not intend to debate the general question, but to me it seems very simple. No one will deny that it is proper to pay Mr. Peel or Mr. Mollor for the services he renders in facilitating the work of legislation; but the members perform functions as essential, and some of them give scarcely less time and thought to the task than the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees. I am convinced that the Liberal party have done a very commendable thing, not merely in the narrow party sense, but in the broad sense of public interest, in adding to their programme compensation of members.

The narrative, however, would be incomplete if I did not mention that many of those who originally opposed payment of members oppose it still, and that some who favoured it at first now insist that the practice has not worked for the public advantage. It has made it more difficult, they assert, for men fit for public functions to get into Parliament, and in many cases reduced the popular member, who used to be the guide and leader of the people, to be something little better than their lackey. Persons holding small local employments which brought them into habitual communication with the mass of the constituents, secretaries of municipal councils, rate collectors, and the like, used the opportunity to solicit the higher position and salary of a representative; were ready to make extravagant and disastrous promises to obtain seats, and when they obtained them, to become the agents in Melbourne for the petty private and personal transactions of the electors. The Labour Party, which threatens to become a serious impediment to the working of responsible government in Australia, is, they affirm, the natural result of paid members. The salaried delegates of a trade naturally desire to become the paid representatives of the community, and sometimes succeed in their design. These things are said to have happened during the last dozen years, of which I have had no personal experience; but I am well aware that nothing has been conceded to the people since the era of concessions began, two generations ago with the first Reform Bill, which was not heralded by predictions of disaster, and followed by dismal narratives of failure, whether in England or Australia.

C. GAVAN DUFFY.

## II.

### THE DEMOCRATISING OF PARLIAMENT.

**I**N proportion to the spread of intelligence among workmen apathy and indifference disappear; a corresponding restlessness characterises the democracy with regard to their social and industrial surroundings; and every available institution is being used to alter for the better these conditions. Every year finds a larger proportion of the workers calling for increased attention from Parliament, and, as they are capable of wielding great influence at election times, this results in their getting more attention. But progress is painfully slow, and the energy of the average member of Parliament in the House of Commons appears to be chiefly directed to furthering the commercial interests of capitalists and landlords. Such a statement as this ought not to be made without adequate grounds. I would not make it if I did not honestly believe it; and, whilst I freely admit that my own powers of close observation are not great or comprehensive, I am assured by those who have the opportunity and, I believe, the capacity for judging, that such really is the case, even with the present House of Commons. This means that members of Parliament as a body do not honestly try to work for the national welfare, but for the welfare of mere sections, and generally upon such lines that the well-being of the entire community cannot possibly be secured. Indeed, a large proportion of the members, as is well known, deliberately seek positions as members for the express purpose of wielding greater commercial influence, which is equivalent to saying, for the purpose of entrenching aristocracy and plutocracy the more securely. Of real, inspiring national sentiment these men are utterly devoid; still less are they possessors of the qualities that impel men to noble deeds on cosmopolitan lines. Trade and commerce fill the House; and the mere money-making and money-keeping spirit

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pervades every committee-room. I am far from condemning the House as an idle assembly. I know the vast majority are very active. Railway directors work hard and well for their shareholders; landowners are most watchful in the interests of class privilege and monopoly; ship-owners are always alert in the interests of shipowners; colliery proprietors are busy indeed at checking any action on the part of workmen for obtaining better conditions of toil.

Every man capable of realising an ideal, and of working for humanity, groans within himself at the knowledge of these things; and every one who believes that however slow may be the march of events, yet this march is that of democracy, must ask himself: Is it possible to use this institution of Parliament to help on the social betterment of the community? And the reply, according to my judgment, is: It is next to impossible to use Parliament for such an object, unless Parliament itself can be democratised.

Now the one thing abundantly clear in connection with Parliament is this, that aristocrats and plutocrats boss the show, that democracy rarely gets a look in, and that when it does it is on the same conditions as when the contestants in a tug-of-war by sheer force compel the opposing party to move their heels nearer to the centre they wish to avoid in order to get a firmer resistance. The nauseating talk of what the one or the other party has given to democracy is so loathsome that, for decency's sake, it is high time politicians dropped it; such bunkum is seen through by all but the veriest blockheads, and when these same politicians offer their great services to the various constituencies "free, gratis, and for nothing," as the quacks put it—well, the workmen of to-day know what it means; and whilst some put their tongue in cheek and close one eye, others feel disposed to treat so magnanimous a candidate with rotten eggs, &c., and, fortunately for the welfare of the British Empire, inside of five years wealthy men will be at a great discount as candidates for Parliament. Instead of being qualified by their wealth such men will be avoided, left severely alone, and that because it is the determined intention of the workmen electors of the British Isles to democratise the British Parliament. This cannot be done unless members are paid for services rendered; and workmen who get wages for work done know of no sufficient reason why members of Parliament should not be remunerated. "What, pay men who behave as you have stated!" may be asked, and we workmen say "Yes, pay all; we need not mince matters; we would pay all, in order that democracy may exercise its rightful influence in Parliament, that the supporters of class privilege and monopoly may be removed; the miserable pretences now made at election times by rich politicians of either side are so glaringly unreal that many of the more intelligent section of voters deliberately refuse to vote for either."

But if the State payment of members becomes a fact, what is likely to happen to the two great political parties? That is their look-out; in any case the workers' duty is to see to it that plutocracy is dislodged. I emphasise plutocracy here, because, in the workers' opinion, the modern plutocratic friend is frequently a worse enemy than the aristocratic foe, and it is an intimate knowledge of this fact that has caused the advanced section of workers to demonstrate their contempt for both political parties. It is the exhibition of a dense ignorance on the part of rich capitalists of all matters concerning industrial economics—exactly analogous to that of the landed aristocrat, without the redeeming qualification commonly exhibited by the aristocrat of a kind of patriarchal sympathy and care for the toiler—that has caused labour-men occasionally to express a preference for the aristocratic landlord as against the plutocratic capitalist. But both must go: the workers of England will make headway without the patronage of the plutocrat or the fatherly (but despotic) care of the aristocrat. Men who have been forbidden the opportunity to exercise a moderate amount of influence through legislative institutions until they have literally forced their way to the front against adverse conditions, are likely to prove capable of carrying on the work when they get inside Parliament and the governing departments; and just as a person is paid, and ought to be paid, for services rendered in a department of the State, so must a worker in our future Parliaments be paid for services rendered in Parliament. As workmen view it, to do this would be right and proper if we had no complaint of monopoly by the wealthy; it is right and vitally necessary now that that monopoly is a fact, and the sooner it ceases to be a fact the better for the entire community.

In view of the definite reply given by Mr. Gladstone respecting the attitude of the Government towards this question, we find that in influential quarters of the Cabinet there is a determined opposition to this payment of members. Some of the most capable lawyers declare that there would be no violation of anything in the British Constitution if this matter were covered at Budget time; but there is the drawback that if disposed of in this way another session might find a Budget which did not provide for such payment; and it is perhaps quite as well for all concerned that the question should be fought out and finally settled by legislation; and that when it is dealt with there should be payment for all members, and not the miserable emphasising of class distinctions by payment for poor men only.

It should not be necessary to point out that there are one or two matters more pressing than payment of members, such as the second ballot and payment of returning officers' fees; but some workmen are in the habit of treating this payment-of-members question as the one subject of vital importance. Unless the second ballot becomes law,

at least as soon as the payment of members, even worse anomalies in the way of misrepresentation of constituencies may be exhibited than those we have to-day. Indeed to have payment of members without the guarantee of a majority vote for the successful candidate would play into the hands of the faddists; nor can one feel sanguine of much democratic advantage accruing until plural voting is abolished. This shameful use of multifarious votes by the privileged sections is surely to be wiped out this session; if not, a bitter hostility will exhibit itself towards those who are responsible.

The objection is sure to be raised that in those countries where members of Parliament are already paid, it has not resulted in bringing those advantages to the democracies of those countries which I have dwelt upon. The answer to that is—that in many cases where members are paid, the workers have not the opportunity of effectively using that machinery of Government, for various reasons; whilst in other cases, where the franchise is broad, and the opportunity for election to the governing institution comparatively easy, the stage of economic development so far reached is insufficient to warrant a wise and effective use of this machinery by the workers. Fortunately for this country the workers know well that the mere possession of the machinery of government is not in itself of any value unless accompanied by the possession of the requisite qualities to know how to use it. A nation in which the vast majority are content to plod along upon lines that secure them nothing more than the mere food and clothing necessary to sustain life is unlikely to use a Parliament to much purpose; there must be the desire for better things, the determination to try to get them, and a correct economic knowledge as to how to proceed.

Ignorance occupies a far too important position in this country as yet; but capable observers admit that no other country on earth can show the same record of success for its industrial population in their battles against adverse forces—in spite of many mistakes—in having learned how to progress, how to organise, to control, to administer, and to legislate. For Parliament is not by any means the only institution that legislates for the welfare of the community in this country. The trade and labour organisations are legislative and administrative institutions in a very real and important sense, as are also the co-operative societies and kindred democratic institutions. The workers of Britain are not strangers to self-government; they know much of the responsibilities of important office, and they know something of the risks and advantages of a daring policy. Not that all have been able as yet to avail themselves of the advantages of trade unionism—this is far from being the case; but a sufficiently large proportion have done so to warrant them in undertaking to supplement the work done by themselves in these voluntary institutions

by other work for and by themselves in the Imperial Parliament and in our local governing institutions.

That democracy is advancing all may see who will observe what goes on at elections to our Town and County Councils. These institutions, like Parliament, have been monopolised for the most part by the classes; but the democracy is now rising to a sense of its duties; its rights we need not dwell upon; they will be secured by a proper discharge of duties—duties to itself and to humanity. No longer can we rely upon what Matthew Arnold called our upper class—Barbarians, or our middle class—Philistines; the populace will now make a greater proportionate progress than that of either the Barbarians or the Philistines. Speaking of the former, Matthew Arnold says: "One has often wondered whether upon the whole earth there is anything so unintelligent, so unapt to perceive how the world is really going, as an ordinary young Englishman of our upper class."\* Of the middle class he observes: "*Philistine* gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the resistance to light and its children; and therein it specially suits our middle class."† It is from such sources that our legislators and administrators, local and imperial, have been drawn. Now the common people are to exercise due control in all matters social, industrial, and moral; and they will do this with proper regard to the uses that may be made of the various institutions. It is not a case of falling back despairingly upon Parliament, and asking that it shall in its mercy take pity upon a feeble folk; it is this folk themselves that intend to legitimately use Parliament and the lesser bodies to reconstruct our social and industrial fabric.

The men who, whilst enjoying conditions made possible largely by Parliamentary action, dissuade other sections from using Parliament, need not receive attention here. There is, however, one other phase of this question that merits attention, and that is, that those workmen who have not yet done anything towards thinking out or working out the social and industrial problem should not be encouraged to suppose that Parliament can help them in any wonderful way. Some men there are who deliberately and persistently act the part of blacklegs, from the trade-union standpoint, getting all they can at the expense of the effort of the Trade Unionists, and who fall back upon Parliamentary methods to secure them something more. This meanness of spirit and general behaviour fortunately is not general; but labour-men should not hesitate to make it clear to all that the educational work necessary to rightly qualify men for effective action in or through Parliamentary agencies has been done in the past, and is done to a greater extent now, in and through the trade and labour organisations; and those who refuse to be identified with such organisations are endeavouring to take a short and cheap excursion to better conditions,

\* "Culture and Anarchy," p. 45.

† *Ibid.* p. 62.



which industrial economics do not warrant. We don't want a House of Commons composed of "blacklegs," or of persons who do not properly appreciate the voluntary institutions that have done, and are doing, so much to assist in the development of Britain.

There is still another side to this "blackleg" question. The workman being worthy of his hire, in Parliament and out of it, those plutocrats who magnanimously offer their services for nothing will be treated as Parliamentary "blacklegs"; and, if this is not desirable, some pretended friends of democracy must be careful in the future to demand not merely payment of members, but payment of *all* members: to do otherwise means to give those who possess capital a mean advantage over those who do not possess it.

Payment of members of Parliament is demanded, then, by workmen for the following chief reasons:

First, because Parliament is now monopolised by the wealthy, who do not adequately cater for the interests of the entire community.

Secondly, so long as the control of Parliament, and therefore of the country, is left in the hands of these wealthy men, there is no hope that the democracy will receive attention, except by forcing it from the occupants of place and power; which process is only to be approved of when a more dignified method is not available.

Thirdly, the labourer is worthy of his hire if he discharges his duties aright, and should therefore be paid for such services by the community he serves. The community in this case being the nation, the expenses should be paid from the national exchequer.

Ere long a demand will be made for payment of Town and County Councillors, and others called upon to fill public offices on behalf of the community. In this latter case, the community would be limited to the locality, because the duties are so confined, and then payment should come from the localities. This might necessitate a revision of the number of persons to be elected, in some instances, where it is unnecessarily large; but the principle of clearing out the vulgar misuse of our public institutions by the owners of property applies here as much as in the case of Parliament. All well-wishers of the "*general expansion of our humanity*"—to quote Arnold again—will try to hasten this democratising of our national and local governing machinery. The broader the base upon which our country rests the more stable it will be; for the term democracy should be sufficient to cover every legitimate section of the community. England's future rests mainly with the toilers; if they develop, England will develop; if they degenerate the country must degenerate. Much has been done of late to bear testimony to the vigour and capacity of the workers of the British Isles. One necessary incident in their continuous development will be the democratising of Parliament, and one essential to this is the payment of members.

TOM MANN.

### III.

#### IS IT A CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE?

ONE would think, from the way in which this subject is discussed, that the authors of the People's Charter and the framers of the Newcastle Programme had suggested a daring innovation upon our methods of popular government; that the payment of members of the House of Commons was foreign to our Constitution; and that such a practice could only result in turning our legislators into professional politicians. The recent debates which have taken place in Parliament upon this question have by no means helped to dispel the erroneous impressions current concerning it; and with a view to throwing some of the light of history upon the proposal to pay our representatives, I have collected what information I can on the payment of what old writers call "Members' Wages."

In the first place, nothing is better established than that the knights of the shire (county members) and burgesses (borough members) had a common law right to receive their expenses from the commonalty they represented in Parliament. In the second place, our records <sup>show</sup> that for three hundred years they one and all demanded this payment. And, thirdly, we can date the period of Parliamentary corruption and the growth of rotten boroughs from the time when the practice of claiming this payment became obsolete at the end of the seventeenth century. We shall not be far wrong in saying that the first flagrant instance of a bribe to the electors at large was when one of the contending candidates intimated in his address that he would not, if elected, demand payment from his constituents.

Lord Chancellor Campbell ascribes to Master William de Grenefield (Chancellor to Edward I. from Sept. 1302 to Dec. 1304) the invention of the writ by which members obtained their wages; but after searching through the Parliament writs I find an instance at least

forty years earlier. In 1265 met Simon de Montfort's famous assembly, which we may call the first representative English Parliament, for to it for the first time were summoned knights and burgesses to be elected from every shire and borough. This Parliament met at Westminster on Jan. 20 and sat for thirty-two days. On Feb. 25 I find the following writ or order from the king, addressed to the Sheriff of York, under the king's seal. It is in Latin and headed, "*De Expensis Militum Civium Burgensium*" (Touching the Expenses of Knights and Burgesses), it recites, "Whereas these same (*i.e.*, the members for Yorkshire) made longer tarry than they wotted of, and thereby incurred no small expense . . . we charge thee, inasmuch as they find themselves a little too much burdened by their costs, to see that they have their reasonable expenses in coming to the saide Parliament, in tarrying there, and in returning to their own place, and cause them to be levied on the same commonalty." From this writ it is to be noted that the summoners of our first representative Parliament fully recognised the fact that members deserved wages for their time and trouble during the sessions; that the wages were to be the "reasonable expenses" incurred, and that travelling expenses were to be allowed for the journey from York to Westminster and back, a journey that in those times took some eight days. It is also to be observed that each place was to bear the expense of its own member, a point to which I shall advert later. A member then got his wages in the following manner: As soon as Parliament was prorogued he went to the Chancellor's office and satisfied him of his attendance and the length of his journey. The Chancellor then handed the member a writ, addressed to the sheriff, which the member took home with him and duly delivered on his arrival. The sheriff then levied a rate on the constituents. The amount a borough member at that time usually received was two shillings a day, which would represent a pound according to the present purchasing power of money; a county member (why I do not know) received four shillings per diem.

The next writ *De expensis* bears date 1300, all the intermediate ones having been lost; it is similar to the one quoted above, but contains in addition these words, "according as elsewhere in like case it has become the custom," which shows that this right of payment for services was now regarded as part of the law of the land. In 1305, King Edward in his address to Parliament bids the members, before they leave Westminster, apply to Sir John de Kirkeby for their writs of payment. It seems during the next few years that the sheriffs became somewhat slack in levying these wages, and that many complaints were made to the king in Chancery: as it was decidedly to the king's interest that the wages should be regularly paid, and members kept in a good temper for voting supplies a further clause is added to the writ (9 Ed. II.) threatening the

sheriffs with divers pains and penalties if they do not see the members speedily satisfied of their expenses. Seven years later (16 Ed. II.) Parliament sat at York, and an Act was passed, *De levandis expensis* (on the levying of expenses); this made the customary payment of 2s. to borough and 4s. to county members a payment fixed by statute. It is also noticeable that in the writs of this year the members for York get no travelling expenses as they had no distance to go; other members were allowed seven days for their journey, and the Cornwall men twenty days, both coming and going.

A very important writ is one dated 17 Ed. II., for notwithstanding the statute of the previous year fixing the rate of payment, the king, on petition being made in Chancery, issues a writ ordering special inquiry to be made with a view to allowing the petitioner all reasonable expenses; this shows that it rests with the Crown through the Chancellor to increase the amount payable if necessary, and the Act of the previous year must be taken as fixing a minimum. This would be an important point at the present day if any member were to sue out a writ, as he could do, since, owing to the difference in the value of money, 2s. or even 4s. per diem, would be but a small pittance. The advantages, too, of the Crown through the judges regulating the scale of payment are obvious; the Crown, on the one hand, does not receive the salary, nor, on the other, does it have to contribute to it, it is therefore an uninterested party, and no such difficulty could arise as was suggested by Lord Elcho in March 1892, when he pointed out that it was contrary to the interests of purity that members should vote their own salaries.

In the seventh year of Edward III. Parliament again met at York, and after sitting for six days it was prorogued from December 12 to January 21 following, "that the knights and burgesses might repair home to their houses to entertain their neighbours and keep hospitality during the Feast of Christ's Nativity, then approaching": for this laudable object all members were allowed their travelling expenses to their homes and back again.

In 1371 Edward III., after dismissing Parliament, discovered there had been a great mistake made in the assessment of English parishes, so that he only received a tenth of the sum calculated in the estimates. To rectify this mistake he hastily summoned one member from every pair sent by each county and borough, and this assembly voted him the grant required. The king later excused himself for these irregular proceedings, by saying that he did not wish to put the Commons of the realm to the expense of sending members to Westminster a second time, and his excuse was considered by the House a good one, which shows that constituencies were apt to grumble if their representatives cost them too much. Another very delicate question was raised on the death of Henry IV. in 1413: it appeared that Parliament

had been summoned to meet and had actually commenced its sittings when, on March 20, Henry expired in the Jerusalem Chamber, and Parliament, of course, became dissolved. Were the members to receive their wages, as no Act had been passed? It was argued on the one side that their constituents might justly grumble at having to pay, and getting no legislation in return; on the other, that the members had been put to the trouble of attending, and that the act of God (*i.e.*, the king's death and the consequent dissolution) ought to hurt no one. In the event the expenses were paid in full.

From this period up to the reign of Henry VIII. these writs were continuously issued at the end of each session, and that they were acted on numerous bills exhibited in Chancery testify. The effect of paying members for each day spent at their duties was to shorten the duration of Parliaments and to promote the progress of business, for the man who returned to the electors to recover his expenses without being able to show them something for their money was frequently subjected to a severe heckling on the subject. Many boroughs that were too poor to support a representative petitioned the king to be relieved of this burden, so that something like equal electoral districts were established; while other growing boroughs petitioned that they might be allowed to send a burgess to Westminster, for it was originally part of the king's prerogative to summon members from what boroughs he pleased. It was the practice with some candidates to get sureties from the electors for their expenses before they would stand. This example has recently been followed by Mr. T. J. Healy who stipulated with the electors of North Wexford that he should be paid a quarter in advance. Strange as it may seem to us, it was very difficult in some places to get a member at all, and candidates would not be forthcoming unless, secure of their expenses, they were saved the trouble of suing out the writ and seeing that the sheriff did his work. Some members, though elected, never went to the House at all, and thus saved their constituents the expense, for no one could claim payment except for actual attendance. So hard was it in some counties to get a member at all that I find instances of knights being elected against their will and being compelled by distraint of their goods and chattels to proceed to Parliament. Though, as far as I can gather from the records, no member could claim any allowance for expenses unless he had actually attended in his place, it seems to have become necessary, in the reign of Henry VIII., to emphasise this rule. The 6th Henry VIII. c. 16, was headed as follows: "An Act that no knights of shires nor burgesses depart before the end of Parliament." The penalty is expressed to be "upon payne to every of them so departing or absenting themselves to lose all those summes of money which he or they shall or ought to have had for his or their wages." A member who wished to go away before the end of the session

had to obtain the leave of the Speaker and Commons, to be entered of record.

In the 34th and 35th Henry VIII. an Act was passed settling lands, situate in the Manor of Burlewass, at Madingley, in the county of Cambridge, on John Hynde and his heirs for ever, he paying therefor yearly £10 for the charges of the knights of Cambridgeshire for the time being. The present members for Cambridgeshire should look this up. Unless, however, the Act is repealed, the electors of Cambridgeshire cannot be made chargeable with their members' expenses under the old writ.

From the above writs and statutes we see that it was the universal practice for members to claim their wages, and William Prynne writing in 1663 tells us how, "the knights of each county sued forth their writs for their expenses at the end of each Parliament and demanded levied as an ancient unquestioned right which they well deserved, reputing it neither a disparagement, disreputation nor act of baseness, covetousness, dishonour to themselves, nor injury or oppression to the commonalties, which elected them, to demand their full expenses without deductions, yea they grievously complained to the king both in and out of Parliament when sheriffs refused to levy them." I will not recapitulate Prynne's argument in full but it ranges from "the lawes of God, Nature, Nations" to the law of master and servant; lastly—which is more important—he tells us many members still had the good sense to claim their expenses under Charles II.

Nevertheless under the early Stuarts the practice had ceased to be universal and instances of expenses being levied become fewer and fewer: whether it was that a seat in the Commons with all its privileges and exemptions from arrest was beginning to be an object of jealous contention rather than an irksome duty, or whether it was not worth the while of well-to-do candidates to demand the payment and so to burden their constituents, at all events the writ was falling out of use. But it had not ceased to be legal; that great authority Lord Coke speaking of members receiving their wages says, "so it hath been time out of mind," which is equivalent to saying it is part of the common law.

It has been stated that Andrew Marvell, the wit and wag who was member for Hull during the reign of Charles II. was the last person to receive wages for sitting in the House of Commons; but his chroniclers have erroneously considered as wages a barrel of herrings which his grateful constituents used to send to him as an annual present. As a matter of fact the last case on the subject that I can find recorded was during the Chancellorship of Lord Nottingham in 1679, a year or two after Marvell's death. In the Register Book (to be seen at the Record Office) for that year I find the following written entry. It is the petition to Chancery of one Thomas King, Esq.,

formerly member for Harwich: he complains that he had sat for the said borough and did give his constant attendance in Parliament; he therefore prays the Chancellor that the corporation may be ordered to show cause why the writ should not issue according to law. The corporation of Harwich appeared by counsel, and Lord Nottingham after hearing the argument, ordered the writ to issue, thus deciding in 1679 that a member had a claim on his constituents for his expenses. Lord Chancellor Campbell writing in 1846 gives it as his opinion that the writ could not be refused if demanded, and goes on to wonder why no member availed himself of it. Sir W. R. Anson writing in 1892, throws no doubt on the legality of the writ; but thinks there might be difficulty in applying it to constituencies created by the Reform Acts and other later statutes. To this objection we may answer the writ is a common law right, not a creation of statute, and being such, elastic enough to extend to any body of electors who return a representative to Parliament.

On February 18, 1830, the Marquis of Blandford, in introducing his Reform Bill, which contained among other suggested reforms a proposal to pay members, made a speech as polished as it was full of knowledge of our old institutions, and the whole debate which followed, in point of Constitutional learning, makes the debates of March '89 and March '92 on the same subject seem peculiarly weak and insignificant; indeed, the lamentable indifference to historical precedents displayed in the latest of these debates was only compensated for by the wit of the member for Ipswich. In 1830 the noble Marquis, in introducing his Bill, fully recognised the fact that it had been at one time the universal rule for members to draw their wages, and only asked for the re-establishment of the old practice, for which he urged many cogent reasons, that the opposers did not or could not deny. Among the speakers in the House in 1889, only two—Mr. G. Curzon and the member for Fife—seem even to be aware that wages formerly were paid to those who sat in the House of Commons; and even this so far enlightened pair appear to be totally ignorant of the ancient origin and three hundred years' prevalence of the custom, while it never even seems to occur to their minds that this same custom may still have a legal existence. So much for the debate of '89. In 1892 not a single one of our legislators makes any allusion whatever to the historical payment, and Mr. Henry Fowler, in opposing the proposal to give members a salary, exclaims in ignorant indignation: "Has the hon. member (Mr. Fenwick, who proposed the motion) made out a sufficient case for so *great a change* in our Constitution?" Mr. Fenwick himself is equally badly informed on the subject, and the greater part of his speech is devoted to arguing that payment will not turn the people's representatives into professional politicians, whereas he might, if he had only properly studied the authorities, have pointed to the three hundred years of Parliamentary history when

members were paid, and the House was much purer than during the succeeding centuries. All those in favour of the resolution used their oratory to show that its adoption would not lead to corruption, while those against expended the force of their arguments to show that if the resolution prevailed members of the House of Commons must degenerate into the hirelings of their constituents: how much more convincing it would have been to have followed the example of the Marquis of Blandford, and seek guidance for the future in the annals of the past!

It will naturally be objected that, assuming the writ *De expensis* can still issue, the amount to be recovered thereby will only be 4s. or 2s. for each day during the continuance of the session; and of course the Act 16 Ed. II. *De levandis expensis* would be quoted in support of this view. But it seems to me the old common law writ which always contained the words "reasonable expenses" would allow the Chancellor to use a wide discretion as to what at the present day might be reasonable, and we know that in a writ issued subsequently to the statute just cited, the Crown directed inquiry to be made as to what were the reasonable expenses in that particular case, that expenses were allowed at a higher rate, and that this exercise of its power by the Crown through the Chancellor passed unchallenged. Assuming that £1 represents at the present day the 2s. paid to borough members, and that Parliament sits for some six months, a borough member who was regular in his attendance might obtain under the writ £180 and a first-class return fare from his constituency to Westminster, while county members might demand double that amount. The Marquis of Blandford proposed to abolish the difference between county and borough members, and pay both alike at the higher rate of £2 for each day's attendance during the Session. Mr. Fenwick suggested £365 per annum as a suitable honorarium; but apparently from his speech attendance in the House was not to be necessary to the obtaining of this salary. These proposals assume that the payment will be made from the Imperial Treasury, and Mr. John Morley, speaking in 1889, says that the payment of members can never be a local burden. For myself I fail to see why this should be so. When each member under the old writ recovered his expenses from his constituents, they had a direct interest in seeing they got some return for their money; and every community which sends a representative should bear the cost itself on the principle, "*Qui sentit commodum sentire debet et onus.*" If it is objected that local payments might throw a burden on a poor constituency, it may be answered that many constituencies even now make a voluntary contribution to their member's expenses. I have above pointed out how local payment at one time indirectly tended to preserve equal electoral districts, and how the expense incurred by boroughs in sending a member to Westminster effectually prevented their becoming "rotten."



There is in existence a curious document which pretends to have been submitted to and to have received the approval of Oliver Cromwell; it is entitled a "scheme for better governing of the nation," and contains the following proposed reforms:

1. Abolition of the House of Peers.
2. The nomination of all members of Parliament by the Protector.
3. That each member upon election should deposit £1000 with the Treasury.
4. Thereout to receive £350 per annum wages.
5. Each member voting against the Protector to forfeit for the first vote £5, for the second £10, for the third £20, and so on.
6. Each member speaking against the Protector to forfeit £1.

It is to be noted that under the above scheme Parliament would have to continue at least three years before a member would get any return for his outlay; also that a dissolution before the three years would cause a dead loss, while an opposition member might forfeit incalculable sums by voting against the Lord Protector. There is, however, little or no evidence to show that this scheme was ever seriously entertained.

The question that now has to be answered is this: Can a member who has attended the sittings of the House demand payment of his constituents at the present day? The universal practice that existed from 1265 for more than three centuries points to the answer that he can by the common law; no less than four Acts of Parliament recognise the validity of the payment, so that both common and statute law are in its favour. Lord Coke, the greatest of legal text-writers, briefly dismisses the subject as being beyond a legal doubt, while Lord Nottingham in 1679, by his decision in the case of the corporation of Harwich, placed the validity of the payment beyond all question. Nothing but an Act of Parliament can override the common law and statutes previously enacted, and, as far as I am aware, no Act of Parliament has ever been passed abolishing the payment of members' wages; lastly, we have the opinion of Lord Chancellor Campbell in 1846 that this writ could not be refused if demanded.

If any member is desirous of giving his name to a leading case, let him announce to his constituents that he means to demand his wages; at the end of the session let him obtain a certificate of his attendance, and then go before the Lord Chancellor and petition for a writ to issue for his reasonable expenses; if he be successful in obtaining the writ in due course he will receive from the sheriff or other officer that ancient and honourable payment that our authorities call "Members' Wages."

W. R. ELLISTON.

## MR. HERBERT SPENCER ON "NATURAL SELECTION."

AS the first evolutionist who seems to have questioned the belief in "Use-inheritance," and has closely followed all subsequent literature upon the subject, I should like to say a few words on the most recent contribution to this discussion by Mr. Herbert Spencer.

First of all it is desirable to furnish a brief sketch of the history of the issue "Natural Selection" *versus* "Lamarckian Factors," as this will be the shortest way of gaining a clear view of the sundry principles which that issue now involves.

In Darwin's judgment there were three distinct lines of evidence in favour of the Lamarckian Factors, namely, evidence furnished by (A) the apparently inherited effects of use and disuse; (B) by certain general considerations; and (C) by certain special experiments. As it is only with (A) and (B) that Mr. Spencer's essay is concerned, I will not occupy space by considering (C).

### A.—INHERITED EFFECTS OF USE AND DISUSE.

There is no doubt that Darwin everywhere attaches great weight to this line of evidence. Nevertheless, in my opinion, there is equally little doubt that, taken by itself, it is of much less weight than Darwin supposed and Spencer still supposes. Indeed, I quite agree with Weismann that the whole of this line of evidence is practically worthless, for the following reasons.

The main evidence on which Darwin relied to prove the inherited effects of use and disuse, was derived from his careful measurements of the increase or decrease which certain bones of our domesticated animals have undergone, as compared with the corresponding bones of ancestral stocks in a state of nature. He chose domesticated

animals for these investigations, because, while yielding unquestionable cases of increased or diminished use of certain organs over a large number of sequent generations, the results were not complicated by the possible interference of Natural Selection on the one hand, or that of Economy of Nutrition on the other. For "with highly-fed domesticated animals there seems to be no economy of growth or any tendency to elimination of superfluous details";\* seeing that, among other considerations pointing in the same direction, "structures which are rudimentary in the parent species sometimes become partially re-developed in our domesticated productions."†

The method of Darwin's researches in this connection was as follows: Taking, for example, the case of ducks, he carefully weighed and measured the wing-bones and leg-bones of wild and tame ducks, and he found that the wing-bones were smaller, while the leg-bones were larger, in the tame than in the wild specimens. These facts he attributed to tame ducks through many generations using their wings less and their legs more than was the case with their wild ancestry. Similarly he compared the leg-bones of wild rabbits with those of tame ones, and so forth—in all cases finding that where domestication had led to increased use of a part, that part was larger than in the wild parent stock, while the reverse was the case with parts less used. Now, although at first sight these facts certainly do seem to yield good evidence of the inherited effects of use and disuse, they are really open to the following weighty objections.

First of all, we have no means of knowing how far the observed effects may have been due to increased or diminished use during the individual lifetime of each domesticated animal. Again, and this is a more important point, in all Darwin's investigations the increase or decrease of a part was estimated, not by directly comparing, say, the wing-bones of a domesticated duck with the wing-bones of a wild duck (which would clearly have given useless results), but by comparing the *ratio* between the wing- and leg-bones of a tame duck with the *ratio* between the wing- and leg-bones of a wild duck. Consequently, if there be any reason to doubt the supposition that a really inherited decrease in the size of a part thus estimated is due to the inherited effects of disuse, such a doubt will also extend to the evidence of increased size being due to the inherited effects of use.

Now it occurred to me in 1874 that a very grave doubt does lie against the supposition that any inherited decrease in the size of a part is due to the inherited effects of disuse. For the more that I considered the matter the more evident it seemed to become that degeneration under disuse may be—and to some extent must be—due to another principle, which it is remarkable that Darwin should

\* "Variation of Plants and Animals," vol. ii. p. 289.

† *Ibid.* p. 346.

have overlooked. Eventually I set forth this principle in the columns of *Nature*.\*

It may be briefly stated thus :

If any structure which was originally built up by Natural Selection on account of its use ceases to be of so much use, in whatever degree it ceases to be of use in that degree will the premium before set upon it by Natural Selection be withdrawn. And the consequence of this withdrawal of selection, as regards that particular part, will be to allow the part to degenerate in successive generations. For, after the withdrawal of selection, *minus* variations of the part will have as good a chance as *plus* variations of survival and propagation, the average size of the part will therefore decrease in successive generations by the mere cessation of that maintaining influence which perpetual elimination of the *minus* variations had formerly exercised. This principle I called the Cessation of Selection, and argued that its necessary occurrence in all cases where degeneration is going on destroys all Darwin's evidence of the inherited effects of use and disuse. For even supposing that such effects are inherited, it thus becomes impossible to determine how much of the dwindling is due to this cause and how much to the Cessation of Selection—in fact, it becomes impossible to ascertain whether *any* of the dwindling is due to the former cause, and, therefore, whether there be in any case any such cause at all.

Lastly, if this be so as regards the dwindling of parts when less used, a similar measure of doubt must extend to Darwin's interpretation of the apparent increase of parts when more used, as we have seen in the preceding paragraph.

In view of these considerations Darwin recognised that his whole line of evidence in favour of the Lamarckian Factors which we are here considering (*viz.*, the line A) was seriously invalidated. His last edition of the "Origin of Species" had then been published, so he was unable to discuss the matter in that work, but in conversation he satisfied me that there still remained, in the lines B and C, independent evidence of the transmission of acquired characters sufficient to leave the general structure of his previous theory unaffected by what he nevertheless accepted as a necessarily additional factor, and one which was virtually destructive of the line A.

The following year Mr. Galton followed with his highly important essay on heredity, and in this the principle in question was clearly admitted. Subsequently, essays expressly devoted to the subject of degeneration were published by Dorn and Lankester, but in neither of these is there any allusion to the Cessation of Selection. In 1883 Weismann began to produce his essays on heredity, and in these the principle is abundantly utilised. Indeed, on account of its under-

\* Vol. ix. pp. 361-2, 440-1 ; vol. x. p. 164.

mining all Darwin's evidence in favour of the inherited effects of use and disuse (A), he constitutes this principle one of the foundation-stones of his whole system. He had not seen my articles in *Nature* and christened the principle, which he had independently perceived, by the name Panmixia.

Panmixia, then, is the same thing as the Cessation of Selection, which, as just stated, Darwin fully accepted. And as I cannot see that since that time any new facts—or even any new considerations of much importance—have been brought to bear on the question of the transmission of acquired characters, I have not seen any reason to modify the judgment which my conversations with Darwin caused me then to form. And this judgment is, that while we must regard the evidence which Darwin adduced in favour of such transmission a considerably attenuated, we are nevertheless not entitled to conclude against there being any such evidence at all. Line A has, indeed, been shown untrustworthy, if not demonstrably false; but lines B and C remain in 1893 just as they were in 1874.

Nowadays all evolutionists accept the principle of Panmixia. The only question with regard to it is the extent to which it acts, or in other words, the amount of degeneration which it is capable of producing. For reasons which I originally stated in *Nature*, and need not here repeat, it seemed to me that, if acting alone, as it does in our domesticated animals, it would probably not carry degeneration of size (as distinguished from structure) any further than Darwin's observations had shown the process to have been actually carried in these animals, which amounts to some 20 per cent. at most. As extreme estimates we have Lankester's and Lloyd-Morgan's on the one hand, who doubt whether Panmixia alone will carry degeneration through more than about 5 per cent., and, on the other hand, the estimate of Weismann, who says that he thinks Panmixia alone can reduce a useless structure to a "rudiment," or even abolish it altogether. But, notwithstanding these great differences of estimate where size or mass is concerned, opinions are more in agreement where structure or organisation is concerned. For it is self-evident that the influence of the principle in question must be greater in the latter than in the former case. The more complex a structure, the greater will be the number of points which it presents for variation round the average, as the latter continually sinks in successive generations. Hence the more necessity there is for the presence of selection in maintaining the structure intact, so long as it is of use; hence, also, the more rapidly and the more considerably will it degenerate when it falls into disuse, and the maintaining influence of selection is withdrawn. In point of fact, it seems to me we have good evidence, where organs of high complexity are concerned, that Weismann's estimate is the true one—i.e., that such an organ may be reduced to a rudiment by the Cessation of Selection alone.

The next thing to be noticed is that in nature, and where structures of any considerable size are concerned, the Cessation of Selection will always be more or less assisted in its destructive agency by the co-operation of another and quite independent principle, the Economy of Nutrition. We must carefully distinguish between these two principles. When a structure of any considerable size falls into disuse, it absorbs nutriment, causes weight, &c., uselessly. Therefore, in the struggle for existence, Natural Selection will always tend to diminish the size of such a structure. But this, it will be seen, is quite a different principle of degeneration from that of *Panmixia*. *Panmixia* is the passive cessation of selection; but the Economy of Nutrition implies an active hostility of selection to the part which is undergoing degeneration; so long as the structure was useful it was built up and maintained by selection; but so soon as it became useless it began to be broken down and abolished, not only, as just shown, by the Cessation of Selection, but also by what I have termed the Reversal of Selection. And although Mr. Spencer in his article very pertinently remarks that the term is one of "questionable logic" it will serve its purpose if it conveys a clear notion of the process which it denotes. Unfortunately, however, such has not been its effect upon Mr. Spencer himself. For it is evident that he has failed to perceive the distinction which it is the express purpose of this term to draw, viz., that between the Cessation of Selection and the Economy of Nutrition, *plus* the useless causing of weight, the useless occupying of space, and all or any other disadvantages which will determine a *Reversal* of Selection as regards the degenerating structure. That Mr. Spencer does not perceive the distinction between these two causes of degeneration will at once be rendered apparent by the following passage. After showing, by means of a quotation from his "*Principles of Biology*," that he accepted "economised nutrition" as a cause of degeneration, he observes:

"When writing this passage in 1864, I never dreamt that a quarter of a century later the supposable causes of degeneration here examined and excluded as impossible, would be enunciated as not only *a* cause, but *the* cause, and the sole cause. This, however, has happened. Weismann's theory of degeneration by *Panmixia* is, that when an organ previously maintained of the needful size by natural selection, is no longer maintained at that size, because it has become useless (or because a smaller size is equally useful), it results that among the variations in the size which take place from generation to generation, the smaller will be preserved continually, and that so the part will decrease."

Now, this is not "Weismann's theory of degeneration by *Panmixia*." It is the theory of degeneration by "economised nutrition." The former theory is not twenty years old; the latter is as old as Aristotle. In relation to the doctrine of descent, the former is not mentioned by Darwin, Dorn, or Lankester, while the latter pervades all editions of "*Origin of Species*," and not only the essays of Dorn

and Lankester, but likewise the writings of every other author who has ever seriously dealt with the subject of degeneration. And, as above explained, the two theories are absolutely distinct, though the principles which they severally enunciate are believed by Weismann and others frequently—but by no means invariably—to co-operate in causing degeneration.\* Further on in his essay Mr. Spencer expressly affirms that he does not perceive any distinction between these two theories, or the causes which they severally enunciate. Therefore it is needful to quote the passage in which he does so. He first extracts the following sentences from the writings of Weismann, which set forth tersely and precisely the distinction between Panmixia and Economy of Nutrition :

“ There is no reason to wonder at the extent to which the degeneration of the eye has been already carried in the *Proteus*, even if we assume that it is merely due to the cessation of the conserving influence of natural selection.

“ But it is unnecessary to depend upon this assumption alone, for when a useless organ degenerates, there are also other factors which demand consideration, namely, the higher development of other organs which compensate for the loss of the degenerating structure, or the increase in size of adjacent parts. If these newer developments are of advantage to the species, they finally come to take the place of the organ which natural selection has failed to preserve at its point of highest perfection.”

On this passage Mr. Spencer observes :

“ On these paragraphs let me first remark that one cause is multiplied into two. The cause is stated in the abstract, and it is then re-stated in the concrete, as though it were another cause. Manifestly, if by decrease of the eye an economy of nutriment is achieved, it is implied that the economised nutriment is turned to some advantageous purpose or other ; and to specify that the nutriment is used for further development of compensating organs simply changes the indefinite statement of advantage into a definite statement of advantage. There are not two causes in operation, though the matter is presented as though there were.”

This, then, is as clear a statement as could be of failure to perceive the distinction between congenital dwindling as due to the Cessation of Selection, and to the Reversal of Selection through Economy

\* The mere etymology of the term “ Panmixia ” is enough to show that by it Professor Weismann does not intend to represent that he means the same principle as that which is designated by the term “ economised nutrition.” Panmixia is, literally, universal commingling—that is, free inter-crossing. But what can free inter-crossing possibly have to do with economy of nutrition—further than that both these widely different principles are often associated in processes of degeneration ? In point of fact, these two principles, even when thus accidentally associated, are the logical antitheses of one another. For Panmixia causes degeneration by the withdrawal of an old form of selection, while economised nutrition does so by the advent of a new form of selection. Such, at any rate, is the opinion of Weismann, who does not believe that the dwindling effects of economised nutrition in the individual can ever be transmitted to the race as an “ acquired character,” although, from the above quotations, it would appear that Mr. Spencer understands this to be Weismann’s view of the manner in which that principle acts. For otherwise his allusion to Weismann’s supposed adoption of the principle as set forth in the “ Principles of Biology ” is unintelligible.

of Nutrition; or through any of the other "factors" to which Weismann alludes. But it is equally clear that in passing this criticism, Mr. Spencer shows that he has not made himself sufficiently acquainted with the matter. If he had said that in his opinion the mere Cessation of Selection cannot count for much as a cause of degeneration, there would at least have been some question to discuss. But there is no question to discuss when it is stated that Cessation of Selection is one and the same principle as Reversal of Selection through Economy of Nutrition, &c. For it is not possible that any one could make such a statement who understands the meaning which these terms are intended to convey. The Cessation of Selection (Panmixia) is in no way concerned with any question of "advantage"; it has no reference to the struggle for existence or survival of the fittest; it is merely a negative condition to the process of degeneration which arises from the absence of a previously active cause of maintenance; it is simply a *stoppage* of natural selection—a withdrawal of that eliminative agency which had heretofore prevented *minus* variations from asserting their influence in the race. The Reversal of Selection, on the other hand, whether due to the Economy of Nutrition or to any other cause, is entirely concerned with the question of "*advantage*"; it has exclusive reference to the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest; it is a positive cause of degeneration; it is a *turning round* of the selective process from actively maintaining to actively destroying an organ; it is a change from eliminating *minus* variations to eliminating *plus* variations.

Perhaps a concrete illustration will serve to show the distinction between these two causes of degeneration better than any abstract statement. Mr. Spencer alludes to the degenerated eyes of animals which have long lived in dark caves, and he attributes the degeneration in such cases to the inherited effects of disuse. Those naturalists, however, who have ceased to believe in the possibility of such inheritance, for the most part explain these cases by the Reversal of Selection through the Economy of Nutrition.

It is evident, however, that the totally distinct principle of the Cessation of Selection must in all these cases have assisted in the process of degeneration. But how are we to ascertain the relative efficacy of these two co-operating causes? In most cases it is impossible to do so; but there happens to be one case in which this is not impossible. I allude to those stalk-eyed crustacea mentioned by Mr. Spencer, which are found in dark caves, and which, while having lost their eyes, still retain the relatively large stalks on which the now absent eyes must originally have been mounted. Clearly the Economy of Nutrition ought to have removed these relatively large masses of tissue at least as quickly as the relatively small masses which used to constitute the eyes. And, no less



clearly, as soon as the eyes had degenerated sufficiently to prevent them from seeing, any "advantage" which their destruction may have conferred (by preventing the animals from seeking light, and so from leaving the cave—which may have been, according to Mr. Spencer, an additional cause of degeneration\*) must have ceased. In short, there is no way of understanding how the Reversal of Selection could have removed the eyes long before it removed the eye-stalks. But it is evident that the Cessation of Selection is likely to have done so, because, as we have previously seen, this cause of degeneration must act more rapidly on organs of great complexity than it does, in those of lesser complexity, even though they happen to be of greater mass.

Possibly, however, it will here be said—although the distinction between the Cessation and the Reversal of Selection, is now sufficiently plain, what after all, is the use of it? Granting that there are two causes, and not one cause, still, as they both produce the same effects, why be so punctilious on the matter of their separation? Well, the answer has already been given in the earlier part of this paper. For we have seen that the chief evidence adduced by Darwin in favour of the inheritance of acquired characters, was the direct evidence furnished in the line A. Now the cogency of this line of evidence consisted, as we have likewise seen, in its effectually excluding the Economy of Nutrition as a possibly disturbing cause, seeing that in our domesticated animals this principle does not come into operation. Therefore, all the evidence of degeneration which Darwin obtained as having occurred in the relatively disused parts of our domesticated animals, was available as so much proof of the inherited effects of disuse, which it would not have been had the Reversal of Selection, through the Economy of Nutrition or any other principle, been present. Such, then, was the expressed reason why Darwin chose domesticated animals for the purposes of this research. But we have further seen that the Cessation of Selection is not excluded in the case of domesticated animals, any more than it is in that of wild animals; and, therefore, that the whole of Darwin's evidence in the line A is as much vitiated by this fact as it would have been had he chosen any other set of animals where the Reversal of Selection had been operative. Consequently, we may now see that by failing to distinguish between these two causes of degeneration, Mr. Spencer is but playing into the hands of his opponents. For it is certain that the two causes in question are separable causes, and that one of them has been at work in our domesticated animals. Hence, the only way in which "Neo-Lamarckians" can hope to rehabilitate

\* This suggestion was originally due to Professor Lankester, who now writes to *Nature* (February 23, p. 389) complaining that Mr. Spencer had not alluded to it. Mr. Spencer, however, does allude to it, and in a favourable manner, although he does not mention its authorship. See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, February, 1893.

Darwin's evidence in the line A is, not by denying Panmixia as a true and independent cause of degeneration, but by adducing arguments to prove that it is not a sufficiently potent cause to have produced all the 12 to 20 per cent. of degeneration which has taken place in the relatively disused organs of our domesticated animals. And it is in the hope that Mr. Spencer may be induced to apply his powerful mind to an analysis of this question that I have ventured to show the futility of his merely attempting to identify the new doctrine of Panmixia with the old doctrine of the Economy of Nutrition.\*

#### B.—GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It is satisfactory to pass from Mr. Spencer's treatment of the line of evidence A to his treatment of the line of evidence B. For more than any other writer, he has brought valid arguments to bear in this line—the line of general reasoning. And, in my opinion, the most cogent of the arguments which he has brought are those which he further develops in his present paper—namely (1), the argument from co-adaptation; and (2) the argument from what may be called selection-value. On the present occasion he advances a third argument, which may be termed the argument from the influence on progeny of a previous sire. I will consider these three arguments separately.

##### (1) *Co-adaptation.*

I have nothing further to supply touching this argument. For many years I have followed Mr. Spencer in representing it as an exceedingly cogent argument against Weismann, Wallace, and all ultra-Darwinians, who regard Natural Selection as "the exclusive means of modification." As long ago as 1888, Weismann promised

\* The above was written before the appearance of Mr. Spencer's second article in the March issue of this Review. No better proof of what I have said could be given than that which is supplied by the following extract from his second article. Speaking of Panmixia he says:—"Even if that hypothesis had been tenable, it would have been inapplicable to these cases (*i.e.*, Darwin's cases of supposed use-inheritance in ducks, rabbits, &c.); since in domesticated animals, artificially fed, often over-fed, the supposed advantage from economy cannot be shown to tell, and since in these cases individuals are not naturally selected during the struggle for life in which certain traits are advantageous." Of course Mr. Spencer is here, as usual, identifying the Cessation of Selection with the Economy of Nutrition. And the point is that, owing to this identification, he hits upon exactly the two facts which render futile all the supposed evidence of use-inheritance which has been derived from the case of domesticated animals, and actually chooses these two facts as supports of such evidence. If the Cessation of Selection were merely another name for the Economy of Nutrition, as he supposes, he would have been using a valid argument by pointing to the absence both of such economy and of Natural Selection as proof of use-inheritance in domesticated animals—such, indeed, being the considerations which induced Darwin to choose these animals for his researches. But just as we have seen that, by overlooking the independent cause of degeneration which we have in Panmixia, Darwin's researches in this direction were rendered nugatory; so we may now see that, in consequence of the same oversight, Mr. Spencer is playing the part of Balak; the facts which he invokes to curse the hosts of Weismann have ended by blessing them altogether.

to answer what I had then said,\* but hitherto this promise has not been redeemed. Subsequently, Mr. Wallace gave a very lame answer in his "Darwinism." It seems to me that I effectually disposed of it in a review of that work which was published in these pages (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, August 1889): my rejoinder was substantially the same as that which Mr. Spencer has now himself given (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, February, p. 160). Two or three years later I had a controversy with Professor Meldola upon the subject in the pages of *Nature*. I mention all this in order to show that the argument in question has been repeatedly brought before the notice of the ultra-Darwinians, with the result that it stands more firmly than ever. Mr. Spencer has now given us some further and very excellent illustrations of it (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March; pp. 439-446). Perhaps this will at last induce Weismann to attempt a refutation on some other lines than those on which such competent writers as Wallace and Meldola have so conspicuously failed.

### (2) *Selection-value.*

It is out of our power to exclude the abstract possibility of Natural Selection having been at work upon any given structure of a plant or animal in a state of nature. Therefore, in the issue of Natural Selection *versus* Use-inheritance, the most that can be done by way of indirect argument in favour of the latter is to attenuate the probability of Natural Selection having been at work. This may be done by searching for cases in nature where a congenital structure, although unquestionably adaptive, nevertheless presents so small an amount of adaptation that we can scarcely suppose it to have been arrived at by Natural Selection in the struggle for existence, as distinguished from the inheritance of a functionally-produced modification. For, if functionally-produced modifications are ever transmitted at all, there is no limit to the minuteness of adaptive values which may thus become congenital; whereas, in order that any adaptive structure, or instinct, should be seized upon and accumulated by Natural Selection, it must from the very first have had an adaptive value sufficiently great to have constituted its presence a matter of life or death in the struggle for existence. Adaptations due to Natural Selection must not only have always presented some degree of adaptive value, but this must always have been sufficiently great to reach what I have called a selection-value.†

\* "Biol. Centrbl." lld. viii. Nr. 3. Republished in 1891. "Essays on Heredity," Eng. Trans., second edition, p. 401.

† Professor Lloyd-Morgan, in his admirable work on "Animal Life and Intelligence," uses the term "Elimination-value." But I do not think that this term accurately expresses what is meant. To say that a structure has an elimination-value is suggestive of its *not* having an adaptive value sufficient to admit of its being any longer preserved by Natural Selection. And this is just the opposite of what the term is intended to signify.

For example, Mr. Spencer adduces the vestigial eye of the *Proteus* as a case where Natural Selection, acting through the Economy of Nutrition, cannot have reduced the eye to the very minute proportions which it now presents. He supposes, indeed, that he is thus criticising the theory of Panmixia; but it is evident, from what we have already seen under A, that he is doing nothing of the kind. Professor Weismann points to the degenerated eye of the *Proteus* as a good example of the disappearance of a complex and useless structure by Panmixia; and so it is. But Mr. Spencer confounds Panmixia with the Economy of Nutrition, and therefore his argument, while undoubtedly valid as against attributing any such large amount of degeneration to the latter cause, is without relevancy as against any one who attributes it to the former cause. Apart from this misunderstanding, however, Mr. Spencer's illustration is a good one. For he shows that if we were to attribute the degeneration of the structure to the *presence* of Natural Selection, acting through the Economy of Nutrition, we should have to believe that every stage of its degeneration must have been of selection-value—*i.e.*, must have been of sufficient advantage in the struggle for existence to have determined survival through the amount of nutrition thus saved. But by estimating the proportion between the mass of the original eye to that of the whole organism on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the number of generations through which the degenerative process must, at the most moderate computation, have been going on, Mr. Spencer is able to show that the proportional amount of nutriment saved in each generation must have been infinitesimal. Hence, it would be simply absurd to suppose that the saving of it could have had any selection-value.\*

Mr. Spencer gives another case in fortification of the argument from selection-value. This is the different degrees of tactual sensitiveness presented by different parts of the human skin, as shown by Weber's well-known investigations. Here the point is, that there is a fairly constant relationship to be observed between the degree of

\* The same thing may be shown by another, a simpler, and a less uncertain method of computation, as I showed in one of my *Nature* articles on the "Cessation of Selection." "Take the original mass of a now obsolescent organ in relation to that of the entire organism of which it then formed a part as 1 : 100. . . . We may assume that when the mass of the useless organ stood to that of its entire organism in this ratio of 1 : 100, Natural Selection was strongly reversed with respect to the organ. But when the ratio fell to 1 : 1000, the activity of such reversal must have become considerably less than one-tenth of its original potency, even if it still continued to exercise any influence at all. For we must remember, on the one hand, that the Reversal of Selection can only act so long as the presence of a diminishing organ continues to be so injurious that variations in size are matters of life and death in the struggle for existence; and, on the other hand, that Natural Selection in the case of the diminishing organ does not refer to the full presence or the total absence of the organ, but only to such *variations* in its mass as any given generation may supply. Now the process of reduction does not end at 1 : 1000. It goes on to 1 : 10,000, and eventually 1 : 100,000. Consequently, however great our faith in natural selection may be, a point must eventually come for all of us, at which we can no longer believe that the reduction of an obsolescent organ is due to reversed selection."

tactual discrimination exhibited by any particular area of the skin, and the frequency with which that area is touched by the hands. Yet the most ardent ultra-Darwinian will hardly maintain that this relationship can be ascribed to Natural Selection, for it is incredible that the life of any man—or of any ape—was ever preserved by his having a slightly higher degree of tactual discrimination on his chest than he has on his back. On the other hand Mr. Spencer has proved by experiments on the finger-tips of blind persons, and also on those of type-compositors, that special practice in the way of touch considerably increases the delicacy of touch-perception. Hence, on the theory of use-inheritance it is easy to understand the relationship in question. Moreover, the tip of the tongue, which of all parts of the body is most sensitive to touch, is likewise of all parts of the body most constantly employed in tactile exploration—*i.e.*, of the interior of the mouth.

Such, in brief, is Mr. Spencer's new illustration of the general argument from selection-value. The illustration, however, presents two oversights. In the first place, and with regard to the tongue, although it is true that in our own species there is no utilitarian reason for the tip of this organ presenting so high a degree of sensitiveness to touch, is it so evident that there is no such reason in the case of our immediate ancestry? The *Quadrumana* employ the tips of their tongues for purposes of tactual examination quite as much as—or even more than—they do the tips of their fingers. And we may observe a survival of this habit in our own infants. Therefore it does not seem to me that this is a good case to choose as an instance of the argument from survival-value. Weismann may reasonably enough reply that great sensitiveness to touch by the tip of the tongue probably *is* of survival-value in the vast majority of the Primates.

But how about the relationship between sensitiveness to touch and frequency of touch by the hands over all other parts of the body? Well, this undoubtedly appears at first sight an excellent case to have chosen as showing "the inadequacy of Natural Selection" to cause adaptations of such low degrees of value; but, unfortunately, the very point which most stands to be proved is tacitly assumed. For there is no evidence that the relationship in question is congenital. There is nothing to show that it is an hereditary characteristic of our species, and not merely a result of individual experience in each particular case. In fact Mr. Spencer's own experiments indicate as much. Interesting as these are from a physiological point of view, in the relation that he adduces them they prove too much.

I make the above comments because I have no doubt that all followers of Weismann will have already perceived these oversights, and because I desire on this account to observe that we ought not to

conclude against the argument from selection-value merely because this particular illustration of it begs the question in debate. Moreover, I desire to suggest that if Mr. Spencer could prove by experiment that all Weber's results hold in the case of a human being who has been born without arms, he would overcome the objection which at present invalidates his illustration. Indeed, the case would then become so important that it would be desirable to have it investigated by some physiologist of recognised competency.

### (3) *Influence on Progeny of a Previous Sire.*

This is the last of the arguments which Mr. Spencer advances against the position of Professor Weismann. Alluding to the case of Lord Morton's mare, he represents that the phenomenon which it serves so well to illustrate—viz., the influence of a previous sire on the progeny of another by the same dam—is hopelessly at variance with the theory of Germ-plasm. I cannot quite gather the explanation which he would give of this phenomenon, further than that in some way or another it betokens an immediate influence of the hereditary material of the male on the body-tissues ("somatic cells") of the female. And this is the view which is taken of the phenomenon by the Lamarckians in general. Yet, if we consider all that such an explanation involves, we shall find that it is a highly complex explanation, for it involves the following chain of hypotheses:—The first impregnation affects many, if not all, the somatic tissues of the mother by the germinal matter of the father; these tissues, in their turn, re-act on the maturing ova; this action and reaction is such that when one of the ova is afterwards fertilised by a different sire, the resulting offspring more or less resembles the preceding sire. Unfortunately, neither Weismann himself nor any of his followers, as far as I know, has hitherto published an opinion on the subject; but I imagine that his answer would be three-fold. First, he may question the fact. Secondly, even admitting the fact, he may say it is much more easy to explain it by supposing that the Germ-plasm of the first sire has in some way or another become partly commingled with that of the immature ova, as well as with that of the mature one, which it actually fertilises; and if so, it would naturally assert its influence in the progeny of a subsequent sire. Millions of spermatozoa must have been playing around the ovaries after the first copulation, and only one of them was needed to fertilise the mature ovum. It is not necessary to suppose that some of the others succeeded in penetrating any of the immature ova, while these were still embedded in the substance of their ovaries. It may be that the life of "ids" is not commensurate with that of their containing spermatozoa. After the latter have perished and disintegrated, their

ids may escape in thousands of millions, bathing in a dormant state the whole surfaces of both ovaries. And, if so, it is conceivable that when subsequent ova mature—*i.e.*, come to the surface of their ovaries and rupture their follicles—these dormant ids adhere to their porous walls, through which they may pass. This may not seem a very probable explanation; but, at any rate, it is a less improbable one than that on which the Neo-Lamarckians would found an argument against the continuity of Germ-plasm. For,—

Thirdly, is it not literally inconceivable that this Neo-Lamarckian explanation can be the true one? Can it be seriously contemplated that there is any such mechanism as the explanation must needs assume? If it is difficult to accept such a machinery as is supposed by the theory of Pangenesis, whereby every cell in the body casts off “gemmules,” which are the carriers of heredity from their respective tissues to the germinal elements, what are we to say of such a machinery as the following:—A machinery which distributes through the body of a female gemmules from the disintegrated spermatozoa of her mate; which distributes them *selectively*, so that they shall all eventually lodge in those tissue-cells of the female which correspond, part for part, with the tissue-cells of the male from which they were originally derived, which then insures that when a gemmule has thus reached its appropriate cell in the female body, it will thereupon modify the pre-existing gemmules in that cell, so that when they are shed and go to form the germinal contents of future ova, they endow the latter with the hereditary qualities of the male in question?

Such, it seems to me, is a fair statement of the whole case up to date. But I think it may be apposite now to publish the main results of an inquiry on which I have been engaged for the last three years.

First as to the facts. The investigations have been pursued on three different lines: (1) I raised discussions on the subject in the principal breeders and fanciers' journals of this country, and also of America. (2) I entered into private correspondence with contributors of the largest experience, and also with professional and amateur breeders, fanciers, &c., who addressed me directly on the subject. (3) I started experiments with the varieties which these inquiries indicated as most likely to yield positive results. At present nothing need be said with regard to these experiments, because they are not sufficiently matured. But it is desirable to state the general upshot of the correspondence.

The principal result is to show that the phenomenon is of much less frequent occurrence than is generally supposed. Indeed, it is so rare that I doubt whether it takes place in more than one or two per cent. of cases. I must add, however, that nearly all my professional correspondents would deem this an absurdly low estimate. Most of them are quite persuaded that it is of frequent occurrence, many of

them regard it as a general rule, while some of them go so far as to make a point of always putting a mare, a bitch, &c., to a good pedigree male in her first season, so that her subsequent progenies may be benefited by his influence, even though they be engendered by inferior sires. But I am certain that these estimates must be largely discounted in view of merely accidental resemblances, and still more on account of the prevalent belief upon the subject, which, where unquestioningly entertained, prevents anything like a critical estimate being formed.

But that the phenomenon does occur in some small percentage of cases there can be no reasonable doubt—as a result, I mean, of analysing the hundreds of cases which have now been submitted to me, especially with regard to dogs. One thoroughly well observed case occurring among pedigree animals is worth any number of slipshod statements, when precedent belief, inefficient isolation, exaggeration of memory, and so forth, have to be allowed for. On the present occasion space does not admit of giving such special instances, so I must ask it to be taken for granted that my evidence is enough to prove the fact of a previous sire asserting his influence on a subsequent progeny, although this fact is one of comparatively rare occurrence. It may be added that I have failed to find any good evidence of its ever occurring at all in the case of man. For although I have met with an alleged instance of a white woman, who, after having borne children to a negro husband, had a second family to a white one, in which some negro characteristics appeared, I have not been able to meet with any corroboration of this instance. I have made inquiries among medical men in the Southern States of America, where in the days of slavery it was frequently the custom that young negresses should bear their first children to their masters, and their subsequent children to negro husbands; but it never seems to have been observed, according to my correspondents, that these subsequent children were other than pure negroes. Such, however, was not the same case as the one above mentioned, but a reciprocal case; and this may have made a difference. If any reader should happen to know of another instance where a negro was the first husband, I hope he will inform me as to the result.

It has hitherto puzzled me why the phenomenon in question, since it does certainly occur in some cases, should occur so rarely as the above inquiries prove. But I think that Mr. Spencer's suggestion on this point is a valuable one, as it seems to present an excellent promise of solving the puzzle.

This suggestion, it will be remembered, is that when the first sire is of a relatively stable and also of a markedly different ancestral stock from the dam—*e.g.*, of a different species, as in the case of Lord Morton's mare—there will be most likelihood of his impressing his



ancestral characters on the progeny of the second sire.\* And, as he remarks, it would indeed be an extraordinary coincidence if both the well-authenticated cases given in the College of Surgeons Catalogue should have conformed to his explanation by mere accident. To which I may add that the supposition of such an accidental coincidence would seem to be virtually excluded by the recent occurrence of yet a *third* case of exactly the same kind. This took place in the Zoological Gardens, where a wild ass of one species was the previous sire to a foal born of another species: the subsequent sire was of the same species as the mother, and his foal, born a few months ago, presented an unmistakable resemblance to the other species. A brief account of the particulars is given by Mr. Tegetmeier in the *Field* for December 14, 1892.

So much, then, for the facts. As regards their interpretation, it certainly seems to me that the one which I have supposed to be given by Weismann is less difficult of acceptance than the one which is given by the Lamarckians, as we have seen above. But it also seems to me that the latter explanation is not the only one available under the Lamarckian hypothesis. For, even under this hypothesis, there is no need to assume that the influence of the first sire is exerted on all the somatic tissues of the mother, and that these again reflect this influence on the ovum which is afterwards fertilised by the second sire. A mechanism that could effect all this may well be deemed impossible. But a much simpler explanation can be furnished by the Neo-Lamarckians, on lines similar to those upon which I have supposed that Weismann's explanation would run. For, on their common supposition that the substance of heredity is particulate, it matters not in the present connection whether we suppose the particles to be *ids* or *gemmules*. Indeed, it is more in accordance with the hypothetical endowments of the latter than of the former, that they should be capable of penetrating the coats of an ovum, if they can survive the disintegration of their containing spermatozoon. Nevertheless, thus far it does not seem to me that any theory belonging to the family of Pangenesis can gain any advantage over the theory of Germ-plasm, by appealing to the fact of a previous sire sometimes affecting the progeny of a subsequent one. The case, however, is widely different if we turn from animals to plants, thus.

The advantage which any theory of *gemmules* seeks to gain over the theory of Germ-plasm by an appeal to the fact in question, consists in supposing that the influence of the previous sire is exercised in the first instance on the somatic cells of the female. For this would prove that the germinal elements of the male are capable of communicating their hereditary qualities, not only by mixing

\* Readers who may happen to be acquainted with De Vrie's important essay on "Heredity" will perceive how well this suggestion fits in with his modification of Pangenesis.

with the germinal elements of the female (as in ordinary fertilisation) but also by direct contact with the general tissues of the female. And this again would prove that the fundamental postulate of the theory of Germ-plasm is erroneous—*i.e.*, the postulate of the continuity of germ-plasm, or of its perpetual restriction to a "sphere" of its own. This, as all who are acquainted with the literature of the subject will at once perceive, would be a serious blow to the whole Weismannian system. But, as we have seen, the current Lamarckian interpretation of the fact in question involves the supposition of a physiological machinery so inconceivably complex that instead of serving to corroborate the theory of gemmules (or of physiological units) it would go to render that theory incredible.\*

If, however, we turn to plants, we find a considerable number of facts which unquestionably demonstrate the only point which this interpretation has been adduced to suggest. For these facts show that, in not a few cases, the germinal matter of pollen-grains is capable of asserting its influence beyond the ovules to the somatic tissues of the ovary, and even to the flower-stalk of the mother plant. Here, then, we have simple and conclusive evidence of the material of heredity exercising a direct influence on somatic tissues. How this well-known fact is to be met by the theory of Germ-plasm is a question which does not seem to have thus far engaged the attention of Professor Weismann, or of any of his followers. For particulars touching this phenomenon, so highly important in its relation to the theory of Germ-plasm, I cannot do better than refer to the eleventh chapter of Darwin's work on the "Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication."

Finally, in his concluding paragraph, Mr. Spencer gives us a brief statement of what he regards as the logical standing of the issue between the Neo-Darwinians and the Neo-Lamarckians. He says that the *onus* lies with the former to disprove the inheritance of acquired characters; and he complains that the days indeed are evil

\* As already indicated, I cannot gather from his remarks on the subject which, if any, of the alternative interpretations of the phenomena that we are considering Mr. Spencer adopts. From the following sentences it would appear that he assigns yet a third interpretation, and this as the only possible one. For he says of these phenomena: "They prove that while the reproductive cells multiply and arrange themselves during the evolution of the embryo, some of their germ-plasm passes into the mass of somatic cells constituting the parental body, and becomes a permanent component of it. Further, they necessitate the inference that this introduced germ-plasm, everywhere diffused, is some of it included in the reproductive cells subsequently formed" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, p. 452). This appears to mean that the influence of a previous size can only be explained by supposing that the developing embryo inoculates the somatic tissues of its mother with hereditary material derived from its father, and that the maternal tissues afterwards reflect some of this material (or its influence) to the still unripe ovarian ova. If this be the hypothesis intended, it seems to me more complex than any of the three which I have suggested. But, be this as it may, we certainly cannot agree that such an hypothesis is "proved" by the facts, or that the latter "necessitate" the inference as to its being some of the *embryo's* germinal matter which enters the unripe ova.

when "a Right Honourable lecturer represents the inheritance of acquired characters as an exploded doctrine." Presumably the allusion is to Mr. Balfour. But, if so, it seems to me unfortunate, for I am persuaded that there is no one at the present time more capable of taking an accurately logical view of this whole subject; and, as far as I can remember his rectorial address, it did not by any means indicate that he regarded the question as closed. However, letting this pass, if Mr. Spencer had said that the *onus* lies as much with the school of Weismann to disprove the inheritance of acquired character as it does with the school of Darwin to prove such inheritance, his statement would have been less open to challenge. But the statement as it stands can scarcely be justified. For it is designedly exclusive of the question touching the amount and quality of evidence which can be adduced in favour of the transmission of acquired characters. The statement expressly refers to the antecedent standing of this doctrine (the question of actual evidence in its favour being postponed to a subsequent paragraph), and therefore it is open to the following retort. We all agree that Natural Selection is a true cause of adaptive modification in species, while we do not all agree that such is the case with the so-called Lamarckian Factors; hence it is for those who believe in those factors to give reasons for the faith that is in them. What, then, is the true logical standing of the issue as a whole? It would appear to be as follows:

All Neo-Darwinians will doubtless agree with Professor Lankester, who founds their case upon the principle of parsimony—*Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem*. We may not needlessly multiply hypothetical causes in our explanations of given results; Natural Selection is a known cause of adaptive modification in species; the Lamarckian Factors are but hypothetical causes; besides, they are not necessary; therefore, away with them.

To this the Neo-Lamarckians may legitimately answer: True, we may not needlessly multiply hypothetical causes; but our position is that the causes in question are neither hypothetically adduced nor needlessly entertained. On the contrary, we believe that there is a large body of evidence in proof of their occurrence; and we further believe that, but for their occurrence, the process of organic evolution could never have been what it has been. Our adversaries seem to forget that the question in debate is the very question which they quietly beg, viz., as to whether Lamarckian doctrines are void of evidence and unnecessary, or sustained by facts and indispensable.

So far it is evident that the Neo-Lamarckians have the best of the argument. Indeed it cannot be said that so far their opponents are advancing any argument at all. When Darwin himself so emphatically held that the Lamarckian Factors are not only well substantiated by evidence, but are also necessary as supplements to Natural Selection,

the *onus* is clearly as much on the side of Neo-Darwinians to show that his opinion was wrong, as it is on the side of his followers to show that his opinion was right.

How, then, does the matter stand when we pass from these merely antecedent grounds of logic, to the real battlefield of facts? Here the questions are three in number. (1) Do we meet with facts in organic nature which cannot be explained by the theory of Natural Selection? (2) Are any of these facts capable of being explained by the theory of Use-inheritance? And (3), Is there any further evidence in favour of this theory? The answers to all these questions must be provisionally in the affirmative, at all events, until the Neo-Darwinians shall have more effectually disposed of the evidence already extant in the lines B and C, especially, in my judgment, the indirect evidence adducible under the headings 1 and 2. Indeed, the facts which I have myself collected under these headings, and which I hope soon to publish, appear to me in themselves sufficient to prove that some principle of adaptive evolution, other than and supplementary to Natural Selection, must have been concerned in the production of organic types. Therefore, even if by means of their new theory of heredity, or otherwise, the Neo-Darwinians should ever be able to disprove the possibility of use-inheritance, I should be driven to adopt the belief of Asa Gray, Nägeli, Virchow, and not a few other naturalists—the belief, I mean, that there is in nature some hitherto unknown principle of adoptive modification, which is at present almost as unsuspected as was the principle of Natural Selection some half-century ago.

GEORGE JOHN ROMANES.

## HIPPOLYTE TAINÉ.

FRANCE is discrowned. A little while ago it was her privilege to possess two of those encyclopædic minds which contain in themselves the whole knowledge of their time, which sum up all its tendencies, intellectual and moral, and look out upon nature and history from an elevation which enables them to obtain something like a bird's-eye view of the universe. Within five months these two men, so unlike in personal character and in the qualities of their work and thought (and therefore all the more, the two of them, an incarnation of the diverse aptitudes of their race and country), these two, universally recognised as the most authentic exponents and the most authoritative teachers of the generation which flourished between 1850 and 1880, have been taken from us in the plenitude of their powers, M. Renan in October, at the age of sixty-nine, and M. Taine in March, at the age of sixty-four.

I will not indulge in the easy and deceptive pastime of drawing a parallel between them, nor weary the reader with a catalogue of forced and illusory likenesses and contrasts in order to pass a judgment on their relative merits as idle as it would be impertinent. I will only point out in passing that both these men—true children of our democratic modern society—rose, by dint of their own genius and efforts, from a position of humble obscurity to fame and honour; that each (like so many of the great writers of this century—like Chateaubriand, like Victor Hugo, like Lamartine) lost his father in early life, and was brought up by a mother whom he tenderly loved; and that, apart from the circumstances which drove the one from his seminary and the other from the public schools, the life of each was unmarked by any adventure other than the adventures of the intellect, and was devoted without interruption to literary or professorial labours,

lightened by the simple pleasures of the fireside or the circle of friends. Each took science for his mistress, and scientific truth for his end and aim; each strove to hasten the time when a scientific conception of the universe should take the place of the theological conception; but while M. Taine believed it possible, without ever venturing beyond the narrow limits of acquired and demonstrable fact, to lay the foundations of a definite system, M. Renan delighted himself with the visionary glimpses of sentiment and reverie into the domain of the uncertain, the unknown, and even the unknowable, and loved to throw fresh doubt upon established conclusions, and to warn other people against a fallacious intellectual security. Moreover, the action of Renan had something contradictory about it. He was claimed by thinkers of the most opposite tendencies. He paved the way, to some extent, for the momentary reaction we see around us against the positive and scientific temper of recent times. In his irony, as in his flights of fancy and of hope, he seems to soar above his time and above his own work. M. Taine's work, on the other hand, while more limited in range, has a solid unity and a rigid logical consistency; and it is in strict relation with the time in which he lived, at once acting powerfully upon it, and giving it its fullest and most complete expression.

## I.

Taine was the theorist and the philosopher of that scientific movement which in France was the successor of the romantic movement. The romantic movement itself—the work of the generation of 1820–1850—had been a reaction against the hollow, conventional, and sterile art and thought of the age which preceded it. To the narrow and rigid rules of the classical school of the decadence it opposed the broad principle of the freedom of art; for the servile imitation of antiquity it substituted the discovery of new fountains of inspiration in the works of the great masters of all times and countries; while the dull uniformities of a mechanical style gave place to the varying caprices of individual taste, and the narrowness of a tame and timid ideology to the broad horizons of a spiritual eclecticism which found room and recognition for all the great doctrines that in their turn have swayed and captivated the minds of men, and which even professed to reconcile philosophy with religion. But, brilliant as was this epoch of our intellectual history, with its men of genius and its works of art—much as it did for the emancipation of taste and thought, and much as it gave to both art and literature of life and colour and newness, it still fell short of fulfilling the hopes it had inspired. It was mistaken in asserting as a basal principle of art that liberty which is only one of its essential

conditions. With its superficial eclecticism, its confused syncretism, it was lacking in unity of action, in definiteness of aim, in organic principle. It had replaced conventions by new conventions, the antiquated rhetoric of the classic writers by a rhetoric which from the first day seemed also faded; it had fallen, in its turn, into vague declamation and noisy common-place; and it had made the fatal mistake of supposing that efforts of imagination and flights of fancy could take the place of serious study and acquired knowledge, and that the secret things of history and the human heart could be got at by guess-work and delineated with a clever sweep of the brush. Its philosophy, at the same time, had fallen into utter helplessness, while obstinately refusing the fresh impulsion of the spirit of research which was even then creating a new science of nature and of man, and re-laying the experimental bases of psychology.

The generation which came to its full age about 1850, or within some twenty years after, while it retained to a great extent the legacy of the romantic school—its rejection of the antiquated rules of the classicists, its assertion of the freedom of art, and its hunger for life, and colour, and variety—nevertheless took a very distinct departure of its own. Instead of leaving an open field for the play of individual sentiment or imagination, and allowing every one to shape for himself a vague and purely subjective ideal, it held fast to one common principle of life and art, the search for truth—truth, not as an abstract intellectual idea, subjective and arbitrary, not as one of those visions of the imagination which people dignify with the name of truth, but truth objective and demonstrable, sought for and seized upon in the concrete reality, that is to say, scientific truth. This tendency of the time was so general, so profound, so truly organic, that it characterises, consciously or unconsciously, every form of intellectual production. We note its presence no less in the paintings of Meissonier, of Millet, of Bastien Lepage, and the open-air painters than in the plays of Augier, no less in the poetry of Leconte de Lisle, or Hérédia, or Sully-Prudhomme than in the historical works of Renan or of Fustel de Coulanges, no less in the novels of Flaubert, Zola, or Maupassant than in the writings of philosophers like Taine himself.

The movement had had illustrious precursors: Héricault and Stendhal, Balzac, Mérimée, Sainte-Beuve, and Auguste Comte, and others besides these, had anticipated it. But it was not till after 1850 that scientific realism became the organic principle of intellectual life in France. By that time it pervaded everything. Alike in poetry and in the plastic arts we find the same striving after technical accuracy, the same effort to come to closer terms with nature, to adhere more strictly to the historic verity. The novelists, whether

they are describing the present or reanimating the past, become scrupulous in their observation of life and manners, and exacting in their demand for positive evidence. Flaubert employs the same methods in depicting the manners of a Norman village as in describing those of the Carthaginians during the war of the Mercenaries. Bourget analyses the characters in a novel with the precision of a professional psychologist; and Zola goes the length of introducing physiology and pathology. The poetry of Hérédia and Leconte de Lisle is steeped in erudition, that of Sully-Prudhomme in science and philosophy; while Coppée is a hard student of middle-class and working-class manners. The historians apply themselves with an almost excessive conscientiousness to the examination of documents and the dissection of details, and make it their highest ambition to have an unerring eye for a text. The philosophers turn to mathematics, to natural history, to physiology, to supply the bases of a more rigorous psychology, a more certain and rational conception of the universe, and a more accurate knowledge of the laws of thought. The study of outward truth on the one hand—the attempt at a faithful representation of the visible and tangible phenomena of life—and, on the other, the search for the underlying truth, for the play of forces and interaction of natural causes which determine these phenomena—this has been the twofold aim of our poets and painters and sculptors, our novelists and our philosophers, no less than of our men of science; and, in spite of the errors into which modern realism has betrayed some of its devotees, there is an incontestable grandeur in this unity of effort and of inspiration. It was the glory of M. Taine that he, above all other men, was intimately cognisant of the mind and spirit of his generation; that whether as philosopher, historian, or critic, he represented it with unapproached precision, and splendour, and potency; and that he exerted upon it a profound influence. If we discern in him, nevertheless, some lingering trace of that classic spirit of which he was the life-long antagonist; if he sometimes mistakes simplicity and clearness for an evidence of truth; if he was over-fond of absolute formulæ, and of logical systematising; if we discover also a touch of romanticism in his love for the picturesque, and his delight in exuberant and tumultuous character; he had, nevertheless, this supreme merit—that he loved and believed in truth for its own sake, that he trusted to its beneficent influence, that he sought it with sincere and disinterested effort, and that he proved to his own generation how the passionate pursuit of art may be united with the austere and modest service of science.

## II.

Nothing could have been simpler than his life. Born in 1828 at Vouziers, in the Department of the Ardennes, and early orphaned of



his father, he was brought up by a brave mother in a straitness of circumstance akin to poverty. After a brilliant course of study at Paris, he was entered at the Ecole Normale at the age of twenty, and found himself the companion of a number of men who were destined with himself to make their mark in literature—Weiss, About, Paradol, Gréard, and Fustel de Coulanges. Among these he soon took the first rank. He gave proof of his superiority in the examination for his degree in philosophy; but, at the same time, he showed such independence of mind in his treatment of the received eclectic doctrines that the examiners rejected him on the ground of heresy, while admitting that he had taken the first place. The political and religious reaction which marked the opening years of the government of Napoleon III. was then at its height; and the young University, suspected of a leaning to independence, was subjected to petty persecutions which obliged several of Taine's most distinguished comrades to abandon teaching as a profession, and seek their fortunes in journalism. Taine himself, stigmatised by his degree examination as a dangerous character, was forbidden the entry of the philosophy class-room, and sent to Besançon as assistant teacher to the sixth form. He resigned, and went to live in Paris with his mother, and earn his living by private lessons. Meanwhile he was studying medicine and natural science, and acquiring that scientific training which he considered indispensable for a philosopher; and by 1853 he had passed his *doctorat-ès-lettres* with a treatise on La Fontaine and his Fables. The next year he published his "Essay on Livy," in 1856 his "Travels in the Pyrenees," and in 1856 his "French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century."

The success of his books was instantaneous and phenomenal. He was recognised at once as a writer, a critic, an historian, a thinker; the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Journal des Débats* sought contributions from him, and he showed the extent of his knowledge and the force of his thought by applying to the most various literary and historical subjects the philosophic theories which he had already completely elaborated in his two first works. These articles, in which his talent shows itself at its supplest, its most sparkling, its most seductive, have been collected and published in the two volumes of "Critical and Historical Essays" (1858 and 1865). While still engaged in these excursions amongst the literatures of the world—excursions which led him from Xenophon and Plato to Guizot and Michelet, from Marcus Aurelius and Buddhism to the Mormons and Jean Reynaud, from Renaud de Montauban to Balzac, and from Racine to Jefferson—he was preparing a great work in which he was to apply to a noble literature and a noble race his theory of the conditions of the development of civilisation and of intellectual production. In 1864 he published his

"History of English Literature" in four volumes. This is his most splendid achievement, and it is one of the glories of French literature. Henceforth his position was unassailable. Life smiled on him; the world opened its arms to him. His friends were the most illustrious men of the time in science, art, and letters. The State sought to repair the wrong it had done him by appointing him professor at the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*, and examiner in history for St. Cyr. His marriage, a little later, with a woman of superior endowments, created for him at once a wider life, and the conditions most favourable to the expansion of his affectionate nature and the patient and cheerful pursuit of his literary labours. His lessons on the history of Art gave him the opportunity of seeking, in a fresh department of human activity, a new demonstration of his philosophical theories. His "*Travels in Italy*" (1868) and his little books on "*The Philosophy of Art, in Italy, in the Netherlands, and in Greece*," and "*The Ideal in Art*" (afterwards republished in two volumes under the title "*The Philosophy of Art*"), displayed all the resources of a mind capable of giving the most varied forms and applications to a quite immutable basis of doctrine. In "*Thomas Graindorge*" (1867), the humorist and satirist of Parisian society scarcely conceals the personality of the philosopher who in 1870 lays down the laws of thought in his two volumes on "*The Intelligence*." He was projecting a work on the Will, which should complete the exposition of his philosophy, when the war of 1870 broke out, and was followed immediately by the Commune. Tainé was profoundly affected by these events. The development of the political and social situation in France, and its relation to the past and the future, seemed to him the gravest and most pressing of all the problems which had as yet presented themselves to his mind, and he resolved to apply to it all his powers of work and thought, and all the rigour of his method. His treatise on "*Universal Suffrage and the Manner of Voting*," published in 1871, testifies to the practical motives which led him to this decision; and thus it was, that to his great literary work, "*The History of English Literature*," and his great philosophic work, "*The Intelligence*," he added his great historical work, "*The Sources of Contemporary France*." The mere overhauling of documents was a colossal task; his abstracts filled something like a dozen folio volumes. Then he had to explain the causes of the fall of the *Ancien Régime*, to account for the powerlessness of the revolutionary assemblies to found any durable political system, and to expose the evils due to the Napoleonic institutions which still reign in France. This task of generalisation, not abstract and vague, but precise and concrete, involving the classification of thousands of facts and the minute and conscientious study of all manner of institutions, legal, political, administrative, religious—all this accompanied by the constant effort of organising and philosophic

thought—was pursued for twenty years without faltering, though not indeed without weariness. With all the alleviations of his long summer sojourns in the delicious retreat he had provided for himself at Menthon Saint-Bernard, on the shores of the lake of Annecy, the repeated hydropathic cures at Champel, near Geneva, and the hygienic regularity of a life from which the exhausting futilities of social distraction were rigorously excluded, he had not the physical forces necessary to resist the strain of that perpetual tension of the mind, working always in a given direction, and never for a moment inactive. Never had his perceptions been more lucid, nor his faculties more robust than when he wrote those chapters on the Church and Education in the Nineteenth Century, which were published but a year ago. But the body, worn out by the exactions of a too hardy soul, refused to go through with the task, and he died on the 5th of March, leaving his great work, of which six volumes had already appeared, unfinished by two or three chapters.

### III.

Such was his life—laborious, simple, serious; elevated and illumined by the consolations of friendship and family, the joys of thought, the love of nature and of art. The character of the man was in perfect harmony with his life. You had only to know him to be convinced of it; for if his life was hidden from the world, no one ever concealed himself less from those who had the privilege of associating with him. This great lover of truth was true and sincere in everything, in thought and feeling, in word and action. This man of gigantic intellect was simple, grave, and candid as a child; and it is to the simplicity, candour, and seriousness with which he opened his direct and inquiring gaze upon the world and the men who people it, that he owed that force and vividness of impression and expression which were the peculiar mark and sign manual of his genius. How did he come by these rare and seductive qualities? Were they the inheritance of his race? One might almost think it, as one reads what M. Michelet says of the population of the Ardennes: "The race is refined; it is sober, thrifty, intelligent; the face is dry and sharply cut. This character of dryness and severity is not confined to the little Geneva of Sedan; it is almost everywhere the same. The country and the inhabitants are alike austere; the critical spirit is in the ascendant. It is commonly so among people who feel that they themselves are of more value than their possessions." But Vouziers is on the borders between Champagne and the Ardennes; and with Taine himself the innocent mischief of the Champenois, the flash and sparkle of the wines of La Fontaine's country (La Fontaine was one of his favourite authors), went far to temper the austerity of the Ardennais.

Yet one hesitates to reckon much on the influence of race in the presence of a nature so exceptional as that of Taine—a nature so conscious, reflective, self-determining, and in which it is so difficult to separate the intellectual virtues of the thinker from the personal virtues of the man.

Perhaps the most striking thing in him was his modesty. It spoke even in his appearance. There was nothing about him to invite a second look. Somewhat below the middle height, with irregular features, and eyes which showed a slight cast behind their spectacles, his figure somewhat mean, especially in his youth, there was nothing to betray to a careless observer the man he was. But when you saw him closer, when you spoke with him, you were struck by the powerful and solid build of the face and skull, by the look, now inward and reflective, then outward, penetrating, questioning, and by the mixture of force and gentleness in the whole aspect of the man. As he grew older, this characteristic of robust and kindly serenity became more marked, and Bonnat has successfully caught it in his portrait of his friend—the only portrait of him that exists, for Taine's modesty shrank from the photographer as it shrank from the interviewer. He had a horror of fuss and notoriety, and secluded himself from the world, not simply because his health and his work necessitated it, but because he could not endure to be an object of curiosity and to be lionised. It was not from unsociability, for no one could be more welcoming, more genial than he, when there was either advice to give or an opinion to be taken. Not only was he exempt from affectation, from airs of importance or any sort of mannerism, but he had the gift of making people forget his superiority and putting himself on a level with the humblest of his interlocutors, treating them as friends and equals, and making it seem as if he had something to learn from them.

And so, indeed, he had. The gift was no mere artifice of courtesy or condescension; it belonged to the very stuff of his character and ways of thinking. It came, to begin with, from his simple seriousness. Sensitive as he was to beauty or cleverness, truth was worth more to him than either. He wanted to get at the truth, and he did not care about being praised. Whatever subject he dealt with, whatever person he talked with, he made straight for the heart of things, certain of finding something to learn; and this scientific conception of truth made him attach infinite value to the smallest acquisitions of fact or idea, if only they were precise and accurate. Above all, he liked to converse with men who were specialists in their own art or science, or even trade; he knew how to draw them out, and to utilise their special information in building up his own general conceptions. He preferred a talk on trade with a tradesman, or on toys with a child, to the chatter of the drawing-room or the

eloquence of empty cleverness. He detested clap-trap. Even irony was foreign to him, though he lacked neither playfulness nor the power of satire.

His modesty had also its source in his goodness of heart. His philosophy, it must be admitted, was sufficiently hard on the human race, classifying, as it did, a good part of it as simply noxious animals; but in practice he was pitiful, charitable, indulgent, like all humble men of heart. He had even that rarer kindness which consists in avoiding all that can wound or sadden; and his courtesy, like his modesty, was an affair of the heart. He respected the human soul; he knew its weakness, and would refrain from lifting a hand upon anything that could fortify it against evil or console it in its affliction. This temper of his may explain the feeling, not easily understood by every one, which prompted him, a Catholic born, but a freethinker and a life-long unbeliever, to seek interment according to the Protestant ritual. His aversion to sectarianism, to noisy demonstrations and idle discussions, made him dread a civil funeral, which might seem an act of overt hostility to religion, and might be accompanied by tributes intended rather to affront the faithful than to do honour to his memory. He was glad, moreover, to attest his sympathy with the great moral and social forces of Christianity. On the other hand, Catholic burial would have involved an act of adhesion, and a sort of disavowal of his own teaching. He knew that the Protestant Church would grant him its prayers while respecting his independence, and without attributing to him either regrets or hopes which were far from his thoughts. He wished to be borne to his last repose with the simplicity with which he did everything else, without military pomp or academic eulogy, without anything that could lend itself to dispute or controversy, or add to that moral anarchy of which he had endeavoured to counteract the effects by unveiling the causes.

This goodness, this gentleness, this modest reserve, this respect for the feelings of others, betokened, however, no feebleness of character, no conventional compliances, no timidity of thought. The pacific nature of the man himself, and his views on the laws of social development combined to give him a horror of violent revolutions; but few writers have shown in their intellectual life a more courageous and straightforward sincerity. He could not conceive how any personal consideration could prevent the expression of a serious conviction. He had, without any idea of bravado, compromised his career when he left the *École Normale*, by simply saying what he thought. He had quitted the University to take his chance in literature without giving himself any of the airs of a martyr or a hero. He had gone on saying what he thought in publication after publication, without troubling himself as to its effect on friends or

supporters, and without attempting to reply to the attacks of his opponents, since all personal controversy appeared to him to be damaging to the combatants and useless in the interests of truth. The straightforward truthfulness of the "*Origines de la France Contemporaine*" had offended every party in turn. Nor was it only in confronting others and the world that he had shown this courageous sincerity. He had done what is rarer still, he had shown it towards himself. Early possessed with a distinct idea of the domain allotted to human science, he had forbidden himself to expect of it more than it could give, or to mingle with it any foreign element. He had clearly separated from it the domain of practical morality and religion. He attributed to it no mystic virtue, nor asked of it any rule of life. But on the other hand, in its own territory, he had followed it without fear, without hesitation, without regrets, without ever asking whither it was leading him. He had never allowed anything to enter into conflict with it. He would have reproached himself with weakness, if he had stopped to ask whether scientific truth is sombre or cheerful, moral or immoral. It is the truth, and there is an end of it. It was not to be endured that sentiment or imagination should corrupt the probity, the austerity—if I may so speak, the chastity—of the truth.

Such a character, such a life, is the life and character of a sage. Of a sage, I say, and not of a saint; for sanctity implies a something more—a something of enthusiasm, of asceticism, of the supernatural, which Taine might admire at a distance, but which he made no pretension to possess. He loved and practised virtue; but it was a human virtue, accessible and simple. In love with truth and reality, he laid down for himself no rules which he could not fully keep, any more than he would have made statements which he did not believe it in his power to prove. Those charming sonnets of his on his beloved animal, the cat—that incarnation of gravity, suavity, and resigned demeanour, that soul of order and of comfort—were something more than a play of fancy, or an expression of fondness. They embody his conception of the ideal wisdom, which combines the philosophy of Epicurus with that of Zeno. His ideal of life was neither the Christian asceticism of the Port-Royalists or the author of the "*Imitation*," nor the superhuman stoicism of Epictetus; it was the softened and reasonable stoicism of Marcus Aurelius. He lived conformably to this ideal. Is not this praise enough?

#### IV.

The theories of philosophers are not only interesting for their own sake, they are interesting for what they tell us of the philosophers who theorised them. Our ideas of things are but the subjective

impression made by the external world on the senses and the brain ; what they really explain is our own intellectual constitution. Taine's favourite theory of the genesis of great men was that they were the product of the *race*, the *moment*, and the *medium* ; and he would go on to discover in the complex individuality some one leading faculty to which all the others were ancillary. This fascinating theory has been often criticised, perhaps justly ; but if there are many men of genius to whom it is difficult to apply it, it applies quite perfectly to Taine himself.

He is indeed of his country and his race ; he is of the lineage of the best French minds ; a lover of clear and pondered thought and of harmonious simplicity ; a reasoner and a rationalist ; no mystic, no sentimentaliser, but solid, loyal, and true ; eloquent in exposition, a delighter in the beauty of form and colour. If these qualities are associated in him with a somewhat trenchant tone, with something of a biting and satirical sharpness, let it be remembered that he was a native of the Ardennes.

He was emphatically, as we have already shown, the representative of his epoch and of his moment. The lamentable eclipse of the Republic of 1848 had cured Frenchmen, for the time being, of chimerical hopes and enthusiasms ; and from 1840 onward Sainte-Beuve declares that romanticism had proved a failure. All minds were ready to accept a system which should find the explanation of facts in the facts themselves ; which should take concrete data as the only solid basis of reasoning ; which should reduce art, literature, philosophy, politics, to the observation of realities, as the sole principle of truth and life.

He received, moreover, very profoundly the imprint of the medium in which he was brought up. The austerity of his race was emphasised in him by the hard, pinched, and solitary life of his early years. The injustices to which he had been subjected gave a certain zest to the enunciation of his ideas without regard to the opinions of others, and with a genuine scorn for the false judgments sure to be passed upon him whether he wrote philosophy, as in the "French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century," or history, as in the "Sources of Contemporary France," or criticism, as in the preface to the "History of English Literature." In his literary work, again, we see the influence of the various environments of which he had been surrounded. Here and there we find an echo, a reminiscence, of the romanticism which was regnant in his youth ; but his own instincts were classical—witness his preference for Alfred de Musset over Victor Hugo and Lamartine. His training at the University and the *École Normale* developed in him some features of the classic spirit—the tendency to abstraction and generalisation, the love of systematising, and of oratorical reasoning. Later on he associated himself much with men o

science, physiologists and doctors, and had in common with them the habit of referring all phenomena to physical causes, and subjecting everything to a universal determinism. It was in these studies that he found the basis of his scientific realism. Finally, he had a marked predilection for the society of artists. He looked on nature and history himself with the eye of an artist, attaching extraordinary importance to colour and costume, to questions of manners and external decoration, in which he recognised the rendering of the interior life in terms of sense. Of all our great writers, he is the one whose methods of description come the nearest to painting. He has its accumulation of successive touches, its oppositions of light and shade, its incrustations. There is nothing dreamy about his imagination; it is concrete and coloured.

What, then, amidst all these influences and aptitudes, is the leading faculty in Taine—the faculty which dominated all the rest, and fashioned them to its purposes? It is, to my thinking, the logical faculty.

But is it possible? This vivid writer, this most dramatic historian, before whom in a perpetual procession of scenes men are always moving, acting, speaking—this critic, whose eye is ever for the forceful and the splendid in literature and art—for Rubens, Titian, Shakespeare—is he to be credited with a dominant faculty of the purely scientific order, a faculty almost mathematical? It is even so. This was his greatness and his weakness, the secret of his power and of his defects. Everything was to him, in the last resort, a mechanical problem; everything—the sensible universe, the human *Ego*, every historical event, every work of art. Each of these problems is reduced to its simplest terms, at the risk even of mutilating the reality; and the solution is pursued with the inflexible vigour of a mathematician demonstrating a theorem, of a logician working out a syllogism. Given an author or an artist, he infers what he must be from the race, the medium, and the moment; and, having thus mastered his individuality, he deduces from it all his acts and all his works. Given the question, What constitutes the ideal in art? he falls to calculating the degree of importance and the degree of beneficence—that is to say, the general utility—of the work of art, and incurs the reproach of having left out that mysterious and indefinable element—indefinable from its infinite complexity—the indispensable element of beauty. If he is attempting to explain the condition of contemporary France, he puts absolute faith in the power of abstract reason to complete the destruction of a social organisation of which the natural and spontaneous forces, whether individual or collective, have been successively exhausted, and to bring about, first a state of revolutionary anarchy, and then a crushing centralisation like that created by Napoleon. All that will not go within the four



walls of this demonstration—the powers of Parliament under the old *régime*, the work of the Constituent Assembly, the action of external causes, wars, and insurrections—is eliminated by the definition. This dominating logical faculty dictates the whole doctrine of Taine—a doctrine of inexorable determinism. Determinism is for him, as for Claude Bernard, the basis of all progress and of all scientific criticism; and he seeks in it the explanation alike of the facts of history and the works of human art.

At the same time, if Taine was a logician, he was a logician of a particular stamp. He was a realist, and his logic works only upon concrete notions. We shall ill understand his doctrine if we separate it from his method. And here we get some valuable light on the constitution of his intellect from the nature of his mathematical aptitudes. He had a great gift for mathematics, and especially for mental calculation. He could multiply sums of several figures in his head. But he did it by visualising the figures and working the sum as if on a blackboard. In the same way the starting-point of his logical processes was always facts—facts observed with an extraordinary power of vision, collected with indefatigable conscientiousness, grouped in the most rigorous order. In history and in literary or artistic criticism the process was the same as in philosophy. The starting-point of his theory of intelligence is the Sign, the Idea being for him nothing but a name for a collection of impossible experiences. The Sign is the collective name of a series of images; the image is the result of a series of sensations; and the sensation is the result of a series of molecular movements. Thus, through a congeries of sensible facts, we arrive at an initial mechanical action. That is absolutely all. The fact and the cause are identical. This it is which distinguishes Taine from the pure Positivists. While the Positivists content themselves with analysing facts and noting their co-ordination or succession, without assuming any certain relation of cause and effect between them, Taine, with his absolute determinism, sees in each fact a necessary element in a wider group of facts, which determines it and is its cause. Each group of facts is again conditioned by a more general group to which it owes its existence; and one might thus go on in theory from group to group up to some unique cause which should be the originating condition of all that exists. In this conception force and idea and cause and fact are all mixed up together; and if Taine had believed it possible to soar into metaphysics, I suppose his metaphysics would have consisted of a sort of self-determining mechanism, in which the phenomena of the sensible universe and the ideas of the thinking *Ego* would be but the successive appearances presented to the senses by the manifestation of Being in itself, of idea in itself, and of action in itself.

And this helps us to understand how the great logician came to

be also a great painter, how he developed that individual style, with its union of imaginative splendour and rigorous reasoning—a style in which every sweep of the artist's brush is an indispensable element in the philosopher's demonstration. Even his imagination has a character of its own. It has neither sentiment nor reverie. It startles us with none of those instantaneous flashes, those leaps of insight, with which Shakespeare penetrates the heart of Nature or illumines in a moment the mysterious recesses of the human soul. It is not the imagination that suggests and reveals; it is descriptive and explanatory. It shows us things in their full relief, their full intensity of colour, and, by means of sustained comparisons, drawn out with all the analytic art of the logician, it enables us to classify facts and ideas. His imagination is but the sumptuous raiment of his dialectic. It has been said that this glowing oratory was none of his own, to begin with; that when he entered the *École Normale* he was reproved for his dull and abstract style, and that he set himself, by dint of study and effort, to acquire a better manner, browsing meanwhile upon Balzac and Michelet. But a good part of this is neat invention. No doubt, with so robust a genius as Taine's, the will played its part in the formation of his delivery as of his ideas; but there is far too deep an accordance between his style, his method, and his doctrine, for us to imagine it other than the necessary product of his nature. A style like this, at once firm and flashing, now vibrating with nervous tension, then spreading out into a broad and majestic harmony, is not made at pleasure or by machinery.

It must be acknowledged, however, that this intimate admixture of the logical with the picturesque, this application of science to æsthetics, this constant intervention of physics and physiology in the affairs of the mind, this effort to reduce everything to necessary laws and to simple and definite principles, was not without its dangers and its inconveniences. The complexity of life is not so easily to be crammed into a framework thus rigid and inflexible; and nature, in particular, has this strange and inexplicable privilege, that wherever she combines two elements she can add a new one, which results from them but is not accounted for by them.

This is true especially in the organic world; life consists of just that indefinable something which educes the plant from the seed, the flower from the plant, and the fruit from the flower. In the universal mechanism of Taine this mysterious something has no room to breathe; and its absence gives to his style, as to his system, a rigidity which repels many of his readers. Amiel has expressed—with that exaggeration which his morbid sensibility introduces into everything—the impression produced by Taine on some tender and mystical natures which shrink away wounded from the mercilessness of his logic.

“I have a painful sensation in reading him—something like the grinding

of pulleys, the click of machines, the smell of the laboratory. His style reeks of chemistry and technology; it is inexorably scientific. It is dry and rigid, hard and penetrating, a strong astringent; it lacks charm, humanity, nobleness, and grace. It sets one's ears and one's teeth on edge. This painful sensation comes probably from two things—his moral philosophy and his literary method. The profound contempt for humanity which characterises the physiological school, and the intrusion of technology into literature, inaugurated by Balzac and Stendhal, explain this latent aridity which you feel in his pages and which catches you in the throat like the fumes of a mineral factory. He is very instructive to read, but he takes the life out of you; he parches, corrodes, and saddens you. He never inspires; he only informs. This, I suppose, is to be the literature of the future, an Americanised literature, in profound contrast with the Greek; giving you algebra in place of life, the formula instead of the image, the fumes of the alembic for the divine dizziness of Apollo, the cold demonstration for the joys of thought—in a word, the immolation of poetry, to be skinned and dissected by science."

Now in all this there is some truth, but there is a good deal of exaggeration and even injustice. One has but to turn to his essay on "Iphigenia in Tauris" to recognise Taine's susceptibility to the beauty of the antique, to his pages on Madame de Lafayette to feel his grace, or to those on the English Reformation to see how deeply he was touched by the struggle of conscience and the spectacle of moral heroism. It would be easy to show, by running through his books, how this great mind, so profoundly artistic, as much at home—consummate musician that he was—in a sonata of Beethoven as in the metaphysical reverie of Hegel, was accessible to all the great ideas as to all the great emotions, but that he regarded it as a duty to moral as well as intellectual honesty to eliminate from the search for truth all those vague aspirations by means of which men try to create for themselves a universe of their own, "re-moulded nearer to the heart's desire."

## V.

Excluding thus from the whole field of his conceptions all metaphysical entities, all elements of mystery or uncertainty, and reducing everything to the mere grouping of facts, he could not but treat all the problems of literature and æsthetics as problems of history. Thus all his works, with the exception of his "Travels in the Pyrenees" and his treatise on the Intelligence, are historical works. They mark the last stage of the evolution by which literary criticism has become one of the forms of history. Villemain had been the first to show the relation between literary and historical development. Sainte-Beuve had sought, still more systematically, the explanation of an author's work in the circumstances of his life and time. Taine recognised in literature the most precious documents, the most significant testimony, to which history could appeal, at the same time that he regarded it as the necessary product of the epoch which gave it birth. The essay

on *La Fontaine* is an essay on the society of the seventeenth century and the court of Louis XIV.; the essay on *Livy* is an essay on the Roman character; the history of English Literature is a history of English civilisation and the English mind, from the time when Normans or Anglo-Saxons overran the seas and ascended the rivers, pillaging, burning, and massacring, shouting their war-songs as they went, down to Queen Victoria dowering the illustrious Tennyson with the laureateship and a peerage. In the "*Travels in Italy*" and the "*Philosophy of Art*," you are introduced to the Italian society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to Dutch life in the seventeenth; and are made acquainted with the manners of the Greeks in the time of Pericles and of Alexander. It is easy to perceive that for Taine the histories of literature and of art are but fragments of the natural history of man, which is itself but a fragment of the story of the universe. Even the "*Life and Opinions of Thomas Graindorge*" is a humorous study of French society, from the same philosophical hand to which we owe the "*History of English Literature*." Never has any writer shown throughout his works such unity of conception and of doctrine, or manifested from the first so clear a consciousness of his own method, or proved so invariably equal to himself. From the *Ecole Normale* onwards, Taine pursued his own method of generalisation and simplification. "Every man and every book," he said, "may be summed up in three pages, and those three pages in three lines." Nevertheless, he loved detail. His "*Voyages aux Pyrénées*" gives the impression of an exercise in description to see what could be done in it—something like a violinist's finger exercises. It is the only instance we have in his works of description for its own sake. Everywhere else the description is intended to furnish the elements of an historical generalisation. He describes a country in order to explain its inhabitants; he describes the manners and the life of men in order to explain their thoughts and feelings. He has a wonderful gift of making visible to the eye the costume, the decoration, the outward manifestation of the most various civilisations and societies of men, of producing a general effect by accumulation of detail, and by the happy selection of the most characteristic features. In this he shows himself a great historical painter. Nor is the art less wonderful by which he reduces to a few clear and simple motives, logically grouped together and subordinated to a single ruling motive, the whole motley company of external phenomena. One kicks a little, it is true, against accepting explanations so simple for facts so complex, but one is subjugated by the rigour of the demonstration and the tone of conviction and authority, and also by the absolute sincerity with which the historian describes and the philosopher explains, untouched by either tenderness or indignation, and valuing men exactly

in proportion as they represent the essential characters of their epoch, and are moved by the motives which animate it. He will speak in almost the same tone of admiring sympathy of Benvenuto Cellini, who personifies the spirit of the Renaissance, indifferent to good and evil, and only alive to the pleasure of working out its own individuality without hindrance and to the enjoyment of beauty in all its forms, and of Bunyan, the mystical tinker, who personifies the Reformation, with its contempt of beauty in outward things, and its passionate preoccupation with its own soul. His sympathy is the sympathy of the botanist or the zoologist, who appreciates a specimen as true to type. He searches history for the most perfect instances of the different varieties of the human animal. If he classifies and places them, as he does his works of art, according to their importance or their utility, one feels that nevertheless, in his character as a naturalist, all are interesting to him, while his admiration is reserved for those which best conform to type, be the type what it may.

## VI.

Nevertheless, this serenity—which had its source in his necessitarian philosophy—did not accompany him to the end. In this respect his last work contrasts with all that went before it. He is not here content with describing and analysing; he judges, and he is angry. Instead of simply displaying, in the fall of the *ancien régime*, the violences of the Revolution and the splendours and tyranny of the Empire, a succession of necessary and inevitable facts, he speaks of faults, of errors, and of crimes; he has not the same weight and measure for the Reign of Terror in France that he had for a revolution in Italy or in England; and after being so indulgent to the tyrants and the condottieri of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries he speaks with absolute abhorrence of Napoleon, the great condottiere of the nineteenth century, and one of the most superb human animals, moreover, that have ever been let loose upon history.

M. Taine has been reproached with inconsistency. It has even been suggested that his severity towards the men of the Revolution was due to political passion, to the wish to flatter the Conservatives, to some vague terror of the perils and responsibilities of a democratic system. Now it is impossible to deny that the experiences of the war and the Commune acted on the mind of Taine; but they certainly did not act upon it in any such mean and childish way. He believed that he saw in these events the tokens and precursors of the decadence of France, the explanation and the consequence of the political convulsions of a century ago. Surely, so far from upbraiding him with the emotion he betrayed, we should rather take it kindly of him that he felt so much, and that, seeing his country, as he believed, on the edge of the abyss, he should have tried to arrest her by the tragic delineation of her perils and her ills.

For the rest, he made no renunciation of either his method or his doctrine; he rather accentuated both. Nowhere has he more constantly employed his habitual method of accumulating facts to establish a general idea; nowhere has he set forward a series of historical events as more strictly determined by the action of two or three very simple causes tending continuously in the same direction. What may be objected against him is this—that he has too much simplified the problem, that he has neglected certain of its elements, that he has, with all his immense and sometimes wearisome accumulation of facts, omitted other facts which might have served to correct his deductions, and that he has needlessly blackened a picture which, in all conscience, was already dark enough. Such exaggeration as we find in the work is probably due to his love for France, combined with his lack of natural sympathy for her character and institutions. He was like a son tenderly attached to his mother, but separated from her by a cruel misunderstanding, or by a fundamental incompatibility of temper, and whose very affection seems to impose upon him a sorrowful severity of judgment. The seriousness of his nature, averse to all fashionable frivolity, his predilection for energetic individualities, his conviction that true liberty and steady progress are only to be had in conjunction with strong traditions, with the respect for acquired rights, and the spirit of co-operation allied with a sturdy individualism—all these things conspired to make him a lover and admirer of England, and to render him severe towards his own capricious and enthusiastic people—towards a country where the force of social habits overpowers originality of character; where the ridiculous is more harshly dealt with than the vicious; where they neither know how to defend their own rights nor to respect those of others; where, instead of repairing one's house, one sets it on fire in order to rebuild it; and where the love of ease prefers the sterile security of a despotism to the fruitful efforts and agitations of liberty. For France he had the cruel satire of *Grandorge*; for England the most genial and kindly of all his works, the "*Notes sur l'Angleterre*." The English poets were his poets by predilection; and in philosophy he was of the family of Spencer, Mill, and Bain.

Such, I believe, are the reasons of the excessive severity of his judgments on France and the Revolution. To take them literally, one would be almost surprised that France is still in existence, after a hundred years of such a murderous system; and one marvels at a necessitarian like Taine reproaching France for not resembling England. But, after allowing for all that is exaggerated or incomplete in his representation and in his point of view, we must do homage, not only to the power and sincerity of his work, but also to its truthfulness. He has not said everything, but what he has

said is true. It is true that the monarchy had itself prepared its fall by destroying everything that could limit, and therefore sustain, its power; it is true that the Revolution made way for anarchy by destroying traditional institutions, in order to replace them by rational institutions which had no root in history or in custom; it is true that the Jacobin spirit was a spirit of envy, hatred, and malice, which paved the way to despotism; it is true that the Napoleonic centralisation is a hothouse system, which may produce early and splendid fruit, but which exhausts the sap and drains the life; and these truths Taine has set forth with a redundancy of proof and a force of reasoning which must carry conviction to all impartial minds. If a salutary reaction takes place in France against over-centralisation, the credit will be due in great part to him. And, come what may, we owe it to him that he has propounded the historical problem of the Revolution in new terms, and helped to bring it out of the domain of mystic legend or of common-place oratory into that of living reality. Here also, in spite of the passion he has thrown into his narrative and his portraits, he has done good service to science and to truth.

## VII.

I have thought that I could render no better homage to this free, valiant, and sincere spirit, this soul impassioned for the truth, than by saying with all frankness wherein lay, to my eyes, the grandeur of his work, and wherein it fell short through narrowness or incompleteness. It seemed to me that I should be wanting in reverence for his memory, if I used towards him, any of those niceties of consideration and reserve which mark the funeral oration, and which he took such care to banish from beside his grave. But I shall have ill represented what I think and what I feel, if in these pages I have failed to convey my grateful admiration for one of the men who in our time have, by their character and their genius, most honoured France and the human mind. I cannot better express what it was to me to see him pass away than by adopting the language used by a friend, of mine\* in a letter to me, when he received the fatal tidings.

"His disappearance is the removal of a strong and clear light from the world. No one ever represented with greater vigour the scientific spirit; he seemed an energetic incarnation of it. And he leaves us at the moment when sound methods—the only efficacious methods—of arriving at the truth are losing their hold on the conscience of the younger generations; so that his death seems to mark, at least for the time, the end of a great thing. And then, for him to die like this, just after Renan! it seems too much emptiness all at once. There will be nothing left of the generation that formed us; these two great minds represented the whole of it; we owe to them the teaching that came home to us more than any other, and our deepest intellectual joys; our minds are orphaned of their fathers."

G. MONOD.

## IMPERIAL TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

### CABLING TO INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

**I**T is high time that the attention of Parliament and of the public should be directed to the condition of our cable communication with the outlying portions of the Empire and more particularly India, our Eastern settlements, and Australasia. Only a few Englishmen of ascertained sanity would willingly see this great dominion, raised stone on stone by English arms, and too often cemented with English blood, broken up into isolated and helpless fragments. Yet its very magnitude should inspire us to take careful thought for its stability. We seem, one and all, to be bent on piling up the structure higher and higher, without troubling ourselves about the cohesion of the mass—perhaps supposing that it will stand by its own weight. No political association, however, has yet been known to stand the strain of divergent sympathies and interests, when these have been suffered to develop far enough unchecked. The zeal of the Prophet, the genius of the Corsican conqueror, alike failed to avert the catastrophe. And who will deny that there are already centrifugal forces at work within the British Empire, which need the gravest attention of our statesmen?

Fortunately, we have within our reach, in the postal and cable services, the means of intensifying and perpetuating the sympathy that is the basis of union—means that would probably have enabled Mahomet or Napoleon to subjugate the world. In England men are now sharply divided into two great camps on a Constitutional question of prime importance. Yet we meet our opponents in the street and the market-place as cordially as ever; and whatever the result of the struggle, we shall not be worse friends when all is over. This is partly because we know that other Englishmen are very much the same as we are; every one of them, whatever his political complexion,



loving his country, in other words, his countrymen, with his whole heart; and partly because we know that, situated as we are, it would be suicidal folly to fall out. It is a similar sentiment of solidarity, a similar knowledge of, and liking for, one another, which we should cultivate among the several communities that are subject to Queen Victoria. And this can best be done by encouraging postal and telegraphic intercourse among them.

#### ADVANTAGES OF CHEAP CABLE RATES.

Not only are low postal and cable rates essential to the existence of the Empire as a federation of 340,000,000 of men, but they are as urgently required in the interests of the commerce which supports this vast section of humanity. We have never sufficiently realised the importance of ample and cheap cable communication. So large are the transactions engaged in, so narrow is the margin of profit, so much depends on being early in the market, that the cable is simply indispensable in the case of imperial and international trade. Whatever the rates charged, the merchant must pay them, though he, of course, adds his expenditure on cabling to the price of his goods.

The analogy between the imperial cable system and the human nervous system must have struck everybody. By means of electricity, it is as easy to command and concentrate on a given point the diffused strength of a dozen great nationalities as it is for a man to employ eye, foot, and hand together in delivering a crushing blow. Every moment orders, inquiries, reports, and advice are being flashed between Whitehall and British officials in all parts of the globe. The cable multiplies the strength of our fleets and armies, and is an essential part of our governmental machinery.

#### SOCIAL OR FAMILY MESSAGES.

When we consider the interest of the individual, however, the state of things is less satisfactory. One may be pardoned for picturing to oneself the happiness that would result from a really low cable tariff—friend able to communicate instantaneously with friend half-way round the globe, parents receiving constant news from their adventurous children, joys and sorrows shared, as if no broad ocean rolled between. How different is the reality! It has been stated on good authority that out of 100 messages sent to England from the colonies, 99 are commercial telegrams, and only one relates to family or private affairs. As a matter of fact, the cable that girdles the earth is of no more use to the masses of the Queen's subjects than it would be if they resided on another planet. And the explanation is, that a prohibitive tariff is enforced.

## CABLE MONOPOLY AND MONOPOLISTS.

The cable system of the world is in English hands; but it is in the hands of a few monopolists. The Anglo-American Companies, the Eastern Telegraph Company; the Eastern Extension Company, the Indo-European Company, and the Northern Telegraph Company, own nearly every mile of the main lines of cables at present laid. These rich corporations have a common policy, and, most of them, a common purse; and the soul of the combination is Sir John Pender, a man of consummate ability. His rule may be described as despotism, tempered by the fear of competition. He holds the keys that might unlock the chained sympathies of our race; but he will not use them. He stands like a sinister angel between father and son, mother and daughter, brother and sister, and his one aim is to make as much profit for his shareholders as possible from his monopoly before Parliament intervenes. A few figures will make this plain.

## HIGH RATES TO INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

The tariff for cablegrams to Australia is 4s. 9d. per word. The mere statement of that fact speaks volumes. The tariff to India is 4s. per word, although it is not half so far away from us as Australia. This fact also is not without significance. For it shows that the rates are fixed without regard to distance, cost of construction, or cost of working and repairing. But to bring out its full significance it is only necessary to remember that a great part of Canada is nearly as far from us as India, and that the cable rate to Vancouver, 6000 miles distant, is only 1s. 9d. a word, against 4s. to India.

Of course, such a heavy rate as 4s. 9d. for every word telegraphed yields a large profit, though it is derived almost exclusively from commercial messages. I calculate that our trade with India and the East and Australia is thus taxed to the extent of over a quarter of a million a year for the benefit of three private companies. And as that trade grows, these parasites grow with it.

## COLONIAL GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES.

But this is not all. Not only do the companies reap a return monstrously out of proportion to their capital and working expenditure, but they have compelled the various Colonial Governments to pay them heavy subsidies. There is a normal subsidy of £32,000 from the Australian Governments (with one exception), and in return for the reduction of the rate to 4s. 9d., those Governments have now to pay an additional £27,520, besides a sum of £10,415 to South Australia for the land line. Altogether these Governments (not

including Queensland, which, in my judgment, for good reasons stands aloof) pay annually about £70,000 a year for the privilege of telegraphing to England at the rate of 4s. 9d. a word.

#### ENGLAND DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE A FARTHING.

It will naturally be asked, what share does the rich and populous Mother Country contribute towards this "benevolence" or blackmail, as some people would call it. The answer is, not one farthing. Although Englishmen enjoy the benefit, such as it is, of the 4s. 9d. word rate, although the British Government has the meanness (I wish a more courteous term could be found) to telegraph despatches at a specially low State rate—2s. 7d. a word, I think—yet that Government has always obstinately refused to pay one farthing of the subsidies enjoyed by the companies. The English Government witnesses with apathy the Australian Governments paying £70,000 a year in cable subsidies to secure cheap communication with England, but would not contribute a sixpence to prevent the increase in the cable rates which took place in January last. Of course, the colonies are helpless. Sir John Pender would, if the Australian Government had proved stubborn, have cut off their cable communication with the outer world as remorselessly as the collector cuts off the water from the premises of a defaulting ratepayer. He could easily have raised the rates to £1 per word, and thus have brought them to reason. They, the Colonial Governments, have in my opinion behaved nobly, from first to last. They took the statesmanlike view that, in the peculiar situation of Australia, divided from the rest of the civilised world by thousands of miles of water, cable communication was essential to the prosperity and progress of their country; and they accordingly persuaded the taxpayers to lay this heavy burden upon themselves and their posterity. But England—the English Government—has been content to reap a harvest where others have sown, and to allow young and struggling colonies to pay part of its own necessary expenditure incurred in communicating with British possessions. This is not very generous on the part of a Government with more than £3,000,000 of postal surplus, dealing with colonies which at all times have the utmost difficulty in making both ends meet, which are now passing through a severe financial crisis, and which have no postal surpluses to fall back upon. Not the slightest assistance, moreover, was given by the British Government to the Australian Ministers in their efforts to maintain the 4s. rate, which was in force until the 1st of January last. Deputations attended at the Colonial Office, and the Agents-General made urgent representations on the subject; but in vain. To crown all, the Indian Government, finding that an additional 9d. a word was received, tried hard to increase the charge for the use of its land lines.

## INDIA'S EXACTIONS FROM AUSTRALIA.

It should be remarked that India has never behaved with sisterly consideration to Australia in this matter. I recollect, when sitting as representative of an Australian Government at the Berlin Telegraph Conference of 1885, joining in a petition to India for a reduction of the transit rate charged by her on messages sent over her territory between Europe and Australia. The transit rate was  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  a word, though the Indian internal rate was only  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  or  $1d.$  a word. India refused, on the ground that the Eastern cable companies were making such large profits, but offered to reduce her charge if they would reduce theirs.

## PRESENT CHARGES FOR CABLE COMMUNICATION.

Before going further, I wish to direct attention to the rates paid for cabling from England to various parts of the world, as set forth in the "Postal Guide":

EUROPEAN SYSTEM.		EXTRA-EUROPEAN SYSTEM.	
	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d. s. d.</i>
Austria . . . . . (per word)	0 3	Aden . . . . .	3 9
Belgium . . . . . "	0 2	Algeria . . . . .	0 3
Canary Islands . . . . .	0 10	Argentina . . . . .	6 2
France . . . . . "	0 2	Australia . . . . .	3 10 to 4 2
Germany . . . . . "	0 2		(Now 4s. 9d.)
Holland . . . . . "	0 2	Queensland . . . . .	9 5
Italy . . . . . "	0 3	Brazil . . . . .	5 4 and 6 2
Morocco (Tangier) . . . . .	0 6	British South African	
Russia . . . . . "	0 5½	Company's Territory . . . . .	9 2
Spain . . . . . "	0 4	Canada . . . . .	1 0 to 1 9
Turkey in Asia . . . . .	0 6½	Cape Colony . . . . .	8 11
West Coast of Africa . . . . .	9 10	Chili . . . . .	6 2 to 8 10
Senegal . . . . . "	1 6	China . . . . .	6 10 to 8 9
		East Coast of Africa . . . . .	7 9 to 8 10
		Egypt . . . . .	1 7 to 2 0
		Guatemala . . . . .	4 3
		Guiana (British) . . . . .	12 2
		Guiana (Dutch) . . . . .	9 10
		India . . . . .	4 0
		Japan . . . . .	8 0 to 10 8
		Mexico . . . . .	1 9 to 2 8
		Natal . . . . .	8 9 to 8 11
		Newfoundland . . . . .	1 0
		Persia . . . . .	1 6 to 2 5
		United States . . . . .	1 0 to 1 8
		West Indies . . . . .	9 10
		West Coast of Africa . . . . .	5 11 to 8 10

One is at once struck with the bewildering variety of charges, only roughly graduated according to distance, in the above list, which is merely a portion of the complete one. And it is difficult to reconcile such charges as 1s. for New York and 9s. 10d. for the West Indies; or 6½d. for Turkey in Asia and 1s. 7d. for Egypt; or 3d. for

Algeria and 10*d.* for the Canary Islands ; or 4*s.* 9*d.* for Australia and 8*s.* 10*d.* for the West Coast of Africa.\*

#### A PROPOSAL. THE ZONE SYSTEM.

In my opinion three cable zones should be instituted. In the first, which should include all Europe, the rate should be 1*d.* per word. In the second, which should include Egypt, India, Persia, and Afghanistan, the charge should be 6*d.* a word. In the outer zone the charge should be 1*s.* per word for the present. With these three items in our tariff the cables would on the whole yield a far greater revenue than at present.

#### DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING STATISTICS.

A comprehensive survey of the gradual growth of our cable communication with the colonies will doubtless constitute a fascinating chapter in the history of the British Empire. At present, however, it cannot be written. Our postal officials must or ought to have the necessary information ; but, like Hudibras with respect to his wit, they are "very shy of using it." Not only do they decline to reveal the facts, but they have indignantly protested against my asking them to interfere with private cable companies' concerns. On this fact I need only remark that the Submarine Telegraph Company (which owned the cable from England to the Continent) used to give regular accounts of the traffic ; while since the Post Office got possession of the Company's lines, the statistics have been withheld.

I have, however, contrived to ascertain the facts with regard to India and Australia, and they well repay perusal.

#### GROWTH OF AUSTRALIAN CABLE BUSINESS.

I must here recall the fact that the rate to Australia was formerly 9*s.* 7*d.* a word. Two years ago, after much pressure, the Companies consented to lower it to 4*s.*, on condition that the Australian colonies agreed to bear half the loss of revenue expected from the reduction. This guarantee the colonies (with the exception of New Zealand and Queensland) entered into, but, as stated, the rate has since been raised to 4*s.* 9*d.*

The following table, showing the Australian business of the Eastern Telegraph Company and its allies during the past few years, affords most striking evidence of the vigour and vitality that characterise the trade of the Island Continent. And when we remember that the resources of that vast country have scarcely been tapped, that only the fringe of soil bordering on the ocean is as yet cultivated, and that its inhabitants are men of British birth—as energetic, shrewd, and

\* In one Australian colony a message is carried for 3000 miles for one penny a word.

enterprising as their kinsmen in Yorkshire or Pennsylvania—it is easy to see that in another decade Australia will be spending at least a million a year on her cable communications with India and Europe.

NUMBER OF TELEGRAPHIC MESSAGES BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND EUROPE.

Year.	Forwarded to Europe.	Received from Europe.	Total cost.	
			£	s. d.
1872 . . .	826	948	16,155	2 3
1873 . . .	4,332	4,620	108,574	19 11
1874 . . .	4,813	4,985	109,902	12 11
1875 . . .	4,846	4,873	104,005	8 3
1876 . . .	3,151	3,514	77,307	15 2
1877 . . .	5,771	6,608	123,241	19 8
1878 . . .	8,161	9,283	146,124	19 8
1879* . . .	9,589	11,546	*157,740	2 0
1880 . . .	12,767	14,842	181,480	18 6
1881 . . .	16,621	17,721	208,242	12 0
1882 . . .	19,381	19,776	225,567	15 1
1883 . . .	21,771	21,563	251,277	19 8
1884 . . .	24,702	24,194	270,766	10 7
1885 . . .	24,003	23,206	276,551	0 0
1886 . . .	23,353	23,314	256,526	19 6
1887 . . .	27,394	26,394	276,080	4 2
1888 . . .	29,528	30,246	318,447	11 9
1889 . . .	31,133	31,776	321,636	4 4
1890 . . .	32,737	34,329	331,468	2 11
1891 . . .	39,903	39,375	285,516	3 11

\* From and after this date £32,000 per annum subsidy was given to the Eastern Extension Company, so that the total receipts, say in 1890, amounted to £363,468, or £1000 a day for cabling to Australia alone.

I cannot obtain the figures for last year, but it is stated that the result of the reduction to 1s. a word was to increase the Australian traffic by 60 per cent.

CRUELTY OF PROHIBITORY CABLE RATES.

I have already quoted the evidence of an employé of the cable companies to the effect that not more than one in a hundred of the messages were family or social messages. And it is practically certain that during the period since 1872 not one of the many millions of humble and honest toilers at the Antipodes has been able to cable to the "old folks" in the Mother Country one word of intelligence or sympathy, however deeply he might have longed, at critical moments, to send that word, and they to receive it. A beneficent invention, the common heritage of our race—one that might enable all Christendom to assemble as it were under one roof, there to talk, laugh, and weep together—has been selfishly appropriated by a few speculators. Yet the figures quoted show that the commerce of Australia, like the infant Hercules, is too strong for the serpent that would destroy it at its birth.

## GROWTH OF ANGLO-INDIAN CABLE BUSINESS.

It is not less interesting to note the extent of telegraphic intercourse between England and India, notwithstanding the outrageous tariff of 4s. per word now in force. To grasp the importance of this subject we have only to remember that India is inhabited by 250,000,000 of our best customers. Our total trade with India (imports and exports) amounted last year to £65,000,000 sterling, exceeding the total transacted with any other British possession, or with any foreign nation, except our cousins in the United States. Indeed, our trade with India (£65,000,000) and Australia (£60,000,000) constitutes two-thirds of the whole amount of our trade with her Majesty's numerous possessions. Several millions of our home population must be supported by the Indian and Australian trade.

The following figures show how vast is the revenue derived from the cable traffic with India :

## INDIAN MESSAGES.

Year.	Number of words.	Total net value.
1890-91 . . . . .	2,235,127	£345,608
1891-92 . . . . .	2,347,250	360,097

From another official return I find that the grand total number of words transmitted last year between India and Europe, inclusive of Eastern messages from Hong Kong, Singapore, &c., was 4,587,478; and the total net value was £64,528 2s. 8d.

The mere statement of figures, however, is but an imperfect index to the growth of telegraphic business in this case. In face of the all-devouring cable charges, the thrifty merchants engaged in the Anglo-Indian trade have elaborated code-words of unparalleled significance. Thus it is possible to convey an order, or the "market rates" of six items, in a single syllable. Such a message as "Chickjee [to] Jones: Salaam" may mean "Send by next steamer 500 bales of printed stuffs of the same pattern as before"; each letter in "Salaam" referring to a pre-arranged page of directions and particulars. Sir James Anderson, in denouncing the merchants for this thriftiness, complains that "the system of coding really enables merchants to send, on an average, about ten words in one." The rage of the baffled cable directors on perusing these elusive cryptograms may be imagined.

## THE BRITISH POSTAL AUTHORITIES' VIEW OF INDIA.

I cannot avoid adverting here to the extraordinary reason given by the late Postmaster-General (in April last) for refusing any reduction of the Indian Cable rate. In reply to a question from me, referring to the lowering of the rate to Australia from 9s. 7d. to 4s. a word, a

guarantee being given by the Australian Governments to bear half the loss suffered by the companies, and asking whether he had taken any steps to recommend the giving of a similar guarantee by the British and Indian Governments, whereby the rates to India might be reduced from 4s. to 1s. per word, Sir James Fergusson said :

"I have not any intention of proposing a similar reduction and guarantee in regard to India, and I have reason to believe that the conditions of commercial life in India would not produce any increase of business commensurate to, or approaching, the loss of revenue which would be the result" (*Times*, April 12, 1892).

This pessimistic utterance from a retired Indian official of high rank caused considerable astonishment, both in the counting-houses of the City and in those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Rangoon. Of course the Post Office luminary who prepared his chief's answer could not be expected to know all about India. But he might have remembered the signal refutation of an equally unfortunate statement regarding India put into the mouth of Sir J. Fergusson's predecessor by one of his subordinates. When I wished to get the postage to India lowered from 5*d.* to 2½*d.* or 1*d.* the late Mr. Raikes objected that the "area of productivity" in the case of India was not sufficient to warrant a reduction. I immediately procured from India statistics showing that in a few years the number of articles exchanged between India and the outer world through the post had risen from 1,000,000 to 17,000,000. And this great increase occurred while the postal rate was 5*d.* per half-ounce.

Sir James Fergusson's prompter, however, might have taken the trouble to glance at the latest returns on the subject of Indian trade. Not only would he have discovered that our trade with India exceeds that with any other British possession and amounts to one-third of our Colonial trade, but he would have observed that in thirty years Indian trade has quadrupled, and that in the last decade it has increased 42 per cent., while population has increased only 10·75 per cent. The tonnage entering Indian ports last year increased by 370,000 tons. The Indian merchants are most active, vigilant and enterprising, and are annexing markets in all parts of the world. (Their trade with Japan, for instance, has increased 812 per cent. in ten years.) They import cotton manufactures to the amount of 27,24·2 lacs, metals, 5,64·6 lacs, cotton twist, 3,76·8 lacs, machinery 2,00·4 lacs, and so on. How, then, do the "conditions of commercial life" in India differ from those that environ any other pushing community? One is puzzled to answer this question. It is very hot in India, and perhaps it is suggested that the merchants would be physically incapable of resorting oftener than at present to the telegraph offices. But it is as hot in some parts of Australia, and the Australians enjoy a reduced cable tariff. The luminary referred to lays it down that the existing tariff is so beautifully



adjusted, both to the need and the means of the Indian merchants, that loss must result from any interference with it. It is poised, he thinks, like the famous "rocking-stone:" but, even so, this argument will not apply to the merchants in this country engaged in Indian trade. The Minister's answer ignores the fact that they would benefit as much by a reduction as their correspondents in Hindostan. Electrical communication has, I repeat, become necessary, nay, indispensable, to international trade, and if its price be reduced, far more than the amount of the reduction will be spent upon it, just as if it were bread, meat, or any other necessary. Economical laws cannot be pooh-poohed out of existence by a breath from the Treasury Bench.

#### FURTHER EVIDENCE OF INCREASE.

A few facts may here be given showing the surprising development of Indian telegraphic business. During the last five years 8591 miles of line, 33,269 miles of wire, a long stretch of cable, and 320 new telegraph offices have been opened at a cost of Rs.99,29,834 capital outlay. During 1891-2 State inland telegrams exhibited an increase of 109,468 in number; private inland telegrams increased 262,380 in number; foreign private telegrams increased 29,530 in messages, and 506,230 (or ten per cent.) in words. The inland press telegrams numbered 26,127—a large increase; and the foreign press telegrams 2982.

In the "Telegraph" Report of the Indo-European Department just received, I observe that *The Times* is accorded a special column, 411 messages having been cabled to it, with a total of 82,000 words. Such an example of liberality and enterprise deserves to be disinterred from its tomb in a Blue-Book, and I observe, receives the warm encomiums of the Indian press.

#### THE REMEDY FOR HIGH CABLE CHARGES.

Now what remedy can be adopted for the evils I have pointed out?

The first thing to be done is to put an end to the monopoly which is battenning on our trade, and stifling the happiness of our population. The British Government, either alone, as would be preferable, or in concert with the Indian and Australian Governments, should either buy up the property of the existing companies on fair terms—say at present price of stock—or lay alternative cables. In support of this statement, I may refer to the happy results for the State of its joint purchase of the Submarine Telegraph Company's cables between England, France and Germany two or three years ago, which now yield extraordinary profits. We need not anticipate the recurrence

of such a blunder as was committed in the acquisition—too late—of the British inland telegraphs. As to the tariff, it is easy to show that here, as in the case of postage, or any other indirect tax, the lowest practicable scale is by far the most remunerative. Since nobody is obliged to use the cable, the obvious policy is to induce as many as possible to do so: it being remembered that it is not the number of transmissions, but the length of immersion, which chiefly wears out the wire. As I have said, the reduction of an indirect tax invariably shows a large increase in the yield, out of all proportion to the reduction itself. Thus, when the Atlantic cable tariff was lowered temporarily by fifty per cent., there was an immediate increase in the returns of 150 per cent. And nobody with the slightest knowledge of the conditions of our Indian and Australian commerce, can doubt that a substantial reduction in the tariff would throw on the wires an immense amount of correspondence now transacted by post, and would also double or treble the length of the messages now despatched. As bearing upon this latter point, it is interesting to note that during the two years of the existence of the reduced 4s. rate to Australia, while the increase in the number of cablegrams was but six per cent., the increase in the number of words transmitted was ten per cent.

#### WHAT THE TELEGRAPHIC RATE SHOULD BE.

After careful calculation, I should strongly recommend the establishment for the present of a tariff of 6*d.* a word to India, and 1*s.* a word to Australia. If the Government acted promptly, this tariff might be in force soon after the beginning of next year. If it be in operation next December ten thousand Christmas greetings will be flashed to the great Southern continent, which otherwise must be transmitted in imagination only.

#### CARRYING CAPACITY OF THE PRESENT CABLES.

The public will ask (1) what is the carrying capacity of the present cables and land lines between Australia and Europe? and (2) would a shilling-a-word rate be popular, sufficiently popular to justify the reduction? In answer to the first question, I telegraphed to the great electricians in the country, and I find that the carrying capacity of the present cables between Australia and Europe is from 72,000 to 100,000 words a day, that is, 36,000 to 50,000 words each way, whereas the total present traffic is about 5000 words a day. By a recent invention I witnessed cable messages despatched at ten times this rate through a single wire or cable. It is needless to remind the reader that when it is night here it is day in Australia, so night and day traffic would proceed. Forty thousand words daily, that is

20,000 words from Europe, and 20,000 words to Europe, would not be an extravagant estimate of the traffic, and here we have an income of 40,000 shillings, or £2000, as against £1000 a day, the present receipts. I may confidently anticipate the reply to the second question, because the whole press and people of this country with one voice declare that the reduction will open new floodgates of sympathy, and that thousands of kindly messages will be sent at a cost of from 10s. to £1 1s. [It is only fair to say that Sir John Pender recently expressed to me his earnest wish to meet this desire to send social messages at a popular rate.]

It cannot be supposed, however, that even this tariff would, after a time, be found sufficiently low to meet the requirements of trade and social intercourse. The ideal state of things would be the transmission of all communications at charges just sufficient to meet working expenditure and interest, &c., and provide against the contingency of further capital expenditure being required, all profit being foregone, in view of the advantage to trade, and the strengthening of those ties of affection and friendship which bind the colonies to the old country. Patriotism is merely a strand woven of myriads of such ties, which, delicate and impalpable as they are, are not less indispensable and effectual than the mysterious force that keeps a constellation of planets circling about the parent orb.

#### THE PROPOSAL INVOLVES NO INJUSTICE.

What is here proposed involves no injustice to anybody. An inventor of a useful machine or process is entitled to be handsomely rewarded, and our Patent laws recognise this principle. But a man who acquires the invention from its author and hinders the public from benefiting by it in his haste to grow rich, is a monopolist, and deserves no more than bare justice. The case is far stronger when the invention is one on which the bread of millions, and the safety of an empire may depend. If Sir John Pender were to buy up all the railways in the United Kingdom, and treble the existing fares, he would not, in my opinion, be doing us a worse turn than he is doing now. I do not presume to censure him; he is acting within the recognised limits of commercial morality, and within those limits he has displayed strategical and administrative abilities of the highest order. And if I criticise him, it is because he personifies a system which is poisoning the very sources of our imperial strength, and of our commercial prosperity.

#### A SUMMING-UP.

I earnestly invite the attention of the business community to this matter. To sum up, I lay down these two propositions, which, at

the proper time and place, I am prepared to defend in detail, with facts and figures. First, that the existing cable charges are so heavy as to be highly injurious to our commercial and imperial interests; and secondly, that the wisest and fairest method of reducing them is for the State to acquire the existing cables, and supplement them where necessary. The question is one of such urgency, that I shall ask the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee, to inquire into it. There are vast numbers of intelligent Englishmen who would hail any practicable scheme for hastening Imperial Federation. Such a scheme is now, with much deference, laid before them. No august congress, no inflated manifesto, no elaborate organisation is required, but simply a resolve, on the part of the hardheaded merchants of this great city, to secure for themselves and for their countrymen the priceless services of the beneficent Genius of Electricity, who now lies bound and writhing under the spell of a too masterful magician.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

## SPELLING REFORM IN FRENCH.

IT is generally supposed that the necessity of a reform in spelling is felt in England only, or that, at all events, there are more irregularities and abuses to reform in the spelling of English than of any other language. French, Spanish and Italian have often been held up as models of what spelling ought to be; and the spelling reform carried out in Germany by order of Bismarck has been appealed to as showing that where there is a will there is a way of removing at least the more glaring blemishes in the traditional systems of orthography.

We have lately been informed, however (see *Times*, Jan. 28, 1893), that in France also the shoe begins to pinch. A committee appointed by the French Academy, which in literary matters is not less dictatorial than Bismarck himself, has reported in favour of a small number of spelling reforms to be adopted in the next edition of its famous dictionary.\* Hyphens, we are told, are to be abolished in such compounds as *eau-de-vie*, likewise the apostrophe in such words as *entr'aider*. Foreign words, such as *break* and *spleen*, are to be written *brec* and *splene*. Latin plurals like *errata* are to take an *s*, as *erratas*; *seur* and *puon* are to become *seur* and *pan*. *l'h* is to become *f*, and in plurals *x* is to be changed to *s*.

*Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*, but the Academy will find that this *premier pas*, however small, will cost them a great deal of trouble. Bismarck, indeed, was able to say, "So far, and no farther;" but in a republic the large number of spelling reformers, now that they have tasted blood, will not be satisfied till they get a great deal more than such small concessions. Spelling reform is one of those ques-

\* *Le Maître Phonétique*: organe de l'Association Phonétique des Professeurs des Langues vivantes.

tions where the argument is all on one side, but the heavy weight of unreasoning authority all on the other. What can be said against the arguments in favour of consistent spelling except what was said against Dr. Fell? The supporters of the *Fonetik Nuz* in England have been indefatigable, but they are not popular, and what results can they show except here and there a newspaper venturing to spell *program* instead of *programme*, because there is *epigram* and *telegram*; or committing itself to the etymological anachronism of writing *honor* instead of *honour*. In France the *Société de Réforme Orthographique* has been very active in agitating and trying to get public support for a limited measure of reform which they wish to see introduced into the elementary schools, and adopted by Government in all official documents. It seems as if they had really succeeded at last in gaining the ear of the public. There are two kinds of spelling reform. One class of reformers is satisfied with nothing short of a complete phonetic revolution. They follow the example of the once famous *Fonetik Nuz*. Write, they say, as you speak; but they do not say how we are to speak, and in these days they would hardly venture to deny Hóme Rule in pronunciation to Ireland, Scotland, or Wales—perhaps even to England. Another class of reformers is satisfied with less. They only want to remove glaring inconsistencies in the traditional spelling, which in many cases are quite recent, and often due to the whims of compositors rather than to the wishes of more or less pedantic authors. The radical party of spelling reformers is represented in France by M. Paul Passy and his friends; the more moderate party has put forward its programme through the *Société de Réforme Orthographique*. What M. Paul Passy would make of French spelling may be seen from the following specimen taken from *Le Maître Phonétique*.

## kō:ferž:s a la sərbən

### syr l āsenmā de lā:g vi:vāt

ē:si k nu l avjō di, mēsjs M. Bréal, dā l ēstity, a komā:se a la sərbən yñ seri d kō:ferž:s syr l āsenmā de lā:g vi:vāt. la prānje:r a y ljs l vādrēdi 26 fevrie, dvāt ōn o:ditwa:r dā 150 person, prōfēsō:r, ēstitytris e, etyjdž.

ā komā:sā sa kō:ferž:s. mēsjs B. a raple l ēportā:s dā l āsenmā de lā:g vi:vāt, ġeneralnā rkony, pūisk i j a ā s māmā a pa:ri, 157 ku:r pyblik d ā:gle, 107 d almā, 47 d espanōl e ō. d italjē. me si ōn ē dako:r syr l ē:portā:s dā st āsenmā, ō n l ē ni syr lā byt k i dwa vi:ze ni syr le mwajē k i dwa āplwajē; s ki tjē a l apsā:s dā tut tradisjō,

o o ʔkrytmā dy personel āsenā, le ā pø o haza:r zyskē dā so derajerz ane. [a s propo māsjo B. rakō:t k ā polone, vny ā frā:s a la suit dez evenmā dē 1832, o nōme profesō:r d alimā dāz ā lise dy midi malgre so protestā:sjō d inōrā:s, s et akite t se fōksjō ʔprovī:zē ān āsenā pādz plyzjoerz ane l polone oljō d l alimā. lōrsk ān ʔspektō:r ki par azā:r save l alimā, yt ā:iʔ dekuve:r la ʃo:z, i le:sa l profesō:r, deza ā:ze, kō:ti-nue sōn āsenimā zysk a s k il y drwz a la rtret.]

syr lō byt mē:m dō l āsenmā de lā:g, i j a dōz opinjō prē:sipal.

lez ā di:s kē l āsenmā zgō:de:r dāvā vi:ze a forme dez om e nō de spesjalist, i n fō pā rferʃe dā l etydl de lā:g ā byt imedjatmā pratik, me plyto la kyly:r ʒeneral dō l espri. k ān apren oz elē:v a li:r lez o:tō:r, a ekri:r pāsablōmā ā tē:m fasil; k ā lōer fas gule le notē d Gōethe o d Shakespear; me k ā n s alardō pz a fē:r dez egzersis dō prōnō:sjā:sjō u d kō:versā:sjō; dajō:r lō tē mākre par arive a parlo yn lā:g olrā:ʒe:r; sjo ki i tjan i parvjē:drō ply sy:rīmā par ā seʒur a l etrā:ʒe.

lez o:tō repō:d kē le lā:g vi:vā:t nō dwaf pz s āsenē kōnī de lā:g mort. pā:se tu l tē de klā:s a etydje de lā:g k ān a if pz a savwar, sa finitē par lā:se la pasjā:z dez elē:v — e dō parā. lō tē k ān akōrdō mē:tnā o lā:g vi:vā:t e lā:ʒōmā syfī:zā (a kōdisjō d ed bjē reparti). si l āsenmā d yn lā:g

France has passed through many revolutions, but it seems hardly credible that Frenchmen would now break so completely with the past as the writers of this page of phonetic French. It is true, the spelling reformers have high authorities to appeal to. Descartes, in 1638, declared himself a complete believer in phonetic writing. "I must openly express my opinion," he wrote, "that if we exactly followed pronunciation in writing it would be a greater advantage to strangers in helping them to learn our language, than an embarrassment to ourselves, owing to the ambiguity of certain equivocal terms. It is in speaking that one composes a language, rather than in writing; and if the pronunciation of certain equivocal terms should cause any ambiguity, usage would soon lead to a change in order to avert it."

These are brave words, and they are perfectly true in the abstract. Still, we must remember that even Descartes shrank from carrying out his reforming ideas. The members of the *Société de Reforme Orthographique* declare themselves satisfied with much smaller concessions. But they have at least the courage of their opinions, and carry out in their publications what they consider right. The wedge of their reforms is so thin that it has actually pierced through the armour of the Academy—nay, that it has even touched the heart of the Government, and elicited a certain qualified approval of a reform

in spelling from Ministerial authorities. One of their most plausible reforms is the suppression of the *x* when it has taken the place of an original *s*. Why should we write *chevaux* instead of *chevaus*? It is well known that the *s* of the plural in French is the representative of the *s* of the accusative plural in Latin. *Cheraus*, the old way of spelling, stands for *carallos*. The plural of the articles is *les*—i.e. *illos*. Then why should the dative for *à les* be *aur*, instead of *aus*? And why should such Latin words as *caules*, *regales*, *loros*, be represented by *chaux*, *royaux*, and *lieux*, instead of *chous*, *royaus*, and *lieus*? There is no excuse whatever for it, as little as there is for *curicus*, but *curicuse*. Why should Latin *pretium* be written *pris*, but *palatium*, *palais*? The *x* in *noix* has nothing to do with the *x* of *aur*, for *noix* stands for the accusative *nucem*. And if *noix* is written with an *x*, why should *rois* (i.e. *royau*) be written with an *s*? All these *x*'s owe their origin to a mere misapprehension. The final *s* after vowels was often abbreviated in writing, and it was this sign of abbreviation which was mistaken for an *x*, just as in English the abbreviated spelling of *the* was misread as *ye*.

This *x* therefore seems to be doomed, and, like most reforms, this also will only be a return to the original state of things, for before the fifteenth century everybody wrote *royaus*, *curicus*, *pris*, *nois*, &c.

A very troublesome abuse in French consists in the doubling of consonants. Voltaire wrote *aprocher*, *souffrir*, *courroux*, *allumer*. No printer would tolerate such forms now; he would correct them at once, and print *approcher*, *souffrir*, *courroux*, *allumer*. The same men, however, would correct *aggréger* into *agréger*. No reason is given for these double letters; they may have an etymological justification, but they are certainly not pronounced, except by some people who seem to imagine that by saying *cour-rour* they can express a higher degree of wrath than by *courroux*. Why should we have to write *honneur* for "honour," but *honorer*, "to honour"; why *ennemi* for "enemy," but *inimitié*, "enmity"; why *siffler*, to whistle, but *persifler*, to mock, when neither etymology nor pronunciation requires it?

As the termination of the third person singular is *t*, and as this *t* absorbs the final consonant—as, for instance *il dort* for *il dormt*; why should we not write *il perst*, *il prent*, *il répont*, instead of *il perdt*, *il prend*, *il répond*. And, in the same way, as the termination of the first and second persons is *s*, why not write *tu prens*, as one writes *tu dors*. Racine still wrote *je prens*, *j'attens*, *je réponds*; why should we have to write *je prends*, *j'attends*, *je réponds*?

The etymological argument has lost much of its former favour. Formerly it was most powerful, and for a scholar to propose to write in English *det* instead of *debt* was considered not very far from sacrilege. Yet, if Descartes is right in saying that language is spoken first, and



afterwards written ; also if students of language are right that there is method in the mad phonetic changes which every spoken language undergoes ; while there is none in the spelling adopted by various printing-offices, it is clear that what is possible in a language spoken must be possible in a language written, and that a knowledge of the system according to which a spoken language changes must be a safer guide to the etymologist than the present haphazard spelling of compositors and readers. If we once know that dissimilar consonants in Latin are assimilated in French, we know that *dette* may stand for *debita*, just as *recette* stands for *recepta*, a receipt. We have only to go back a few hundred years in order to discover the etymological spelling of many French words. But not even the Academy could now restore *froid* to *froigil*, though it retains *doigt*, 'finger,' or *même* to *mesme*, *chrétien* to *chrestien*, *contrôle* to *contrerolle*, or *giraffe* to *caryophyllum*.

We wish every success to the spelling reformers of France. The reforms which they propose at present are certainly very moderate and reasonable. But no nation is more sensitive to what is pedantic and awkward than the French, and it is not likely that they will ever tolerate such words as *filosofie* and *téologie*.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

## THE "NEW" PSYCHOLOGY AND AUTOMATISM.

ALL who take an intelligent interest in the movement of contemporary thought—whether it be philosophy more strictly so-called, or the advance of science—are aware of the great activity which has been shown of late years in the department of psychology. Till within the last half century, or thereabouts, psychology had been an appanage of the philosophers, and it cannot be said that they neglected this province of their dominion. In this country in particular—in England and Scotland—psychology has formed the bulk of our philosophic treatises; and Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Hartley, Dr. Thomas Brown and the Mills, Reid, Stewart and Hamilton, must always remain among the classics of the science. But it may be admitted that their work often shows a crossing of interests and of points of view. Questions of logic and theory of knowledge were mixed up with the more properly psychological inquiry. And at other times, the investigation was subordinate to the establishment of some metaphysical theory. The distinguishing note of most recent psychology has therefore been insistence on the separation of psychology from philosophy, and on the maintenance of a purely psychological standpoint. In psychology, it is argued, we have a realm of phenomena, a moving world of causes and effects, which it is our business to investigate in the ordinary scientific way, with all the resources of observation and experiment, and without any *arrière pensée* as to the bearing of our results on the ultimate problems of philosophy.

No advice could be more excellent; disinterestedness is the very watchword of science. But it seems to me that a good many of those who talk most loudly of "the new psychology" are exposed to the usual danger of reaction. The rise of this "scientific" psychology,

as it also calls itself, connects itself with the great development of science, especially of the natural sciences, which has marked the present century. The growth of biology and physiology has naturally reacted powerfully upon the whole conception and method of psychological investigation. And it is worth observing that the general scientific movement referred to, coincided, especially in Germany, with a revulsion against the idealistic speculation which marked the beginning of the century. Probably the two were partly connected as cause and effect, the hunger for hard facts and patient detail-work being a healthy protest of the human spirit against over-hasty and over-confident attempts at universal synthesis. Any way, the new psychology, as I have said, has its roots in this movement. And therefore its absorbing concern was and is to keep itself clear of metaphysics, and of every hypothesis which it imagines to savour of that region of mysteries. To a large class of scientific, and would-be scientific thinkers, metaphysics is what clericalism is to the French Liberal; it is the enemy to be fought at all points. These two characteristics of this militant psychology—its renunciation of metaphysics and its affiliation to biology are concisely put by Ribot, one of its standard-bearers: "The new psychology differs from the old in its spirit: it is not metaphysical. It differs in its aim: it only studies phenomena. It differs in its methods: it borrows them as far as possible from the biological sciences. Consequently the sphere of psychology specifies itself; it has for its subject nervous phenomena accompanied by consciousness."

Hence, in shaking the dust of metaphysics off their feet, the new psychologists accepted from Lange as their badge the somewhat paradoxical motto, "Psychology without a soul." As Ribot puts it triumphantly: "The soul and its faculties, the great entity and the little entities, disappear; and we have to do only with internal events—events which, like sensations and images, are translations (so to speak) of physical events, or which, like ideas, movements, volitions and desires, translate themselves into physical events."

In this respect, however, the new psychology was not so original as it perhaps imagined. The attempt to dispense with a soul had been systematically made by Hume and the Associationists long before the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not simply the determination to discard the soul that stamped the new movement. The physiological method is the really distinctive mark of the new departure, and "physiological psychology" is the name very generally given to the recent developments of "psychology as a natural science."

Let me say at once that it is far from my intention to object to this intimate linking of the psychological and the biological. The physiological method of study does indeed promise, as its votaries

say, to be most fruitful in its application. It alone furnishes the basis for introducing experiment into mental science ; and though it can only lay siege, as it were, to the outworks of the mental citadel, to the phenomena of sense-perception and movement, and a few of the simpler aspects of the mental processes, yet the amount of patient detail-work accumulated in these departments, and the light thrown on other departments by the scientific study of abnormal mental states in their physiological relations, are already enriching the science in no ordinary degree, and transforming the very look of our psychological text-books. The philosopher would be singularly cross-grained who did not welcome this accumulation of material, and who did not congratulate himself that all this detail-work was taken out of his hands by those who, from their training and aptitudes, can do it so much better. But he will reserve to himself as philosopher the ultimate verdict on the validity and sufficiency of the theory on which physiological psychology proceeds. - For it is the most indefeasible function of philosophy to act as critic of the sciences. The philosopher has to examine the conceptions which each science accepts without criticism, and on which it proceeds in working out its results ; he has to point out the limits or conditions within which the conception or theory holds true. In other words he has to restrain the ardour of the specialist who would build upon his results a philosophic theory of the universe, by showing that the results which the investigation seems to establish are really involved in the conceptions or standpoint from which it started, and are therefore in no sense to be accepted as an independent proof of the theory. I propose to show that this is pre-eminently the case with the main thesis of the "new" psychology—at least in the hands of its most advanced representatives. In abjuring the soul, and limiting itself to the concomitance of physical and psychical events, it is really dominated by a very definite theory which dictates the character of its results beforehand.

The result supposed to be proved, it had best be stated at once, is the complete parallelism of the bodily and the mental—the denial, therefore, of any real causality to consciousness, which remains the inert accompaniment of a succession of physical changes over which it has no control. In a word, the result is the doctrine of human automatism. The doctrine of conscious automatism has been ventilated a good deal since 1870, or even earlier, by Mr. Shadworth Hodgson, Professor Huxley, Professor Clifford, and others ; but though, no doubt, definitely embraced by a few, it is safe to say that by the most it has been rather talked about and toyed with than fully conceived, much less believed. The doctrine has, however, been recently expressed with great clearness and force by Dr. Münsterberg, who is perhaps the ablest and most stirring of the younger generation of physiological psychologists, and one whose theories have been

much discussed within the last two years, both in England and on the Continent. He teaches in the most unequivocal fashion that consciousness is simply, as he calls it, a "Begleitererscheinung," a concomitant phenomenon of inactive accompaniment of a series of mechanical changes.

Münsterberg's work, which has appeared in a succession of pamphlets since the year 1888, takes largely the form of a polemic against Wundt's doctrine of Apperception. Wundt, it is hardly necessary to say, stands at the head of the physiological psychologists of Germany. His "Physiologische Psychologie," first published in 1874, remains, in its later editions, the chief standard work on the subject; and the psychological laboratory established by him in Leipzig in 1879 was the first of its kind, and is still probably the chief centre of experimental work. But although he may thus fairly be called the father of the whole movement, inasmuch as he has organised experimental psychology, and induced the world to accept it as a new science, Wundt has never lent his countenance to the automatist conclusions which the young bloods are now drawing from their experimental labours. His doctrine of apperception is far from clear, and its precise meaning has given rise to considerable controversy; but apperception seems to correspond in the main to what Dr. Ward calls attention. If the direction and fixation of attention is a centrally initiated function, then it may be held to be the essence of what we mean by the activity of the subject. If we possess such a selective power, then all is not fatally determined; we count for something in directing the course of our own lives. Wundt's doctrine of apperception seems to amount to this, especially when it is taken together with the general philosophical position which he has elaborated in his recently published "System of Philosophy." At any rate, it is certain that he has been attacked by the upholders of thoroughgoing mechanism as an inconsistent and retrograde thinker for attributing activity to the subject. This explanation was necessary for the right understanding of Münsterberg's work. His first pamphlet in this controversy was "Die Willenshandlung," an analysis of the act of will, published early in 1888. This was followed in 1889-90 by three instalments of "Contributions to Experimental Psychology," in which, after an elucidation of principles, he endeavoured, by a series of carefully devised experiments, to assimilate the apperceptive process to the type of reflex action and reduce the whole conscious action to a play of association. Finally, he published last year an introduction to the study of psychology ("Über Aufgaben und Methoden der Psychologie"), in the course of which we get a re-statement of his own position. The standpoint does not vary throughout the different expositions, and therefore, though illustrating freely from all, so far as they throw light upon my points, I will

draw chiefly from the first and fullest statement the very acute analysis of the act of will.

The treatise is divided into three parts, the first treating of the voluntary act as "movement-process" (*Bewegungsvorgang*); the second treating of it as a phenomenon or appearance in consciousness (*Bewusstseinserscheinung*); and the third, which is intended to combine the results of the preceding parts, considering the act of will in its totality as "conscious movement" (*bewusste Bewegung*). Münsterberg makes a start from the well-known saying of Kant: "That my will moves my arm is no whit more intelligible to me than if any one were to tell me that it could hold back the moon in its orbit." He accepts the problem as thus indicated: How does my will move my arm? The first part of his treatise deals with the voluntary act exclusively from the physiological side, and analyses it into a series of movements. We may say analyses it *necessarily* into a series of movements, for the succession of bodily movements, whether visible movements of the limbs or molecular movements of the nerves and brain, are all of the process that could by any possibility be *seen*; and reduction to processes which are intelligible in the sense of being pictorially presentable, is the postulate of explanation which he lays down. There is not much that is peculiar to Münsterberg in this first section, the same has been vividly put by many writers; and in a sense this purely physical explanation is true from the physiological side, though I think it is possible to show that even from the physiological standpoint, it is not the whole truth. Meanwhile it is enough to note the purely mechanical point of view and the explicit reduction of all physiological facts to physico-chemical processes. Passing to the more characteristic psychological analysis contained in the second part of the treatise, we find that Münsterberg is at some pains at the outset to define the problem he sets himself. It is purely a problem of empirical psychology, and does not raise the metaphysical question as to the ultimate ground of phenomena, or as to how consciousness exists at all. His investigation seeks "only to establish the conscious phenomena which are peculiar to the voluntary act" (p. 56). "Wherein consists the content of our inner experience, empirically given to each of us, which we designate will" (p. 60). Or, again, "For our investigation, limited as it is to facts, the will is a phenomenon like other phenomena; and accordingly we have only to ask in what it consists, what regularly precedes it in consciousness and what follows it" (p. 61). This strictly empirical character of the inquiry has one important consequence according to Münsterberg. "Modern psychology, it is well-known," he proceeds, "designates the ultimate irreducible constituents into which the content of consciousness (*Bewusstseinsinhalt*) may be analysed as sensations, ascribing to sensations a quality, an intensity, and a tone

of feeling which expresses their relations to consciousness. But if sensation is the element of all physical phenomena, and if, on the other hand, the will, so far as we are concerned with it, is only a phenomenon of consciousness (*Bewusstseinsercheinung*) it follows necessarily *that the will, too, is only a complex of sensations.*"\*

Having thus marked out his goal beforehand, Münsterberg proceeds to the actual analysis of the facts. He analyses, first, what he calls the inward activity of will—*i.e.*, the voluntary guidance of the train of thoughts in the form of attention; and, secondly, the outward activity of will in bringing about muscular contractions. Under the first head, then, the question is: "Wherein consists the inner activity in the direction of the current of our ideas? or, more precisely, What must be the nature of the feelings present in consciousness if they are to produce in us the feeling of inward freedom, of active will?" This more precise way of putting the question, it will be observed, is not without significance for the nature of the answer which it is to elicit. Let us get to the details, however. Four cases of the inward directive activity of will are analysed by Münsterberg: (*a*) the case of voluntary recollection, or trying to remember; (*b*) the exercise of choice between different ideas presented, the concentration of attention upon one of these, and its retention in the field of consciousness to the exclusion of the others: (*c*) the case of logical thinking or reasoning, in which I pass along a definite and apparently self-directed path from premisses to conclusion; and (*d*) the case of simple attention to an idea or precept which presents itself in consciousness. The analysis is most ingenious in the case of voluntary recollection and logical thinking. How is voluntary recollection distinguished from involuntary reminiscence? If a fact, *a*, has been connected in experience with *b*, and the appearance of *b* calls up in consciousness the idea of *a*, I do not attribute to myself any voluntary action in the matter; I take it as an instance of the ordinary play of association. "On the other hand, when I cannot remember *a*, when I seek it in my memory, recall to myself the place where I saw it, the connection in which I heard it, and when at last *a* actually emerges in consciousness, then it was plainly my will (we say) which dragged to light the object of my search" (p. 64). How does the case stand, however, when more closely analysed?

"If I try to remember *a*, if I seek it in my memory, *a* is, of course, not itself present in consciousness, but what I do perceive does unquestionably correspond in content with *a*. So long as I have not found *a*, I feel, it is true, only an *x*, but I feel this *x* in a series of relations, such that *x* can be only *a* and nothing else. I try to remember a word. In doing so, I see in memory the passage where I read the word, I remember the moment at

\* The italics are Münsterberg's own. It need hardly be pointed out that this astonishing invocation of "modern psychology" begs everything which is afterwards put forward as proved.

which I heard it, I know exactly, too, the meaning of the word; but the word itself is not present to me. At last it rises in consciousness. Can it be denied that that word was already given in its full content (*vollinhaltlich gegeben*) in the series of ideational relations which I remembered? No doubt it was represented in consciousness by entirely different qualities; it was given in its relations to other things, whereas it is afterwards distinguished by its own characteristics. But the two states of consciousness coincided with one another as to their inner meaning" (p. 67).

The only peculiarity, accordingly, which Münsterberg is prepared to admit in this process, as contrasted with a case of involuntary association, is that "the clear consciousness of the idea *a* was preceded by another state of consciousness which, in respect of its content, already contained the idea *a*." He italicises this as the standing mark of voluntary control of our ideas. Reasoning is distinguished, he argues, by the same characteristic. The premisses already contain the conclusion, or, to put it more pointedly, the whole process of thought is determined from the outset by the idea of the end to be reached. In the second case, mentioned above, where several ideas are presented, and we purposely retained one of them, *a*, the same thing manifestly holds. "Here," says Münsterberg, "there is no need to prove that this *a* was in consciousness beforehand. The reasons why just *a* and not *b* remained in consciousness are admittedly only the occasions or motives of the voluntary act; they remain therefore unnoticed here, the remaining behind is itself the achievement of the will (*Willensleistung*)."<sup>1</sup> The same line of argument explains his fourth case, the case of simple attention to any idea presented in consciousness. "In the first moment in which a sensation emerges in us the perception appears involuntary, because the *a* was till then preceded by a *not-a*; in the second moment, however, it appears to us as intentionally retained, just because we were already conscious of it in the preceding first moment."

The solemnity with which this is propounded as a serious account of the facts in question would be too impudent if it stood alone; but Münsterberg hastens to supplement it by reference to the bodily sensations which usually accompany acts like attention and selection, or efforts of thought and memory. He cites the admitted fact that there are feelings of innervation in the sense-organ when ideas of that particular sense are present in consciousness for any length of time. Whenever there is a strain of attention, other sensations are usually present, such as feelings of tension in the skin of the head, for example, and the knitting of the brow in trying to remember or in thoughtful consideration. Nor are such feelings confined to the head; they may be traced all over the trunk, and even in the extremities. Münsterberg does not hold, however, that such feelings of innervation necessarily accompany all voluntary activity. In reasonings or calculations that proceed without any particular difficulty, for example, they are not



observable; but just in these processes, he hastens to add, we are not specially conscious of our voluntary activity. It is only in subsequent reflection that we class them as acts of will, and in so doing we fall back upon the criterion already signalised—namely, the pre-existence of the idea in the preceding moment of consciousness. He concludes the first part of his psychological investigation thus:

"The inner will has thus shown itself on analysis to be a very complicated group of ideas (*ein sehr mannigfaltiges Vorstellungsgebilde*), composed of certain definite series of ideas, *plus* feelings of innervation. Nothing unknown, nothing which stands over against the ideas as something heterogeneous, has been found, as we saw, in the first group of ideas or sensations; it only remains, therefore, to ask whether any mysterious element is concealed in these innervation-processes. Should these also be found to be a mere complex of sensations, the inner will would then be reduced to a series of sensations, each one of which is of the same order as blue, hard, sweet, or warm" (p. 73).

The consideration of the feelings of innervation cannot, however, be conveniently separated from the external action of the will upon the body, and so we pass to the second head of this psychological investigation. The stock example will suffice—I lift an object with my hand.

"But the result of this experiment is usually a very poor one: the feeling of will which I seek (*die gesuchte Willensempfindung*) I cannot discover in myself. I perceive just a slight feeling of tension in the head. For the rest, I am only conscious that I actually execute the movement—viz., bending the joints of the elbow and hand; I feel no special impulse to the movement, lying in time between the theoretical intention and the practical execution of it. It is quite different, however [he proceeds], when I do not simply have the intention of lifting an object and carry this out, but slowly analyse the movement for myself, and direct my attention to the individual parts of the bendings. Now I really perceive more than the actually executed movements: the bending in the elbow is now preceded by the feeling of a peculiar impulse. It is not a general feeling of exertion, but a quite specific impulse, which is different for every movement, and plainly stands in relation to the special performance intended."

What, then, has analysis to say of these feelings of innervation which immediately precede the movement and seem to be its cause? Münsterberg turns round triumphantly to apply his former criterion. What we call impulse in the case of muscular contraction is simply the circumstance that the idea of the effect to be produced precedes the effect as actually produced. The feeling of innervation is just the memory-idea of the movement anticipating the movement itself.

There has been much discussion as to the precise nature of the so-called feelings of innervation; but, as Wundt, who had formerly held an opposite theory, has explicitly accepted this view of them as the one most consonant with the present state of our knowledge of the subject, there is no need to reproduce here the arguments which go to establish the position. It commends itself by its naturalness and

simplicity. When we are on the point, say, of making a stroke at a ball, we have a premonitory feeling of the energy which we are about to expend; it seems to flow forth toward the limb which we are about to use. One theory explains this feeling as due to an immediate consciousness of out-going energy; but the physiological difficulties in the way of such a conception are great. It is not necessary here to decide whether an immediate consciousness of effort is or is not possible, but in any case this theory leaves unexplained the specific character of the feeling in question. For it is to be observed that it is a premonitory feeling of the exertion of *that* limb, not merely a general consciousness of virtue going out from us. This is satisfactorily explained by supposing, as Münsterberg does, that it is due to the reproduction in memory of previous movements of the same nature. Plainly, however, Münsterberg's theory of the feelings of innervation may be accepted, without admitting that this sequence of memory-image and actual perception constitutes, as he contends, the differentia and sufficient explanation of the voluntary act. But it will be observed how ingeniously Münsterberg has reduced all cases of voluntary action—internal and external—to examples of the same phenomena—namely, to cases of an idea or perception *A* preceded by *a*—the same idea in a different form. "The feeling of innervation," as he puts it, "is an anticipated idea of the actual movement" (p. 88). Exactly the same analysis applies to those voluntary actions which do not end in a muscular contraction, but aim at the production of some effect in the external world.

"When I move my finger, not in order to practise the different movements, but to write something down; when I contract the muscles of my organs of speech, in order to make a communication to somebody; when I bend my arm in order to greet a passer-by in all these cases I perceive in the first stadium, the more or less distinct, more or less clearly represented, idea of the end; and in the second stadium I have a sensation (*empfinde*) of the end as attained. That alone is the type of the external act of will" (p. 89).

However complicated the action is, extending possibly over a longer period of time (a journey, the erection of a building), it may always be resolved into the ultimate end in view and the subordinate actions which have to be performed in order to attain that end. In the process of execution the ultimate end falls temporarily into the background, and the subordinate actions or means become, each in turn, in a definite series, the proximate end before the mind. And step by step the same analysis holds good: the end is first present as idea, then as a perception of accomplished fact. Münsterberg goes on courageously to apply his analysis to the usually received distinction between desire and will.

"In order that the desire of an attainable object pass into the corresponding act of will, neither more nor less requires to be added than just

the carrying out of the desire, so that the idea of the end may be completed by the perception of its attainment. . . . The liveliest feeling of practical freedom cannot alter the fact that the will itself is nothing more than the perception (frequently accompanied by associated sensations of tension in the muscles of the head) of an effect attained by the movement of our own body along with an antecedent idea of the same effect drawn from imagination—i.e., in the last resort from memory; this anticipated idea being given as feeling of innervation when the effect is itself a bodily movement (pp. 95-6). *A theory of the soul does justice therefore to the whole field of physical phenomena, if it assumes as the only function of the soul, sensation characterised by quality, intensity, and tone of feeling; a definite group of sensations we call will*" (p. 96).\*

This is the conclusion of the second part of the investigation. The first, or purely physiological, part reduced the phenomenon to a series of reflex movements; the second, or purely psychological, part has reduced it to a series of sensations. The third, or psychophysical, part investigates the relation of these two series to one another. We cannot believe that the two series are quite independent, and if we are driven to suppose that the one is conditioned by the other, there can be little hesitation in settling which is the conditioning factor. The psychical series is discontinuous, constantly interrupted by perceptions which are shot inexplicably into its midst without the possibility of causal explanation from the foregoing train of ideas: there are many bodily functions which, so far as we know, are not represented in consciousness. These and similar considerations make the psychic series unfit to be the explaining factor, and accordingly Münsterberg reaches the conclusion that "the series of conscious phenomena is conditioned by the regular course of material occurrence." This leads to the inquiry, what are the processes in the sensory-motor apparatus which correspond, when inwardly contemplated, to the sensational complex called a volition.

Münsterberg's results are reached in the course of an interesting, and in some respects brilliant, discussion as to the localisation of brain function. It is beyond our interest to follow him in his detailed criticism of different theories. His own positions are mainly two: (1) that there are no specifically motor centres; and (2) that perception and memory are connected with the same material substratum, or, to put it otherwise, that ideas of sensation and the corresponding ideas of memory are connected, not with different parts of the brain, but with the same set of material processes differently excited.

There is much to be said for these conclusions, but it is with Münsterberg's application of them that we are concerned.

"Every ganglion of the cerebral cortex [he resumes] is thus end-organ of a centripetal path; but every ganglion is also the initial organ of a motor path. Motor centres do not exist, therefore: or more properly, every

\* The italics are Münsterberg's.

centre is sensory and motor at once; every motor impulse has its source in a sensory stimulus, and every sensory stimulation presses on into a motor path" (pp. 141-2).

What happens in consciousness, then, when a response to stimulus takes place? At first, nothing precedes the movement except the sensation or perception which discharges it. The movement "goes off," that is to say, in a purely reflex way, through the force of the in-coming stimulus. But as soon as the movement actually takes place, consciousness has something new before it, namely, the feeling of movement produced in the contracted muscle. This feeling of movement follows, therefore, immediately upon the perception of the stimulus which discharged the movement; and the sensory excitation of the central ganglion which corresponds to this feeling of movement becomes connected accordingly by an association-path with the first excitation which gave the impulse to the movement.

"If, now, this process is several times repeated, the connection becomes so close that the first excitation inevitably calls forth the second, directly by the path of association, before it has time to be produced by the actual contraction of the muscle. Psychologically expressed, that is as much as to say, *the perception of the stimulus must call forth by association the memory-idea of the corresponding sensation of movement before that sensation itself is produced by the actual execution of the movement.* The former process takes place by the shorter way of the association-paths in the hemisphere, the latter requires first to be conducted to the muscle, the inertia of the muscle has to be overcome, the contraction to be actually produced, the sensory nerve to be affected, and the sensory stimulus conducted back to the cortex. All this occupies an appreciable time, and the sensory stimulus arrives accordingly considerably later. And now we see clearly why our feeling of innervation precedes the perception of the actual movement. In it, as the constant signal of movement, a signal that is also the actual counterpart of the movement, we involuntarily believe that we see the movement's cause. This is the type of voluntary action from which all other forms may be developed" (p. 145).

Take, for example, an act of choice. Here we have, let us say, two stimuli both alike in strength, but incapable of combination in a common reaction. At first no motor reaction can result; but each stimulated ganglion rouses the centres which are connected with it by association-paths, and now it is not an opposition of stimulus against stimulus, but on both sides there collect the associations won by former experiences. However great the complication may be, the sensory stimuli with their associated ideas constitute the sufficient and only verifiable cause of the resultant movement; or, as he puts it in another place, "the voluntary act is the motor discharge of sensory excitation, whether it be the sensation of a single stimulus, or a world of internally and externally combined ideas. As soon as the sensory excitation-complex, the conscious content of ideas, is there, the movement is necessarily given too" (p. 156). And thus the only psychical criterion of the will remains what it was found to be at the end of the

psychological section—namely, that before the perception of the actual result, the *idea* of the result is present in consciousness.

We have the theory now pretty fully before us, and, as has been indicated, there is much in the physiological analysis that is freshly put, and that is probably true. It seems important to remember, alike in physiology and psychology, that the sensory centre in the brain, the central ending of the sensory nerve, does not constitute a terminus, and consequently that there is no such thing as passive sensation, sensation which is simply received without producing further effects. All consciousness is impulsive. If the stimulus received does not find an immediate vent in movement, it irradiates other brain tracts in the form of association. The phenomena of imitation, suggestion, and many other considerations, reinforce this conception of the dynamic quality which all sensations and ideas possess. Münsterberg, however, has skilfully woven these truths into the texture of a preconceived theory. In the very act of emphasising movement and the dynamic aspect of ideas, he eliminates altogether the notion of action or activity. Ideas “go off,” or explode, as it were, in movement of their own accord. There is, first, the idea of the movement as in contemplation, and, secondly, the perception of the movement as executed. In other words, there is a series of happenings somehow passing before us, but no real activity, no real actor in the whole affair. In all so-called action we only seem to act; a sequence of ideas exhausts the phenomena of will. The conscious subject is reduced to an inactive spectator of these psychological happenings, which are themselves the inert accompaniments of certain transformations of matter and energy. There results, in fact, as indicated at the outset, the doctrine of conscious automatism in the most unqualified sense of the words.

Now, I do not hesitate to say that this conclusion is in the strictest sense incredible; no amount of so-called “evidence” in its favour would avail to make it even momentarily believable. But as the theory airs itself with a great deal of confidence, and troubles a good many minds, I will endeavour to show that such results are not reached by any cruel “logic of facts,” but are all involved in a few erroneous psychological presuppositions, perhaps I ought to say, one fundamental prejudice, by which the analysis is vitiated from the outset. This prejudice I might call phenomenism or presentationism.\* Wundt calls it in one place intellectualism. It is the foregone conclusion that the conscious life is analysable without remainder into ideas or presentations. Evidently if phenomena or *objects* of consciousness are alone to be accepted as facts, then all real activity on the part of the subject is necessarily eliminated; the subject remains only nominally as a static impersonal condition of the series of events. If

\* This is the term adopted by Dr. Ward in an article in the January number of *Mind*, which has appeared since the present article was in type.

we insist upon phenomenalisising the act of volition<sup>5</sup>, doubtless all the *phenomena* we get are the ideas that precede and the perceptions that follow, with perhaps some feelings of tension in the head thrown in. But does it not require some effrontery to offer us these antecedent, concomitant and sequent *ideas* as an account of the *volition* itself? To attempt to analyse a volition into ideas, is about as hopeful as trying to reduce miles and furlongs to pounds avoirdupois; there is no common denominator. In the course of such analysis, the real fact of volition is necessarily dropped; it is overlaid by the mass of antecedents, concomitants and sequents which acute introspection enables us to discover. But, as M. Fouillée says, the physiological psychologists might fill volumes with their analysis of the sensations which accompany the voluntary act without touching the essence of the act itself.\*

The result of analysis infected with this phenomenalist or intellectualistic prejudice is necessarily a panphenomenalism essentially similar to that of Hume. There is the same elimination of all real causality: sequent ideas are all. And if, in deference to a quasi-Kantian theory of knowledge, the self or subject is apparently retained, this seeming difference from Hume is only skin-deep. For, as Münsterberg tells us twice over, "the subject in question is entirely impersonal,"† the static condition of consciousness in general. The individual self is analysed, as with Hume, into groups and sequences of ideas; it is an object in consciousness—an object, presumably, for this impersonal spectator-subject.

I pointed out, in passing, how entirely Münsterberg's psychology was dominated by this phenomenalist point of view. It appears, incidentally, in the very expressions he uses, as a reference to the passages already quoted abundantly shows. In his equation of phenomenon with fact, in the constantly repeated use of the term *Inhalt*, or content, it is presupposed that objects or presentations in consciousness are the only elements that will be allowed to stand as real. At times, Münsterberg speaks even more naïvely of "the sensation of will," of which he is in quest. This recalls, even verbally, Hume's famous expedition into his own interior in order to discover the perception of the self. Show me the impression from which the idea is derived, says Hume, and because no particular impression can be found, the idea is pronounced a fiction; the self is resolved into a bundle of perceptions. Show me the sensation to which the word "will" corresponds, says Münsterberg, and finding a number of accompanying sensations, he mistakes these for volition itself, and concludes roundly, as we saw before, and as Hume had done with the self, "the will, too, is only a complex of sensations." But this conclusion depends,

\* *Revue Philosophique*, vol. xxxii, p. 238.

† "Aufgabe der Psychologie," pp. 99 and 180.

on Münsterberg's own showing, upon two all-important *ifs*. If sensation is the element of all psychical phenomena, and *if* the will is only a phenomenon in consciousness, then, and only then, does it follow necessarily that the will is resolvable into a complex of sensations. In support of the first "if," Münsterberg, as we have seen, has nothing to offer but a vague reference to "modern psychology." Wundt, in criticising his speculation,\* justly censures this attempt to clothe an assumption with the air of an accepted truth, and to cover it with the ægis of "modern psychology." Wundt's own phraseology has wavered in his different editions, and its looseness may be partly responsible, as Dr. Ward suggests, for the extreme conclusions of his followers. But now, at least, perhaps in view of these conclusions, he explicitly disavows the resolution of all consciousness, including feeling and will, into sensational elements. Sensations, he holds, are the ultimate elements of "those conscious contents which we refer to external objects," that is to say, of our ideas or presentations. Whether true or not, such a position is at least intelligible, but it contains no warrant for identifying feeling and will with any presentation or combination of such.

There is, in fact, no distinction more fundamental to a sound psychology than that between the feeling-directed activity, which, under all its forms, from the simplest act of attention and response to stimulus, may be summarised as will, and the content or matter with which that activity deals. Doubtless the two cannot be separated; each is an abstraction without the other. But one thing, at least, is certain, that to resolve the fact of conscious experience into a sequence of presentations or conscious phenomena is to omit the vital characteristic of all consciousness. It is to offer us a machinery without any motor force; and when we mildly point out the omission we are met by the ready but somewhat brazen retort that the machinery is *self-acting*. Wundt comments acutely on the way in which this "intellectualistic" psychology substantiates ideas or presentations, and treats them as if they were things or entities that could independently exist and interact. Even when it is admitted that presentations have an existence only *for* consciousness, so that the unity of consciousness is acknowledged to be their necessary complement or point of reference, the ideas still seem to stand *over against* the consciousness to which they are referred, and to carry on their evolutions independently. Consciousness, according to this way of thinking, becomes a mere form inclusive of a certain matter, but without influence upon it: it is regarded as purely speculative or contemplative; an eye, shall we say, contemplating the movement, or, to be strict and to avoid metaphor, merely an ideal point of unity. Metaphor or no metaphor, the result of this way of looking at things is obvious. The whole

\* "Philosophische Studien," vol. vi. p. 382, *et seq.*

weight is thrown upon the objects—the ideas or phenomena thus quasi-independently conceived—and the recognition of the subject becomes an empty acknowledgment. It is entirely denuded of activity, all action being refunded into the play of presentations.

For this assumption, however, there is an entire absence of warrant. A psychology which aims at keeping in touch with fact must strenuously resist this subtle tendency to reduce everything to presentations or objects of knowledge. Experience is, in this reference, a wider term than knowledge, and feeling and will are inexpugnable and irreducible features of experience. Knowledge, feeling, and will are three aspects of experience—inseparable aspects, it may be freely admitted—but none of them can be expressed in terms of the others; no one of them can be reduced to simpler elements, no one of them can, properly speaking, be defined or explained otherwise than by pointing to the living experience in which it is exemplified. Münsterberg's position here is rather inconsistent; he denies will as more than a complex of sensations, but he contrives to smuggle in feeling by calling it an attribute which every idea possesses. He follows Wundt in saying that every sensation, in addition to its intensity and its quality (as touch or taste, red or blue, and so forth), also possesses a tone of feeling, or, as Professor Bain puts it, an emotional side; and to this third aspect of sensation, curiously enough, he allows that there is no material counterpart.\* This statement is curious, I say, not in itself, but as coming from Münsterberg. There can be no material counterpart just because feeling is not itself an object, phenomenon, presentation or stimulus, but the attitude of the subject towards a given stimulus, the relation of the stimulus to the life of the individual as a whole. This subjective appreciation cannot, in the nature of the case, be represented in objective terms. Feeling, as Dr. Ward says, after Hamilton, is something subjectively subjective. If we are to restrict knowledge to objects or phenomena, then we do not *know* feeling, for feeling cannot be phenomenalised. We experience feeling and we know *about* it by its results, but, using the term in this sense, we know only the causes, accompaniments, and consequents of feeling. It may be said that we remember our feelings and emotions and that we must know them at the time in order to remember. But we remember feeling only in the sense that when the ideas which caused or accompanied it are recalled, they are recalled with the same tone of feeling—in other words, we re-experience in a fainter degree the feeling which we then felt. It is this characteristic of feeling that explains its frequent neglect by psychologists. For feeling cannot be recalled or considered except in connection with its objective causes or accompaniments; in recording the facts, therefore, the psychologist is apt to forget the subjective

\* "Willenshandlung," p. 137.



tinge of the ideas or presentations, and to report upon them in an impersonal way, as ideas in themselves, so to speak. But it was only in virtue of what I have called the subjective tinge that the ideas were *his* ideas at all, and had any relation to his life. As they presented themselves they were felt to be either a furtherance or a hindrance to the vitality of the subject, to be either relevant to the dominant interests of the individual or discordant. Interest and desire are the result in the one case, indifference or repulsion in the other. And it can hardly be too strongly emphasised that the dynamic efficacy of ideas is entirely excited through the feeling-subject. Ideas have hands and feet, as Hegel finely said, and how often are we told that ideas move the world. It is true, or at least we hope so. But every one must acknowledge that to speak in that way is to use a vivid metaphorical shorthand. Ideas entertained tend to pass into action, a plan conceived and cherished tends to execute itself; but as Fichte long ago said the real force is not in the ideas but in the will of the person who adopts them as his. So when psychologists like Münsterberg attribute the whole march of the conscious life to the dynamic influence of idea upon idea, it is well to remember again that this is at best a convenient shorthand. Ideas in themselves are pale and ineffective as the shades of Homeric mythology; they are dynamic only as they pass through the needle's-eye of the subject. It is the subject which acts upon its appreciation of the stimulus, and the emotional attitude of welcome or repulse is what is meant by feeling.

In its earliest and simplest forms, such an emotional wave passes immediately into the appropriate motor response. The food is clutched or somehow absorbed, the disagreeable intrusion is evaded, edged away from, as far as the power of the being admits of. Feeling, thus conceived, and allied thus closely with action, forms what I may call the driving-power in all life. Here we strike upon the roots of individuation, and when we say that, is it going too far to add, upon the fundamental characteristic of real existence? In this connection, I am confident that whether we look at the matter psychologically or physiologically, we are shut up to the conclusion that all action of living beings was originally feeling-prompted, and that what we call reflex action is everywhere a secondary product, a degraded form of purposive action. We know that many actions at first performed voluntarily, actions learned with effort by repeated forth-puttings of concentrated attention, become by degrees habitual and are performed automatically without attention—*i.e.*, without any need for express volition to come into play at all. Great part of the detail of our daily life is handed over to mechanism in this way, and psychologists and physiologists have not been slow to emphasise the beneficent operation of this fact. It is, indeed, the very condition

of progress that aptitudes once acquired should establish themselves as definite tendencies within our mental and physical organism—definite co-ordinations of stimulus and response which do their work without our active superintendence. The powers of intelligence and will—the powers of personality, if I may so speak—are thus set free for new tasks and further achievements, till these in turn are, as it were, built into the structure of the self. Only thus is the spirit fitted to advance upon its endless path. But mechanism is thus, in every sense, posterior to intelligence and will; it is a means created and used by will. In a strict sense, will creates the reflex mechanism to which it afterwards deutes its functions. Mechanism, in fact, here as everywhere, is a means, something secondary; it is impossible to conceive it as something primary, existing on its own account, much less as carrying in it the explanation of the higher conscious and voluntary processes. Intelligent volition is not reflex action grown complicated, and so become conscious of itself. That is precisely to invert the true relation, an inversion which would be ludicrous, if it were not disastrous. Reflex action is the lower range of purposive action grown unconscious or subconscious, according to the economy of nature, because consciousness is no longer necessary to its proper performance. It is not to be supposed, of course, that this takes place within the life-history of the individual human being, or of any highly developed organism. In such an organism, many reflex paths, many co-ordinations of stimulus and response, are doubtless fixed; they have been established in the long process of race-evolution, and in virtue of their establishment that evolution has proceeded. But follow the process as far back as we may, all analogy points to the same conclusion, namely, that feeling-prompted—i.e., germinally purposive, germinally voluntary action, is the *πρότερον φύσει*, the first in the order of Nature. In the lowest organisms, the reaction upon stimulus may be so simple and uniform as to wear to an observer the appearance of a mere mechanical reflex. But this is, if I may so speak, to make the creature *a mere outside*: it forgets, as this mechanical psychology is constantly forgetting, that wherever there is life there is unity. Every organism is a unity, and resumes itself as a unity. Feeling is the inward expression of this unity, and to my mind, it is not doubtful that the movement of attraction or repulsion, which to us and from the outside, may seem a simple reflex, is to be interpreted rather as the total response of a germinal consciousness in the being, as the expression of its likes and dislikes. Physiology, so long as it remains *pure* physiology, is perhaps debarred from taking account of feeling or consciousness as such. The psychical, in all its forms, lies outside the scope of physiological methods. But the self-preservative, recuperative, self-adaptive tendencies of organisms and organic tissue,

are the physiological way of expressing the same fact. The physiological mode of expression is imperfect and mythological, perhaps, and one can understand that many physiologists, *supposing it to be put forward as an explanation of the facts*, grow impatient and fall back upon a purely mechanical theory of vital function. But these expressions are in no sense explanations, as science uses that term; they are rather *finger-posts to the unexplained*; they merely name or indicate the fundamental characteristic of life as such, which differentiates it from mechanism, or what seems to us to be mechanism. Life is the presupposition of physiology, the fact on which its existence is based, a fact which it has simply to accept, as all the other sciences have to accept their own presuppositions. Its explanations move within the fact of life and cannot be used to explain that fact itself, or in other words, to explain it away. Yet that is in substance what a purely mechanical physiology tries to do. Physiology for the last fifty years, it may be said, has been dominated by a reaction against what is called vitalism. The older investigators were in the habit of calling in "vital force" as a *deus ex machina* to account for any phenomena which baffled their powers of natural explanation. Vital force, conceived as extraneously interfering with otherwise mechanical processes, was evidently a hypostatized entity of the worst type, and it was accordingly discarded by scientific physiology as part of the baneful legacy of metaphysics. Mechanical explanation, or in other words, the resolution of physiology into physics, became the watchword and ideal of the best workers. But they did not observe that they were in danger of throwing away the child with the bath, as the Germans say. After all, physiology is not physics; living matter behaves differently from dead matter. What is the difference and the basis of the difference? In rendering mechanically intelligible the inter-relation and interaction of this and the other part of the bodily structure, physiologists tend to forget that all such mechanical arrangements are arrangements *in the service of life*, arrangements produced in the living being (in all probability) by the responsive and self-adaptive action of its living ancestors in the course of ages. *Purposiveness* is the notion upon which physiology is built, and it is worked into the whole theory of development; yet it is a notion entirely alien to the blind *vis a tergo* of mechanism as such. The more clearly a physiologist realises what pure mechanism means, and the more fully he grasps the import of the facts he has to deal with, the more ready will be his acknowledgment that to call them mechanical is at best an analogy. They belong to a different order of facts; life and purpose govern them from one end to the other. A self-acting and self-regulating machine is only by an abuse of language spoken of as a machine at all.

It is in vain, therefore, that many psychologists at the present time

outdo the physiologists in the glibness with which they talk of nervous currents and explosions of nervous energy and paths of least resistance. The appearance of explanation conveyed by the use of the expression, path of least resistance, is in the last degree illusory. We are transferring an expression which has a perfectly definite and intelligible meaning in physics or mechanics to a sphere where the conditions are quite different, and where we are moreover almost quite ignorant as to the nature of what actually takes place. Path of least resistance means in such a case simply the particular reaction which we find the stimulus, as a matter of fact, produces. We have no right to go further than this. The use of the physical phrase implies, however, that what takes place is precisely the same as the selection of a channel made by a rill of water trickling down a hill-side. This is to make the living being a retainer of external nature with a vengeance: he is simply a network of pathways through which the energy of external nature takes its course, soaks in, and oozes out again. But this is not a true account of the humblest organisms. Such a representation totally ignores the unitary character of the organic and sentient being. We are misled, in short, by words like "currents" and "energy" and "least resistance." What do we mean by nerve currents? Nerve currents cannot be treated in this isolated fashion, as if they took place *in vacuo*, or in an indifferent medium; they take place in a living individual, and apart from the unity of that individual, they are mere abstractions. A nerve current is a physiological process, which originally and normally means central stimulation and appropriate central reaction. You cannot separate either the appreciation of the stimulus, or the reaction upon it from the organism as a whole. To speak psychologically, it is the living being as a unity that is aware of the sensation and responds to it. There is no need here to revive any hypothesis as to the specific seat of the soul, or to conceive any point of convergence in the brain for the multitudinous nerves of sensation and motion. However the nervous system acts, the unity of consciousness, as we experience it every moment, is proof sufficient of the fact that it does act as a unity. Every living being is a similar individuate unity. Abnormalities, as when the removal of the higher centres gives rise to the establishment of independent unities—say, in the spinal cord—are no arguments against what I contend for; they rather go to prove that even the mutilated organism, so long as it lives at all, re-constitutes itself into a kind of unity.

A living being, then, is at the very least a centre of sensation and reaction, and when sensation is so used, it means not only intellectual awareness of some presence, but also a subjective drawing to, or away from, the intruder. This second element of feeling proper is the link between the sensation as knowledge and the reaction as will. And

however the growth of the intellectual life and of volitional self-control may emancipate us from the promptings of the moment, it is to the end through feeling that the whole process of our life goes on. It is in feeling that we assert our individuality, give expression to our preferences and distastes. Feeling leads each of us to select from the infinite of the knowable and do-able, that little world of interests and habits which differentiates us one from another, and gives to each his peculiar point of outlook upon the universe.

The necessity of taking feeling first has led us in appearance away from our specific theme. But it is only in appearance, for what has been said of feeling applies *mutatis mutandis* to will. The presentationists endeavoured to make feeling a relation between ideas, instead of the relation of ideas to the subject of them. If the subject has identified itself, as we say, with certain ideas or interests, then any idea which conflicts with these ideas will result in pain or displeasure to the subject. But here, as always, it is not the relations of ideas as such—relations in the phenomenal plane, as it were—but relation to a subject, that constitutes the fact of feeling. Similarly with volition. Volition is the action of a subject, and as such it cannot be phenomenalised.

But this is just what the phenomenologists, from Hume to Münsterberg, insist on doing. They resolve volition into a sequence of presentations: first, an idea, then a perception, according to Münsterberg, but no intervening fiat, no power, no real action, nothing corresponding to what we mean by volition—just the one first, and the other second. The answer to be made to this ingenious theorem has been indicated already. To ask to know the will as a presentation is to ask to know it *as it is not*. The phenomena which Münsterberg offers us are very likely all the phenomena in the case, or if there are more the others are like unto them. But this whole investigation is a *petitio principii*. The heading of the psychological section of his treatise runs: "The Will as a Phenomenon in Consciousness;" and that we may be in no doubt as to his meaning, he says in his preface: "It might also run, The Will as Idea (*der Wille als Vorstellung*)." *The will as idea*—that is the whole theory in a nutshell. No enemy could have put the case more conclusively against Münsterberg than he has done himself in these words, which are nevertheless the key-note of his whole inquiry.

ANDREW SETH.

## THE PEDIGREE OF THE MUSIC-HALL.

OF late the degeneracy of the English Drama has been a good deal talked about in papers and reviews. It has been made the text for miles of "copy," both clever and dull. Some ascribe the evil to the pernicious influence of Ibsenism; others, to the iniquity of the actor-manager: all agree there is reason to lament.

But if the Drama be "in the doldrums," on the other hand the Variety Entertainment has triumphed. Theatres may close their doors in despair, but music-halls multiply and pay bigger dividends as their numbers increase. Rumour may whisper low of the bankrupt hopes and finances of the once prosperous actor, but personal paragraphs proclaim aloud the princely income of the newest *artiste*. And the minor poet with a mission preaches Beauty in the Ballet and Salvation in the Skirt Dance; and the Lion Comique, interviewed, declares the Millennium come, now that even aristocratic ladies crowd to hear him, or exhibit him, in their homes, as the latest rival to the notorious painter or the literary swell—nor does ever song of his bring a blush to noble cheek; and youthful royalty sits entranced through an Aquarium programme; and he who does not know what a music-hall is like is scorned as a "jolly old juggins," with the Dook of Mr. Anstey's "Little Crossing-Sweeper." For if legitimate Drama be dead in England, the reign of *Tit-Bits* has been inaugurated on the stage as in literature, and, at last, the theatrical ideals of the great English public have been adequately realised.

Before the first Miracle Play had been invented, the people of England had clamoured for the variety entertainment, and been given it. There was not a castle throughout the land that had not its own special London Pavilion or Alhambra in miniature. The two main characteristics of the modern hall are variety in the programme and

freedom for the audience. In the castle-hall, at evening, when "the tuns of mead were broached and the horns filled and borne round by young maidens, and men ate and drank and were merry," then the minstrels came and sang their ballads, acrobats tumbled and wrestled, dancers twirled and pironetted, jugglers threw balls and swallowed swords, trained beasts were put through their paces. Then, as now, the audience were free to go and come; likely enough, free to keep on their hats or helmets, if they chose; to join in the chorus, to throw things at the performer who failed to please. But it is the very essence of our modern music-hall that it shall not bore; to avoid monotony—the unpardonable sin—the system of "turns," each short, and one following the other without delay, has been devised. Now, already in feudal days, the idea of "turns" had been developed: the minstrel gave place to the acrobat, the acrobat to the dancer, the dancer to the clever dog. But where the modern *artiste* jumps into his brougham, and rolls over asphalt or wood, from the Paragon to the Pavilion, from the Met. to the Middlesex, the old favourite tramped it over execrable roads, from Surrey hills to Lincoln fens, from Norfolk broads to Lancashire lakes. The former calculates to a minute the time of his arrival; the latter risked being days, and weeks, and months late. In bad seasons the comic singer may have sung from Lady Day to Michaelmas, the juggler thrown his balls from Michaelmas to Lady Day again. An effort was made to mend matters. Acrobats and minstrels travelled together, an innovation which M. Jusserand thinks the beginning of the end of minstrelsy, but which was really the beginning of the triumph of the variety entertainment.

There was then no paternal County Council; but there was a Church. The faithful loved songs and tales and spectacles: why, asked the priest, why should not Christ and saints and angels make a sacred pageant, why not recite stories of Holy Writ, sing hymns for ballads? Why not elevate the masses by exchanging the frivolity of

"Maic games and maskes with mirthe and minstrelsie,  
Pageants and school-feastes, beares and puppet plaies,"

for the solemnity of the Mysteries? But he had not reckoned with the full force of the people's love for the old amusement; he had not gauged the depth to which it had sunk its roots into the national life. No sooner had he offered his substitute than he was compelled to compromise. If he would retain his audience in gloomy church or gloomier graveyard, he, too, had to cater for them with varieties. When his stage version of Cain's crime and punishment palled upon the playgoers, he summoned the minstrel to relieve its tediousness, even as Marie Lloyd might be invited to sing her "O Mr. Porter" between the acts of "The Master Builder." When the tyranny of Herod got upon the people's nerves, in came a boy with a bladder to

buffet him, as Mr. Irving's "King Lear" might be spurred into intelligibility by the antics of the Two Macs. If the virtues of Queen Hester grew intolerable, Hardy-Dardy stepped in to "stoppe the gappe," a suggestion that might prove useful to Mr. Beerbohm Tree. And, at all times, and in all places, there was Satan, the fool, to do an "extra turn." The miracle play was transformed into the variety show against which its existence, at first, had been a protest.

The Mysteries went out of fashion, and the Moralities became the thing. Angels and saints gave way to Virtues and Vices. But the element of variety survived unchanged. Reason and Innocence might be as prosy as Christ and the Virgin, but the Devil, at the head of his seven deadly sins, or Vice,

"In his long coat, shaking his wooden dagger,"

could convulse the audience with jests as rare as those of the "very peculiar American comedian," with buffoonery as wild as the pranks of the Blondin donkey, or, when the Devil carried Vice over his shoulders to Hell, with gymnastics as startling as the acrobatic death of Paul Martinetti. Mind and Will, Knowledge and Science, might grow dull beyond endurance, but the Fool was at hand, with his "bunch of ballets and songs all ancient." And when Circumspection could not restrain perseverance on the road to boredom, Fancy and Folly could crack their joke about a flea with as pretty a wit as any White eyed Kaffir. The moral play might have been omitted, and a presentable music-hall programme would have still remained.

The wheel of fashion, or culture, or civilisation, turned again, and the Moralities went the way of the Mysteries. At last it dawned upon the dramatist that it was not the only object of a play to instruct or edify, and the artist succeeded the priest and the moralist. It was now not so simple a matter to compromise. Art is a more inexorable mistress than religion or ethics. At first there were concessions; the Devil and Vice disappeared, but the Fool survived to jest and tumble and sing. The interlude, the jig at the end of the piece, forerunners of the triple bill, were additional allowances made to meet the public taste. The genius of Elizabethan dramatists might not soar to Jonesian heights, where "art-pleasure" and "amusement-pleasure" become irreconcilable. But they were artists, to whom the medley of Mysteries and Moralities was impossible. The earlier buffoonery of the Fool developed into the comedy of Dogberry and Verges, of Touchstone and of Puck; the inconsequent interlude grew into the play within the play, as in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and "Hamlet."

The drama freed itself of the old elements of variety, but, at the same time, the variety show was emancipated from its dramatic fetters. Heretofore the people had been compelled to enjoy drama and



varieties together ; now they revelled in each separately. One night they wept over "King Lear" or "Othello," at the Globe, the next they chuckled over bear-baiting, fencing-matches, puppet plays, and interludes at Paris Garden ; much as Londoners now divide their emotions between the Lyceum and the Pavilion. And the music-hall programme, to-day the monopoly of the multitude, was then the relaxation of royalty. Leicester, welcoming Elizabeth to Kenilworth, was but the Sir Augustus Harris of his generation. And, as now 'Arry in the pit, Tommy Atkins in the gallery, and gilded Johnny in the stalls, join in popular chorus, so, at the old court pageants or varieties, kings and princes, knights and ladies, when the dancing "turn" began, performed their own *pas de quatre*.

During the Commonwealth, the legitimate stage succumbed before the Puritan, but the variety entertainment, with the "turns" long since out of date, and with that scattering of its component parts which would be intolerable to the modern man, defied the preacher, as it had already challenged the artist, to do his worst. Why, asked the actors, in the famous "Remonstrance," why are we beggared and dishonoured when "other recreations of farre more harmfull consequences are permitted still to stand, viz., that nurse of barbarism and beastliness"—the variety show then in vogue? All else might perish, but not the music-hall of the day.

After the Restoration, the people flocked back to the theatre with appetite sharpened by long unwilling abstinence. But the fury of the reaction could not sweep away the drama's more vigorous rival. The gayest comedy had to vie with puppets and acrobats ; from the King's Servants, and the Duke's Company in Drury Lane and Dorset Gardens, the crowds hurried to the dancers and mountebanks in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Restoration comedy began to languish ; the variety entertainment was as fresh as if born but yesterday. It was again everywhere, as in Elizabethan days. Now it made its headquarters at Sadler's Wells, where the tumbling and dancing on wires sent many a Winifred Jenkins into fits ; now it was so scattered that Spectator's friend proposed one great whole which would embrace "all the remarkable shows about town." Even the legitimate drama, though housed at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, was not secure against encroachments. There were tight-rope dancers at the one and trick elephants at the other, and a hundred compromises besides. Indeed, Mr. John Hollingshead was not far wrong when he assured the Commission that our variety entertainment originated in the patent theatres.

Within the last hundred years, the progress of the variety entertainment is difficult to follow. It was in the latest stages of its development, before its final triumph, that it found the greatest number of asylums. It took refuge not only in the royal playhouses, but in

the caves of harmony of Colonel Newcome's day, the coal-holes of Mr. Fardell's tender memories, the stage of the *Poses Plastiques*, where the Empire now stands, the circus-ring from which it has not yet been banished, the public-house saloon which, already in George II.'s time, had taken out its licence for the purpose. It is small wonder that Mr. Hollingshead had no sooner informed the Commission that the variety entertainment came from the patent theatres than he explained that from taverns sprang the music-hall. The truth is, such close competition had arisen among providers of public amusement that all, saloon-keepers and theatre-managers alike, sought to draw the public by adding varieties to their entertainment. The immediate consequence was the destructive division of variety talent. But the evil righted itself. Forces were gradually concentrated and programmes lengthened. Where there was greatest variety the largest audience assembled, until the music-hall was evolved. It sprang neither from patent theatre nor tavern, from coal-hole nor cave of harmony; it was simply the supreme development, on a stage of its own, of that ever popular form of entertainment which for a while had made its home in each.

This was some twenty or thirty years ago. But even to-day there is doubt as to what really constitutes a music-hall. If the Pavilion, the Gaiety Restaurant, Willis's Rooms flourish under the same licence, confusion is inevitable. For all practical purposes, however, the music-hall means the headquarters of the variety entertainment—only that, and nothing more. The fact that smoking is allowed in the music-hall, while pipe or cigarette must not be lit in the auditorium of the theatre, is suggested as its special distinction. But the Varieties at Hoxton, with its two performances every evening, the Gaiety, with its songs and dances, are the most popular variety entertainments in the East and West of London, and yet both have but the theatre licence, which prohibits smoking. This whole smoke and drink question is strangely subtle. There are plays, like "The Bells," that call for endless supplies of brandy-and-water—have we not Mr. Irving's word for it?—and the brandy can be drunk, and the cigarettes smoked inside the theatre, within a step of the auditorium; yet actors agree that, once permit pipes and grog within the sacred precincts, and dramatic art will perish, and every theatre degenerate into a music-hall.

Again, a line is drawn between music-hall and theatre by the purist, who defines the latter as the temple of Art, with a big *A*, the former as the saloon of art, with a little *a*. It is an ingenious argument, but one based on fancy rather than fact. Compare an Alhambra ballet to a Henry Arthur Jones' "art-pleasure" play, Mr. Paul Martinetti to Mr. Irving, Mr. Chevalier—before he took to sentiment—to Mr. Tree, and what then? The art, with big or little *a*, as you please, belongs to the music-hall.

But one definition is possible. The music-hall offers variety—it matters not whether it be good or bad—the theatre, monotony; variety the people prefer, and always have preferred. No other reason is needed to account for the permanent success of London's one hundred and eighty-nine halls, the varying fortunes of its forty-three theatres.

If the music-hall be a modern institution, the entertainment it provides is the heirloom of centuries. There is not a "turn" which is new; the one novelty is their arrangement on the same programme, the consecration to them of a special stage. What is the "Sketch," but the Morality revived? It is much shorter, to be sure, but had there been kind authorities to limit the moral play to forty, or better still to twenty minutes, its days had been longer in the land. Not its matter, but its tediousness killed it. The genuine Englishman loves a good, honest moral, especially, if it be as easy to read as a sky sign, as seasoned with sentiment as his daily paper. He objects to the "fine shades"; were anything left to his imagination, he would be forced to that mental effort which it is the duty of the music-hall to prevent. The Morality has improved in the shortening, it is the better for dropping allegory: the moral has become more obvious. In the old form, there was much beating about the bush; in the new, thanks to the exigencies of the music-hall licence, there can be no shilly-shallying. Skelton, to prove the vanity of riches, introduced into his "Magnificence," twenty characters, endless soliloquies, and constant by-play. In the last "Sketch" it was my privilege to see in the Canterbury over the water, the *dramatis personæ* were but six: the blunt, faithful 'orny 'anded working-man in flannel shirt; the gentlemanly villain in linen (according to music-hall conventions, a starched collar symbolises villainy); the modest village maiden; the stage capitalist, irascible but benevolent (his overcoat, worn in midsummer, denoting wealth); an angel child, of course a girl in boy's clothes; and a policeman. Where the gain had they been labelled Honesty, Vice, Modesty, Benevolence, Innocence, and Retribution? No one could mistake their functions; the situations and final triumph of Innocence and Honesty were as inevitable as the catastrophe of Greek tragedy. When Scene 1 disclosed a glade in a wood, and the working-man with a shriek of "Un'and 'er villian!" rescued the maiden the sequel was a foregone conclusion. Of course, the capitalist had been robbed, and now strolled into the wood to explain to the villain his plot to catch the thief. Of course, the villain was the thief, and at once, in his turn, explained to the audience his plot to betray his rival: "Oi'll put the two bob wot's marked in Jack's pawcket! Oi'll win me Beauty yit! Ha! ha!" Of course, the angel-child was hiding behind a tree, and once the coast clear, sprang forward to express her joy in an elaborate breakdown that left her breath only to shriek, "There's time yit Jack to give!"

The rhymed talk of Magnificence with Fancy and Counterfeit-Countenance and Folly and the rest was feeble in comparison with this simple scene. Nor could the encounter with Adversity and Poverty exceed in force and terseness the second scene in the capitalist's office, with the angel-child pretending to hide under a desk, but really the first object to strike any but a villain's eye. Straight to the point, without long-winded soliloquy, went the villain, slipping the marked money into the pocket of Jack's coat, hung on a convenient peg! And straighter still went the angel-child, taking it out again, in the midst of a brilliant series of hornpipes, highland flings, and Irish jigs, thus appealing to the predominant nationalities of the cosmopolitan metropolis. For, short as is the present Morality, it too must have its interlude of dance and song. In Skelton's play, it took Redress, Circumspection, Perseverance, and Magnificence, all talking hard, to read the lesson at the end. At the Canterbury, it was enough to show the villain, his collar unbuttoned, his necktie undone, handcuffed by the policeman on one side of the stage, the maiden in Jack's arms on the other, and the angel-child executing a thrilling *pas seul* in the centre. Had Vice been carried off on the Devil's shoulders in the manner of the early clumsy device, could the moral have been strengthened?

But the old-fashioned "Sketch" I fear is doomed. Music-hall proprietors boast of its refining influence, and are elaborating it into melodrama. Theatre managers dread its interference with their rights, and oppose it with a triple bill. Brand-new halls for the West-end do away with it to make room for one-act plays by literary men. The "Sketch" came from the people and was, at least, racily characteristic of them. The new short drama offers not even art as compensation. And even Kegan and Elvin, the two masters, the two artists, ruined by popularity, are descending to cheap sentiment.

If the "Sketch" be but the revival of the Morality, the ballet is but a new version of the old court pageant. In the Fairfax and Harleian MSS. are descriptions of Disguisars which, put into nineteenth century English, might pass for Silhouette's last notice of the last Alhambra ballet; that is, descriptions of the combination of dance and spectacle, of inconsequent plot and bewildering panorama, of which Leicester-square, and not St. James's, is now the holy of holies. It may be questioned whether even the skirt-dance, the serpentine-dance, or the electric-dance is strictly modern; or, if it be, to the early Nellies and Letties and Lotties it would seem but a weak substitute for their own weirder dances, when they pirouetted on their hands, balanced themselves on swords, long skirts clinging to their waving legs and winding about their graceful feet, as they can be seen in mediæval illustrations.

It is the critic's joy to extol the past at the expense of the present. "Where," he asks, "where are the minstrels?—where the ballads of

yester-year?" But the critic does not go to the music-hall. In its songs and singers it is most faithful to tradition. Had statistics been preserved, doubtless it could be demonstrated that the minstrel's "turns" outnumbered those of his brother *artists* in Middle-Age halls; on the modern variety stage, the proportion is as six to one; greater in the Pavilion, or Tivoli, or Royal, where sketch or ballet is not presented. The people love music—or noise; their vigorous chorus is not to be misunderstood. And the popular songs, that correspond to the ballads of Sir Isumbras or Sir Eglamour, are produced first on the variety bill. Language may alter with the ages, but human passion is ever the same. In the nineteenth century, as in the thirteenth, men delight in songs of patriotism and of love. Loud and long resound the cheers of music-hall patriots, when the young lady, in red tights and velvet cloak, shouts the glory of "The English Rose"; many a furtive tear drops into a B.-and-S. when Mr. Charles Godfrey, in a white wig, sings the woes of the old soldier, once England's brave defender. To the average man, would the betrayed maiden's

"Waly, waly, love be bonny"

seem more plaintive than Miss Ada Lundberg's lament for her soldier-lover:

"Fur me little Tommy Hatkins was a fly young man.  
And 'e's bin the ruination of 'is Mari Hann!"

Or was Jane Shore more to be pitied by the populace than the slavey deserted by her faithless policeman:

"Come listen to a tale of woe,  
Tooraladdy!  
'As any one seen my bean?  
'Tooraladdy! 'Tooraladdy!  
I lent 'im hall me six months' py,  
'Tooraladdy!  
And wen 'e got hit, 'e cut awy!  
'Tooraladdy! Tooraladdy!"

The shepherd of the ballad was not more steadfast than the coster singing to his 'Arriet, or the labourer to his dear old Dutch; the nut-brown maid not more faithful than Miss Bessie Bellwood to her Aubrey Plantagenet. Some day, music-hall poetry will find its Bishop Percy. There may be fewer ballads of knights, but the knight now is "resting": to be as realistic as the mediæval minstrel when he chanted of Arthur and of Roland, Mr. Dan Leno sings of shop-walkers and waiters, Mr. Herbert Campbell of navvies, Mr. Walter Munroe of the "Skiters at Olympia," Mr. Coborn of "The Man who broke the Bank at Monte Carlo"—the heroes of our civilisation. Even the dodges of the old men are tried anew and for Moros in the Morality, "counterfeiting a vaine gesture and a foolish counte-

nance, singing the foote of many songs as fooles were wont," the modern variety manager gives us the Sisters Govetti with their inimitable "Up to Date," that jumble of music-hall songs which no self-respecting hurdy-gurdy or brass band in London would dare omit from its repertory. In only two respects was the earlier minstrelsie inferior to ours. It had not soared to the pathos of the nigger, the portly gentleman in dress-coat and blackened face who warbles, in a voice fill'd with tears, of poor Molly who wanted for a shilling to pawn her dear Dolly, and save her starving family. Nor had it risen to the conception of the serio-comic, the young lady in flaxen curls, sun-bonnet and baby's apron, or else in cropped locks, silk hat, coat and trousers, who summons you with a "Hi! hi!" to "clear the wy for the Rowdy-Dowdy Boys!" These are the two supreme touches reserved for modern genins. The artistic quality, or even the average excellence of this bunch of songs, it is true, could not easily be maintained. But who imagines that every old ballad brought out was good? Who knows the number of inanities lost for the few masterpieces saved? Many of the music-hall productions are rubbish, but not all. Has not Mr. Rudyard Kipling's "Tommy" been sung by Mr. Charles Coborn. Was there not once a rumour that Mr. Arthur Symons was to fly with his Muse from Vigo-street to Leicester-square?

And the other "turns" boast a pedigree as illustrious and as long. Acrobats and jugglers, bears and dogs, by the same feats and the same tricks—you can see them in illuminated MSS. and old woodcuts—held Saxon and Norman spellbound, as they hold the Cockney to-day. Not one number of the programme could be cited which has not its mediæval counterpart. More of the past lives in the music-hall than in any other modern institution. And yet, scholars who hang entranced upon the old woman's faltering tale, who collect odd scraps of the peasant's superstitions, who burrow into graves of ancient Britons, would be insulted were you to propose, seriously and studiously, a visit to the "Troc." or the "Met." For centuries Englishmen have been shaping their variety entertainment into its present form, and now, like a child with the toy it has been crying for, they are doing their best to destroy it. Nowadays, proprietors and managers, working-men patrons and *artistes* protest that the variety show is a great moral force, an educational factor, a safeguard against intemperance. Evidently, its days are numbered. When too late, when it is no longer to be studied at first hand, the scholar will learn its value.

ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

## CONSTANTINE POBEDONOSTSEFF.

*Nec deus nec lupus sed homo.*

**T**HERE is a curious little plant in the Mississippi States known to botanists as *Tillandsia usneoides*, and to the common run of mortals as American moss, which is probably one of the most interesting parasites of the vegetable kingdom. It attaches itself to two or three kinds of tree, displaying a preference for cypresses and oaks, which it gradually envelops in a fantastic veil of faëry-like tracery and creamy whiteness, producing effects delightful to the beholder and deadly to the once sturdy oak; for it effectually shuts out light and air till the life of the tree is gone out.

The part played by M. Pobedonostseff in the spiritual life of the Russian people offers some striking points of resemblance to that of the American moss in the growth and decay of subtropical trees. He has woven for them and their sovereign a politico-theological network, not devoid of a certain external beauty in the eyes of many, but spiritually air-tight and opaque; and although the shade and shelter may for a time seem grateful and refreshing, they mean darkness and suffocation in the end. But as both the human being and the plant operate after their kind, and only upon a nation or tree which is already diseased, indignation with the Russian statesman would seem as reasonable as resentment against the American moss.

The first time I spoke with M. Pobedonostseff, the Ober-Procuror,\* was one bitterly cold evening in the depth of a Russian winter. Coming out of the arctic air into the heated atmosphere of his sombre residence on the Liteinaïa, I fancied I felt a spiritual chill come over me less bearable than the 20 degrees (Réaumur) of material cold from which I had just escaped. But this was the merest

\* I had met him during the late Emperor's reign, but had not yet learned to regard him as the future ruler of Russia.

fancy which vanished the moment I was ushered into the spacious well-lighted study full of books, pamphlets, and documents of the most heterogeneous character, but all arranged in the apple-pie order peculiar to scrupulously methodical officials. We discoursed of religion, theology, literature, politics, and journalism, on all of which subjects the Ober-Procuror held decided views which he put forward the instant I touched on the topic, with the glibness of a bright little boy answering his catechism. Indeed, he generally talked at me rather than to me, my remarks serving at most to broach a new subject or give him his cue. No problem presented any difficulty to him; no historical event any mystery; all things were clear, natural, and intelligible. Every English newspaper I mentioned was immediately weighed, found wanting, characterised and labelled before my eyes, with epigrammatic brevity and an air of conviction which astonished me; the more so that his data being in many cases antiquated and still more often mixed up, his judgments were absurdly wrong. "Woe to you, scribes," was the text of his sermon on journalism, and "diamond cut diamond" was, curiously enough, his practical commentary. But it was when speaking of his own country and Church that M. Pobedonostseff's interest rose to the warmth of excitement and his opinions acquired the weight of oracles. Gauging his views by the only standard I possessed—viz., the facts I had myself observed—I found them, speaking generally, comprehensive and trustworthy. Thus, he struck a keynote of difference between Orthodoxy and other forms of Christianity when he said that, in Russia, Church and State are but two aspects of one and the same institution. It was only when he made excursions into the domain of history, and taking me up, as it were, into an exceeding high mountain, showed me the glory of the Church extended over nine hundred dreary years, that I was lost in wonder at the magic power of the human imagination, and was reminded of the holy monks who, looking at the moon through a telescope closed at one end, broke out into eloquent praises of the marvellous works of God.

But that one of his numerous remarks which made the most lasting impression upon me I will now repeat in substance, for the benefit of those instantaneous journalistic photographers who, after a rapid rush through one or two provinces of the empire, without knowing one word of the language or one chapter of the history of the people, blithely tackle complicated problems which baffle the ingenuity of born Russians, and triumphantly solve them in forty minutes' time and three pages of crown octavo.

"The past growth and present transitional phasis of Russian society," remarked M. Pobedonostseff, "have no counterpart in the history of European nations. Our political fabric is as utterly unlike those of Western States as the Chinese tongue is unlike French or English. Its study is



made more difficult still by the circumstance that many of our institutions possess names to which a very definite but wholly different set of ideas corresponds in Europe. A foreigner, therefore, who comes here and sets himself to study our country and its institutions is in danger of committing the most laughable blunders, even when his efforts are conscientious and persevering. For he lacks a standard by which to gauge things; is unable to sift truth from falsehood, and, worse than all else, seldom has even a suspicion of his own deficiencies. He may live five or six years among us and leave the country with a totally wrong impression, praising what is blamable, cavilling at what is sound, and finding much to laud and to censure in phenomena that have no existence outside his own imagination. I am speaking now only of those who have manfully wrestled with the difficulties and honestly striven to master them; of people who have done neither and are yet bent upon laying down infallible rules for the government of this empire (and he mentioned two by name) the less said the better. For a foreigner in order to understand us, our virtues, our shortcomings, our needs and strivings, religious and political, must know our language, understand our history, and have lived for many years, not merely in our midst, but as one of ourselves, identifying his own interests with ours."

If one were disposed to entertain doubts as to the correctness of this view, a glance at the instantaneous photographs taken by English Russophile journalists of late years, in which the Tsar, the Throne, and the very Shadow on the Throne, performing a sort of *dense macabre*, are presented to our wondering gaze, would immediately dispel them. Wriggling apologies and wholesale flatteries like that of the short-sighted guest who, pointing to an oil-painting representing three playful monkeys, remarked to his hostess, "Fine portraits; your ancestors, I presume?"\* have done more to shake people's belief in the good faith of the Russian Government, in cases where that good faith was beyond the reach of doubt, than the most vehement attacks of Russia's bitterest enemies. Fires cannot be kindled with boiling water, nor truth defended by pious fraud.

M. Pobedonostseff has been one of the principal sufferers from the injudicious tactics of these officious friends of his country. He is now regarded throughout Europe as the personification of all that is distinctly odious in the policy of the Tsar, it being deemed a matter of supreme indifference whether we saddle him or the Government with the responsibility for an obnoxious measure which he has possibly been opposing tooth and nail; for the Government is M. Pobedonostseff, and M. Pobedonostseff is the Government. For English Russophiles, however, has been reserved the distinction of eulogising as ideal the system of administration inaugurated by this statesman and anathematising its vital parts; of declaring Russia a political plane triangle and whistling her saviour and principal legislator down the wind for declaring its three angles equal to two right angles. "The Russian

\* What should we say of an apologist of the German people, for instance, who should pick out Baron Münchhausen and represent him to Englishmen as the very highest type of German veracity? And yet this is what the photographer of the Shadow on the Throne has done in his eulogy of Russian truthfulness.

Laud," "Torquemada," "The Shadow on the Throne," "the gloomy fanatic," are among the least opprobrious epithets hurled at him by journalists who at the same time employ other terms—which, let us hope, like Dickens when he heard the Americanism "right away," they do not understand—implying the highest praise of the very policy for which they revile its author.\* Nor is it merely on the question of appreciation that they are so hopelessly at sea; the facts have also been constantly and, no doubt, unwittingly misrepresented, and M. Pobedonostseff has been frequently painted for us in very sombre colours as a clerical and a fanatic possessed of *mania religiosa*, one degree short of what is needed to warrant his confinement in a madhouse.

In truth, he is neither irrational nor clerical. The son of a University professor, brought up in the cool atmosphere of casuistry and logic, he was early taught the nexus between premiss and conclusion, and so thoroughly consistent has he shown himself in the domain of politics, where every theory pays a heavy toll to practical expediency before obtaining currency as a working reality, that if we wish to differ from him at all, we must go back to his first principles. Of clericalism, orthodox and heterodox, he has ever had a holy horror, nor is there anything clerical or priestly about himself but the gait and bearing.

In person M. Pobedonostseff can hardly be called imposing or prepossessing; and one's first feeling is disappointment that the omnipotent statesman whose name is whispered with mysterious awe should be as plain, prosaic and uninteresting as Dominic Sampson. Thin, dry, somewhat pinched features cast in the Byzantine mould; cold, sharp eyes rendered colder still by the spectacles that shield them, and whose glance is as frigid as the cheerless ray of the winter's sun; a jerky, emphatic mode of delivery and a fidgety demeanour betoken the political algebraist, the lay ascetic whose sharp points and angles have not yet been rounded off by contact with the every-day world. His head is not of those which Spurzheim would have been particularly eager to examine; nor does it impress one as being the shell of the "ovarian eggs of the next generation's civilisation." It is not the head of the mystic, the poet, the philosopher or statesman accustomed to sound abysses, read the future or bridge over the gulf between the finite and the infinite,

\* "‘Dinner, if you please,’ said I to the waiter. ‘When?’ said the waiter. ‘As quick as possible,’ said I. ‘Right away?’ said the waiter. After a moment’s hesitation, I answered, ‘No,’ at hazard.” (“American Notes.”) “‘Ought not orthodox-autocracy to be abolished in Russia?’ I have asked over and over again. ‘No, certainly not,’ was the reply of English Radicals, ‘the Tsar is the Head Shepherd and the people his brown sheep.’” (Cf. Mr. Stend’s “Truth about Russia.”) “‘Then you approve the stamping out of Stundism?’ ‘No. The Russian Government has done many evil things under the sinister promptings of M. Pobedonostseff, but it is to be hoped that it will not deliver itself so utterly over to the devil.’” (Cf. *Review of Reviews*, vol. ii. p. 351.)

but that of the village attorney, of the glorified Wakem, to whom everything is plain, prosaic and intelligible as a sum in the Rule o' Three. If there be a mystic vein hidden away anywhere in the man's organism, one can see at a glance that it never takes him out of the body into the third heaven, nor hinders him from keeping the weather eye constantly open upon enemies and backsliders, as behoves him who, observing the letter of the Gospel precept, watches while he prays.

Few religious men are more devoid of fancy than M. Pobedonostseff, in the hour-glass of whose mind no rich imaginations run like sands filling up the time, but only prosaic doubts about the meaning of obsolete canons, misgivings as to the exactness of certain vamped-up ceremonies, plans for chastening audacious journalists, and pious artifices for rousing tepid Christians from their lethargy. His brain has never scattered any of those seeds of noble aspirations or genial conceptions which fall in myriads even upon Russian soil only to be choked out by weeds and tares. The Ober-Procuror never strays away from the sphere of the practical and possible, where he works with all the earnestness and intensity of which he is capable—the intensity of a shallow nature whose limited spiritual force is confined within a deep and narrow channel. For he is essentially a man of one idea, to the realisation of which he ungrudgingly devotes all the powers of his soul, and in the light of which he judges every one and everything. It is amusing to watch him during a private conversation readjust his spectacles, shift his position, and carefully gaze at his interlocutor, whenever this person ventures upon a new subject or an original remark, as if this unlooked-for intellectual change ought to be denoted by a corresponding physical alteration. He naturally lacks that sense of humour which is sometimes a substitute for genius; is incapable of making or taking a joke, and has never yet been known to laugh heartily at anything.

In all this there is little that is specially striking and nothing positively repellent. It is only when M. Pobedonostseff smiles that one stands face to face with the unknown, the mysterious, and an uncanny feeling seizes the soul and produces a creepy sensation throughout the body. Both his lips seem equally movable, both as it were equally eager to betray the secret which they ought jealously to guard. For eye certainly hath not seen nor hath the heart of man conceived anything more gruesome or more blood-curdling since Medusa's head was severed from its body than the teeth displayed to view by M. Pobedonostseff's sardonic smile. The first time I saw them I lost the thread of my thoughts as completely as Kant when his disciple's button was gone, and I could no more rid my mind of a certain passage in Peter's Epistle about the "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," than I could take my gaze from those dreadful

incisors, the form, and only the form of which seemed human. They fascinated me like the eye of a basilisk; appearing to possess an independent existence of their own, and to be endowed with a superhuman vitality, an unholy power. Next day, for instance, I was amazed to find that they had wholly changed their form, being no longer teeth, but formidable tusks with the characteristic space peculiar to the extinct *Anoplotherium*, negative virtue going out of them and sending a thrill of horror to the heart of the boldest. Gazing at these terrible tusks, one smiles with contemptuous pity at Juvenal's naïve question: *Quid violentius AURE tyranni?* and heartily concurs in Lucan's *Inest sua gratia parvis*. On the evening of the same day my astonishment reached its climax, when looking, I beheld neither teeth nor tusks, but two coloured ridges of sharp ivory with no single mandible clearly marked, as if, the father having eaten sour grapes, the son's teeth were made all edge. No trumpet-tongued angel in Correggio's numerous choir, and only one *ci-derant* archangel in Rubens's "Last Judgment," has a smile even remotely suggestive of that which occasionally plays upon M. Pobedonostseff's features and petrifies the hearts of his hearers.

The Ober-Procureur dresses carefully but plainly, with a sober, clerical sameness; eschews everything approaching to luxury, even in the seductive guise of art; is simple in his tastes, abstemious in his habits, courteous and affable in his relations with all, even the meanest of his subordinates, and forbearing with his enemies when they are not also the foes of his plans and projects. Considering the number and variety of his occupations, he is exceedingly accessible to every one who has anything to ask for or complain of, listens attentively to every argument or statement of fact, and is generally open to conviction upon every subject except his one pet idea, which it is sinful to question and treasonable to reject. On this point he is blessed with the faith recommended by the Gospel, and can say unto a mountain of adverse evidence: "Be thou removed and cast into the sea of oblivion"; and it is done, even though it should happen to be the evidence of his own senses.

But even the qualities which, of themselves, should please and charm, oftentimes fail of their effect, owing to the impression we receive that they are the result of mere manner rather than the spontaneous outcome of that frank good-nature with which we are wont to see them associated. M. Pobedonostseff is one of those happy or unlucky individuals who, if there be any difference between their being and seeming, are better than they appear. His conversation, which never strikes any deep note, is marked by thin unction, spasmodic movement, emphatic commonplaces, feminine logic, and the sincerity of conviction which comes of intuition and cannot be put into words. His is no Hamlet nature tortured with gnawing doubts,

agonised by gulf whispers from the nether world, and wearied with groping and striving after light. His vision is clear, because circumscribed within the limits of one idea where everything is plain, flat and sterile as the steppe. Hence we seek in vain for breadth of sympathy, to say nothing of that volcanic energy of passion without which there is no genuine greatness—nay, no fulness of human nature. His sole possession in life is a doctrine which, whatever else it may effect, is powerless to neutralise the touch of icy coldness that runs through all he says and does. It is only fair to remember, however, that it is a doctrine which twice, in his hands, has saved the mightiest empire of modern times from the change which some call “ruin.”

Though not a clerical in politics—in Russia clericalism is as unknown as Puseyism—M. Pobedonostseff is a Levite of the Levites, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and the atavistic traits are sufficiently pronounced to remind those who know the story of his life, that if priesthood as a Russian caste had not been abolished, this worthy grandson of a poor, hard-working deacon would most probably be a monk or a parish priest to-day, while Russia would be occupying a place among the Constitutional monarchies of Europe. These class characteristics were brought into stronger relief, rather than softened, by the flimsy education he received in the Law School on the banks of the Fontanka, where, like Pico de la Mirandola, he studied universal science. His taste for casuistry found suitable pabulum here in the congenial study of jurisprudence, and when, on completing the curriculum, he received a position in the Department of the Senate in Moscow,\* he continued his favourite occupation, and obtained permission to deliver lectures at the University on civil law. As he had not taken his doctor's degree he was never a professor in the full sense of the term, but his lectures were more highly appreciated for methodic arrangement and scrupulous attention to details than those of many of his more successful colleagues. He finally published the pith of them in his “Course of Civil Law,” which went through three editions in the course of a few years, in all of which, curiously enough, the statutes repealing serfdom are occasionally ignored, and men and women still spoken of as disposable by testament or by deed of sale.† His professional cares did not prevent him from taking a discriminating interest in politics, though prudence may have made him chary about wearing his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at, at a time when daws swarmed throughout the land; it would have been foolhardy to express his autocratic views just as the rising wave of constitutionalism was sweeping the country and the word conservative was synonymous

\* This branch of the service has since been abolished.

† Cf. K. Pobedonostseff, “Course of Civil Law,” third edition 1883, Part I. p. 44.

with traitor. He took up his position, therefore, upon less debatable ground, and completed the list of his literary services to the cause of science, religion, politics and ethics by publishing translations of Mr. Gladstone's "Bulgarian Horrors, and the Question of the East,"\* of the "Imitation of Christ," and of Thierset's "Christian Principles of Family Life."

He might have lived thus in years, not deeds; in breaths, not thoughts, a spectator of the conflict between opposing and enduring forces, becoming perhaps a full professor with the usual allowance of ribbons and stars, had it not been for one of those ladies whose bright eyes rain influence and disaster, and who, like a subordinate but inscrutable providence, keep the course of Russian politics from running smooth. Thanks to the intercession of the Grand Duchess Helena Pavlovna, M. Pobedonostseff was appointed, along with Professor Solovioff, tutor to the late Heir Apparent, Nicholas Alexandrovitch, and to his brother, the present Tsar. And this was the turning-point of his life, for it gave him at last the fulcrum he needed to raise the Russian empire from the "slough of constitutionalism" in which it was rapidly sinking upon the dry mud-bank of orthodox-autocracy.

The Tsar Alexander III., at that time a Grand Duke, with no prospect of succeeding to the throne, conceived a strong liking for the man who had a ready answer for every question, and a complete cut-and-dried system of polity and religion, cemented by fantastic history, which led as straight and direct to its goal as the railway from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The imperial pupil was charmed with the gorgeous texture so skilfully woven by the late professor of law, and delighted with the imperial standard put into his hand, which enabled him thus easily to gauge the events of history and the principles of philosophy without worrying too much over the problems of either science. When the Crown Prince died in 1865 and M. Pobedonostseff's pupil was declared heir to the throne of Peter the Great, these lessons, which he never forgot, were the only Ariadne thread he possessed to guide him through a maze in which vastly superior minds went hopelessly astray. In 1866 the imperial disciple invited his master to remain about his person for two years more, after which he had him appointed Member of the Imperial Council;† and in 1880 M. Pobedonostseff, then fifty-three years old,‡ was nominated to the post with which his name has never since ceased to be associated.

The office of Ober-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod practically

\* Translated by M. Pobedonostseff in conjunction with Professor Bestoucheff.

† A place of rest for ancient Ministers. The duty of this body is to examine, criticise and vote upon every project of law before presenting it to the Tsar for his sanction.

‡ M. Pobedonostseff was born in 1827.

implies the spiritual supremacy of the Orthodox Church, of which the Tsar is the visible head ; but as the Orthodox Church is a function, an aspect rather than an independent entity, and possesses no initiative, even in matters that most nearly concern its own weal, the office confers no special influence upon the holder. The Most Holy Synod is a sort of permanent ecclesiastical council, consisting of a number of metropolitan archbishops and bishops, appointed every year anew, who meet together in the barrack-like building on the Isaac's Place and discuss all questions of interest to Orthodoxy, from the heresies of contemporary sectarians down to the exact canonical proportions of Orthodox wax candles.\* Whatever degree of freedom and authority this assembly may enjoy in theory, it is in practice as much a section of the State service as the Department of Trade and Manufactures. At every important sitting the head of the Church is represented by the Ober-Procuror, who formulates the questions, conducts the debates, suggests the solution, and gives legal force to the decision. The shadow of a velleity of opposition never flits across the passive souls of these obsequious Church dignitaries, who feel themselves to be clay in the hands of the potter. For many years the potter was Count D. Tolstoy, who considered the office so insignificant that he combined it with the Ministry of Public Instruction. He was a thorough aristocrat, an uncompromising conservative, and an honest atheist, who, living, merited well of the true Church, and, dying, requested that his body should not be buried in consecrated ground. He knew and loathed the Orthodox monks, discountenanced in every possible way the increase of their order, and reserved all his favours for the married clergy ; and had he retained the office long enough the days of the monastic institution in Russia would have been comparatively few.

M. Pobedonostseff, who possesses special qualifications for the office, changed all this. He is one of those rare Russians of education whose religious belief is something more than one of the numerous ingredients of social varnish ; is in fact sufficiently profound to reach down to the mainsprings of action without degenerating into clericalism or bigotry. He favoured the monks, to the chagrin of their married brethren ; encouraged the higher clergy to bestir themselves for the good of Church and State ; and breathed a martial spirit into the episcopate, which forthwith began to subject the married clergy to criticisms that would strike us as harsh and venomous if they proceeded from the members of a hostile communion. He also set himself a task far more arduous than all these—the moral reformation of the entire clergy ;

\* "The Most Holy Synod worked hard in 1887 to solve the question of the quality of olive oil to be used in lamps in the churches" (cf. M. Pobedonostseff's *Official Report*, 1891, p. 258ff), and the same august Council has lately decided that the length of an Orthodox wax candle "ought to exceed its thickness at least six times, and to have a white wick with one red thread" (cf. *The Week*, February 12, 1893).

but only to learn by experience the truth of the saying that when it pleaseth not God, the saint can do little.

Passing from the details of ecclesiastical discipline to the broad lines of religious policy, we are confronted with a question which has seldom been put forward in this country, unaccompanied by an emphatic reply : whether genuine belief in any form of Christianity is compatible with the spirit which must be taken to animate the man who inaugurated the present cruel persecution of non-orthodox Christians. "M. Pobedonostseff may be a clever statesman," remarked a Russophile English Radical to me some time ago, "he may be a scholar, a pedagogue, or anything else you please, but he has no right to call himself a Christian." What degree of truth or falsehood this remark contains, is of no earthly consequence to any one ; but if we wish to form a mental likeness of one of the most powerful statesmen of ancient or modern times, it behoves us to make an effort at least to understand him to look at things from his peculiar coign of vantage, and to ask ourselves how, having thus shifted the lights and shadows, we ourselves should act in his place. For the heart of the matter is this : the man is neither a clever hypocrite nor an ambitious place-hunter, but an ardent supporter of the altar and throne, filled with the idea of establishing them upon solid foundations, and honestly convinced that this is the one thing needful to render his people worthy of the great destiny which he believes to be in store for them.

We require no special knowledge of Russian history to teach us that the burdens imposed by absolutism upon the bulk of the Tsar's subjects are so heavy and irksome that no other civilised people would endure them ; that the difference in submissiveness between Russians and West Europeans is traceable to a corresponding difference of religious and mental training ; that the theory and practice of autocracy suit well with a people who know little, seek not to know more, and take the most terrible hardships for the commonplaces of existence ; that to sap this child-like trust or dispel this blissful ignorance, whether by means of religious enlightenment or of new-fangled political notions, is to undermine the entire fabric which is built thereupon, and that he who is minded to preserve the edifice must needs protect the foundations.

Put in this shape, Englishmen can discern and understand the main drift of the governmental policy ; but it should be borne in mind that it is not in this crude form that M. Pobedonostseff conceives it. We speak of a Church and State as two separate, or at all events distinct, institutions ; he regards them as two aspects of the same institution, which is, and cannot be otherwise than, one and indivisible. The political Tsar is also the ecclesiastical Pope ; his sceptre, being crooked, is used as a pastoral staff ; the subjects who obey the monarch are, or at least ought to be, the flock which loves and follows its shepherd ;



the penal code should be a development of the Decalogue, and priests and police, conscious that they serve one and the same master, should skilfully play into each other's hands.

For Orthodoxy, in spite of the similarity of symbols and ceremonies, is unlike any extant form of the Church of Christ. It is as far removed from historical Christianity as historical Christianity is removed from the simple faith of Jesus. It is not a force which enables people to cope with moral disease, but at best an anodyne to assuage it. As a religion, it was early mixed with magic rites and formulas, and precipitated. Poets like Khomyakoff, whose theological writings were condemned by the ecclesiastical censure, might idealise and etherealise it till it would suit the taste of Plotinus or Julian, but it comes to the people with the lure of a theatrical representation. As "goosefoot mixed with powdered treebark" is the translation into the dialect of the Russian peasantry of the Latin word *panis*, so is Orthodoxy with its pomp and pageantry the Russian rendering of *circenses*. The soothing chant of canticles and the plangent melody of psalms; the blaze of yellow wax lights reflected by the gold and silver of ancient icons struggling to dispel the mysterious haze of fragrant smoke; the solemn voices of long-robed priests re-echoing the words of a half-forgotten tongue; the tinkling toss of the perfumed censers; the oracular promise of mercy and of hope, and the mingling of miserable souls in silent sympathy and sorrow, stir to its depths whatever of religious feeling the hearts of the helots may harbour. And yet the religious sense of Dolly Winthrop was superior to this, for she could at least feel the working of religion "in her inside," without any such extraneous aids.

M. Pobedonostseff attaches extreme importance to this staging of religion, and it would be rash to condemn him for preserving one of the vital elements of the system. His favourite remedy for an outbreak of sectarianism is a course of improved Church singing. Dogmas, those "wingy mysteries in divinity and airy subtleties in religion which have unhinged the brains of better heads," seldom come within the range of the people, and whenever they do are so twisted and turned as to be hardly recognisable. Orthodoxy is become as the dry staff which the Pope held in his hand when Tannhäuser craved for mercy and forgiveness. But in this case it is not likely that there will be any stirring of buds under the polished bark, or growth of blossoms from under the gilded varnish. Knox's idea of a Church as a body whose ministers possess an indefeasible right to control politics and religion, is quite as abhorrent to M. Pobedonostseff as the view of those who hold that the State should leave the Church to its own devices.

Starting with this conception of the scope and functions of

Orthodoxy, the Ober-Procuror naturally argues that it would be flying in the face of Providence were he to grant to heretical Churches the independence and privileges rightly denied to his own. It is not meet, he thinks, to take the children's bread, still less the shew-bread which even the children dare not eat, and to cast it to dogs. Hence his successful endeavours to curtail the autonomy of the Armenian, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Mohammedan, Buddhist and Jewish Churches, which have shrunk considerably during the past few years. And we cannot blink the fact that, quite apart from their powerful organisation, which every absolute Government must regard with a jealous eye, the spirit of most of these Churches is widely different from that of Orthodoxy—nay, is directly and indirectly a positive hindrance to the growth of that politico-religious faith in which Russians, to be loyal and submissive, must be trained. No one will seriously maintain that Stundism, Protestantism, Methodism, or indeed any of the persecuted sects, has the same tendency as Russian Orthodoxy to medicine people's doubts and misgivings to sweet sleep in which their sufferings assume the form of divine blessings and stagnation seems an ideal worth heroic sacrifices. In truth, they are animated by the very opposite spirit. They all teach equality, progress, individual responsibility, the need of exercising private judgment, of cultivating a critical spirit to guide us in holding fast that which is good; and—last and most dangerous of all—self-help and co-operation. They implicitly and sometimes expressly deny that the Tsar is Christ's vicar, implying that he is a mere idol-worshipper, like his Orthodox subjects, and this in a country where the line of demarcation between heresy and treason is faint and vanishing. Moreover, all these Churches have their political background which is none the less real that it happens to be shadowy and dim; and not the less seductive that it displays none of the characteristics of autocracy. Many of their ministers hold with Robert Hall that true "religion grows and blooms among the highest and most palmy branches of the tree of liberty," and that in Russia is an upas-tree, whose very shade is lethal.

Now all these results of heterodox training, however good and desirable in themselves, spell ruin to the Orthodox-autocratic faith of the Tsar's simple-minded subjects, which a few warm words can eradicate or a measure of vodka wash away. The untutored peasantry, if left to themselves, would abandon Orthodoxy in a few years, and under the most favourable conditions would imitate the well-meaning soldier who, being fond of the ballet, went often to see it and was always delighted, until he learned one day that it was all untrue, whereat he was disgusted and never visited the theatre any more. M. Pobedonostseff cannot allow his Russians to act upon such awkward discoveries as this, and he would gladly preserve them from

the danger of making them; for even if greater toleration were compatible with his religious principles, he would find it absolutely impossible to reconcile it with his loyalty.

If then we admit, with English Russophiles, that the system is admirably suited to the wants of the Russian people, without going quite so far as to affirm with the Ober-Procuror that it was established by God Himself, we thereby forfeit our right to censure M. Pobedonostseff for defending it. If, on the other hand, we are bent upon condemning his policy, we must do so, not because it fails to effect its purpose (the facts prove it to be wondrously efficacious), but because that purpose is unchristian and immoral. Nor can we separate the political from the religious institution in Russia any more than in Persia or Turkey; in the mind of M. Pobedonostseff, and in the consciousness of the Russian people, they are, and will remain, one and indivisible. And if we turn to the fruits of this resolute policy, we shall find that they are as grateful and comely as any man could desire. M. Pobedonostseff sits on the crest of a vast wave of reaction which is submerging sects, creeds and parties, and he listens with that ghastly smile of his to the fallacy of the sectarians, who hug the delusion that persecution is but a more effectual mode of propagation. Stundism, Lutheranism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Islam in Russia are all doomed to die—nay, they are even now fast melting away like ice floes drifting into southern seas. Of a Church of several million Oriental Catholics, which flourished when Pius IX. was Pope, not a soul is now left to keep the remembrance from dying. The Buddhists of Siberia are being taken every year to the rivers in hundreds, stripped, shaken, sworn at, dipped and then told that they are Christians, and may go home and offer a sacrifice to their ugly idols in thanksgiving for the boon. Fifty years more of the Ober-Procuror's tactics, and the Orthodox Church will have swallowed up its rivals as completely as Aaron's rod devoured the rods of the Egyptian sorcerers; and the grandsons of those who now groan and lament because of religious persecution, will bless the man who had the energy to carry out the work of unification, even at the cost of moral progress.

And yet we must not deny or underrate the new religious spirit which is awakening in various parts of the country. Abundant materials for moral regeneration lie scattered all over Russia ready to organise at a moment's notice (and this fact rather than any symptoms of social or political discontent, is the seed-plot of Russia's future hope); but they cannot combine without exploding and blowing the political fabric to atoms. Various ideas are being continually thrown out, religious and moral, and fall upon a marvellously fertile soil. Those which are false, spring up as weeds in the form of sects of Dancers, of Wanderers, of Christs, Virgin-Mothers, Eunuchs, and

such-like. Others take root and blossom into communities of Primitive Christians, Baptists, Stundists, &c.—heroes and heroines deserving places in the Pantheon of the world's saints. These latter grow like the grain of mustard-seed, becoming greater than all herbs, shooting out great branches, and generally proving themselves the fittest to survive. This M. Pobedonostseff is quick to discern and resolute to check; he lays the axe to the root of the tree, ungrateful though the task undoubtedly is. For the Russian people are as tolerant of truth as of error, and it is well-nigh impossible to graft persecution upon a stock so gentle. Moreover, M. Pobedonostseff may root out one form of Christianity, or twenty-one forms, but can he prevent ever new sprouts from springing up and taking their places? He is resolutely making the endeavour; but in a struggle between new ideals and effete systems, between spiritual tendencies and ecclesiastical liturgies, the *vis inertia* which is on the side of use and wont is hardly a match in the long run for the overwhelming force contained in the religious movement. A statesman, however, must be practical and take short views; he cannot affect to raise eternal monuments in a world where all is fleeting. In the systole and diastole which mark the life of great religious and ethical movements, the utmost he can hope is to prolong the former at the expense of the latter; and in this, M. Pobedonostseff has been eminently successful. The narrowness of his views is his real force; it supplies him with fixity of aim, firmness of purpose, and a clear perception of the bee-line to success.

It is evident that whatever success M. Pobedonostseff has obtained is due entirely to his own efforts, seconded by the absolute power of the Tsar, and would have certainly been more marked, possibly more lasting, were it not for the secret opposition of treacherous allies and the thwarting action of unworthy agents. The most dangerous among the former is a man of a type extremely rare in Russia, but of such harmonious wholeness as to deserve the pen of a Theophrast or a La Bruyère. Tertyi Ivanovitch Philippoff—now the Comptroller-General of the Empire—has the face of an overgrown cherub and the manners of the meekest, mildest, and most modest of men. He carries a heavy atmosphere of Christian charity about with him which overpowers the stranger who comes into contact with him for the first time. In guilelessness, childlike simplicity, and blandness, the "Heathen Chinese" is unworthy to stoop down and unloose the latchet of his shoe; and Uriah Heep's humility was rank pride contrasted with his lowliness of spirit. He cannot converse upon religion, duty, virtue, without undergoing a visible transfiguration. He treats his friends as angelic natures to whom, if he only had the power, he would grant everything and refuse nothing; to his enemies he speaks in the sublime spirit of all-forgiving charity and the tone of

sweet resignation which the American Jerusalemite adopted when offering pardon to the writhing wretch who having attempted to kick him violently, had broken his own leg against the paving-stone hidden away in the holy man's ample pocket: "Brother, I forgive you; for, mayhap, I too have been somewhat to blame." M. Philippoff, who is Comptroller of the financial treasures of the Russian Empire, and Honorary Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, loves the Orthodox Church dearly, and is believed to hate its virtual head still more vehemently. For a long time it was regarded as certain (in St. Petersburg) that the pious Comptroller would supplant the ex-lecturer, and inaugurate "the only genuine" historical system of ecclesiastical government. For his views on these subjects, whatever their origin, differ widely from those of his rival, and it is no secret that one of his pet projects is the abolition of the Most Holy Synod and the restoration of the Patriarchate. Twelve months ago he aired this notion in an anonymous newspaper article; but M. Pobedonostseff, with his marvellous *flair*, discerned his rival through his disguise of anonymity, and next day the newspaper received a warning from the Minister of the Interior.

It is a curious spectacle to watch these two Churchmen in whom *das ewig Weibliche* is not wholly confined to their imperfectly suppressed enmity, to note how they damn each other with faint praise and to observe how they shake hands and exchange a few feline amenities when they meet at those frequent religious ceremonies which enter so largely into public and private life in Russia. M. Pobedonostseff, for instance, holds ecclesiastico-moral meetings at his house on the Liteinaïa, almost weekly, to which laymen are welcome. They are in no sense of the word select assemblies, and M. Philippoff attends them with the heroism of a martyr. The story runs that one Sunday before setting out for the meeting, M. Philippoff was asked to take an extra cup of tea, on the ground that M. Pobedonostseff would speak at some length, and that he ought to fortify himself for the occasion. "Tea!" he replied; "no, thanks. What I should need is chloroform, only that the spiritual gain would be outweighed by the physical injury." We may disagree with M. Pobedonostseff, supposing we have taken the trouble to understand him; but we must give him credit at least for being what he seems, and for seeking to appear no more than what he is. His rival, on the contrary, may be a God-send to a psychologist, but he is hardly one of those who are destined to embarrass a Bollandist or encourage the attention of even the *advocatus diaboli*.

But far more dangerous than the wiles of wary enemies is the baneful influence of some of M. Pobedonostseff's chosen instruments, men and ladies whom he honours with a certain degree of trust, and invests with a corresponding amount of power, and whose advocacy

would irreparably damage the noblest cause for which mortals ever immortalised themselves or butchered others. Thus there is one little red-faced individual, sleek, blear-eyed and oily, who has oftentimes been likened to one of the elders described in the Book of Daniel, and who, had he been one of the twelve Apostles, would, in spite of miracles and divine grace, have wrecked Christianity at the outset. He is probably one of the most worldly men in all Russia, and assuredly one of the least fitted by nature and training to play a part in the world of fashion. He is received and scoffed at in most of the second-rate salons of the capital, as well as at every ecclesiastical meeting and religious ceremony. It would appear to form a part of his duty to act as *ex officio* sponsor for all the Jews, Mohammedans, Roman Catholics, &c., who are being continually received into the Orthodox Church. He met a friend of mine one day in one of the St. Petersburg salons, and learning that he was a foreigner, asked him in French whether he could read Russian. The reply being affirmative, he continued: "Now I want to convert you to the true Church. You possibly do not know that the true Church is Orthodoxy. But if I send you some books that will prove it so, will you promise to read them?" "With pleasure," replied my friend. "Very well, then; please give me your address." A lady who was listening, and to whom both the speakers were very well known, could neither suppress a smile nor change the conversation; but she afterwards informed the Apostle of Orthodoxy that he had grievously mistaken his man, and must on no account stultify himself further by sending any books. My friend continued for years subsequently to meet this ancient Mercury at balls, dances, and *raouts*, and more than once heard him glory in confessions of vice, to which those of Rousseau and Tolstoy were rank self-praise, and with a degree of cynicism which is rare in Russia.

M. Pobedonostseff, who never enters a salon, is probably ignorant of the sayings and doings of his acolyte; but there is a pretty general consensus of opinion that he himself, although Puritan by temperament, and too individualistic to find a pleasure in leading the life of the race, attaches such undue weight to the formal side of religion, that if his choice lay between a pitiful profligate who is Orthodox and a man of strict morals and genuine piety, with a scarcely perceptible leaning towards Evangelical Christianity, he would not hesitate to give his preference to the former. This estimate of M. Pobedonostseff's frame of mind may be right or wrong, but it cannot be denied that his deliberate acts are of a nature to give it colour. One of the most eloquent, repellent, and least respected prelates in Russia is a certain archbishop whose profligate life is the theme of all tongues, the scandal of his whole flock. Knowing the pastor personally, I should be pleased to treat as calumnies the biting satires and parodies of

church prayers written by his priests, in which his sins are enumerated and stigmatised; but when fact and sentiment clash the latter generally goes to the wall. These attacks, then, became so frequent and so dangerous a few years ago, that the prelate, wise in his generation, communicated with the Ober-Procuror, complaining, like the Psalmist, that his enemies had made him sick at heart, and that he was in doubt what course to pursue. M. Pobedonostseff sent him a telegram, before replying by letter, and gave the well-meant, but equivocal counsel: "Go on manfully doing as you have hitherto done, and pay no heed to evil tongues." And the pastor followed literally the advice.

There is one good excuse for M. Pobedonostseff's reluctance to take cognisance of the charges brought forward against his agents, which it would be unfair to pass over in silence. He himself has been frequently the object of similar attacks, and charged with every species of frailty and sin, except that for which he is supposed to be unfitted by temperament; and in nearly every case the accusations have proved to be malicious calumnies. I am in possession of a number of pasquils, epigrams, epitaphs, and "true accounts," circulated in manuscript, which I have found to be gross exaggerations or base inventions. The exceptions are few, and are not of a nature to alter our conception of the statesman who, after all, is a Russian, and can say with Elijah: "I am not better than my fathers." To give but one instance of his "crimes": much righteous indignation was aroused by the use which he made of his political omnipotence to shield one of his near connections whose financial difficulties and shifts had brought him under the arm of the law. Judged by English ideas, the offence is no light one; but measured by a Russian standard, he did nothing which the most scrupulous of his accusers would not have done in his place; nor can the foreigner who finds so much else to provoke his astonishment and call for his censure in Russia, afford to squander his indignation upon incidents which are the merest trifles in comparison. There is a good deal of human nature even in Russian statesmen, and considerably less in M. Pobedonostseff than in most of his colleagues.

For his power is practically boundless—princes and peasants being, so to say, in the hollow of his hand; and no better proof of his "incorruptibility" could be given than the circumstance that he should be accused of having *once* used this power for a private end, and then not to injure, but to save. There is no branch of the administration, except perhaps that of war, in which he does not intervene from time to time, frequently with benefit and always with effect. He is the General Supervisor of the Government, and his knowledge of details borders on the miraculous. True, it is only potential knowledge; he knows in which pigeon-hole to find the

information when the need for it arises; but every kind of information about every department of the administration is to be found there. Like Heimdall, he can hear the wool grow on the sheep's back, and the grass sprout up in the green meadows. He has a little army of vigilant scouts working for him, reporting what is taking place in the present, and even what will occur in the future; and, with the exception of that from his double-tongued foreign agents, the information he receives is generally very trustworthy.

Now every Russian Minister, besides the skeleton deliberately locked up in his official cupboard, has whole cellars full of mummies hidden away in places unknown even to himself. M. Pobedonostseff can bring forward each and every one of these and, prophesying upon the dry bones, cause breath to come into them so that they stand forth a terrible army. The most powerful of the Tsar's advisers are therefore afraid to lay before the Emperor any project, suggestion, or complaint, however just, which they know to be distasteful to the Ober-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod. One of the most respected and influential of the Tsar's Ministers, speaking lately of a certain crying injustice to one who besought him to open the Emperor's eyes to it, replied: "I dare not. Pobedonostseff would never forgive me. Besides, I should most probably fail, and the harm done would be greater than the good aimed at."\*

But the Ober-Procuror has not everything his own way; he is often forced to put up with much that he deems sinful and to connive at many a compromise with Beelzebub himself, however much it goes against the grain. Some time ago a certain Mlle. Sionitskaia came up to St. Petersburg to make her *début* on the stage of the Imperial Opera, which in Russia is supported by the Tsar. The mere fact, and nothing more, was announced in the journals. M. Pobedonostseff, however, discovered that the diva *in spe* was the daughter of a deacon of the Orthodox Church, and was shocked to think that she was about to devote her young life to the service of the devil in the temple of vice called the Opera which is kept by the head of the Holy Church. She was given to understand that she must turn from her evil ways and repent, and specially forswear this sinful purpose. Terrified, the poor girl, who had set all her hopes upon this cast of the die, ran hither and thither in search of advice and help—now to the Director of the Imperial Theatre, now to the Minister of the Court. But no official in the Empire would attempt to snatch her from the tenacious grip of the Ober-Procuror. "Try the Tsar himself," one dignitary suggested half in jest, "he *can* help you, only it is not very likely that he will." The girl was already packing up her things and

\* As I am not at liberty to divulge the names of the persons nor to explain the nature of the injustice, it is only fair to M. Pobedonostseff to say that from his point of view there is no injustice whatever; it is merely a question of the expediency of one man suffering for the people.



preparing to return home, but she determined to take this hint, and see what would come of it. A courageous chamberlain was found who laid the matter before the Emperor, and urged that the only principle upon which Mlle. Sionitskaia could be hindered from becoming an opera-singer is one which would necessitate the closing of all imperial theatres. The Tsar was amused, but likewise embarrassed. His views on theatrical amusements clash with those of his Mentor. He promised to think the matter over. When the decision was announced it was reasonable. "She may go on the stage and sing if she will, and can; but she must do it quietly and without any flourish of trumpets, for I cannot allow the susceptibilities of my old man\* to be hurt."

Another instance of his passion for petty details is interesting as casting a side-light upon his honest endeavour to make use of the vast influence he wields only for the furtherance of what he holds to be the interests of truth and justice. A few years ago a young nobleman in St. Petersburg, who had lately come into a fabulous fortune, was accused by a grasping, unscrupulous relative of squandering it aimlessly, and of exhibiting generally signs of a weak mind. The Minister of Justice, M. Manessein, induced M. Pobedonostseff to obtain the Tsar's permission to deprive the young nobleman of the right of managing his own estate, and to appoint a board of guardians, presided over by the avaricious relative. M. Pobedonostseff obtained the authorisation, and the guardians went to work. In one week they had voted more money for their own private wants than the alleged spendthrift had "squandered" in six months. The scandal was commented on in the press, one organ describing the whole arrangement as a conspiracy. M. Pobedonostseff at once made inquiries and convinced himself that the term conspiracy was a correct definition of the transaction, and that the young spendthrift was well able to administer his own estate. He then went to the Emperor, narrated the facts, and asked that the former order be quashed and the young man's rights restored, to which the Tsar immediately gave his consent. To a European statesman an act of this kind is a matter of course—the fulfilment of a very elementary duty; but it is safe to say that of all the advisers who surround the Tsar, including the Grand Dukes, M. Pobedonostseff alone has the courage to achieve any such feat.

But this heroism has well-defined limits, which, if facts be a safe guide, coincide with the Ober-Procuror's resolve to retain his present ascendancy over the mind of his Imperial masters. In 1884 the late Count Tolstoy resolved to lower the universities to the level of training schools for *Tchinovniks*. For this purpose he framed a Bill depriving them of autonomy, transforming the professors into "cram-

\* "Mo-ye-vó stariká."

mers," and allowing political loyalty to make up for a student's lack of scientific knowledge. M. Pobedonostseff, who had had experience of university work, opposed the measure tooth and nail in the Imperial Council, in consequence of which it was defeated. But the Tsar, eager to embody all Count Tolstoy's ideas in concrete laws, sent for his "old man" and requested him to withdraw his opposition. M. Pobedonostseff obeyed without a murmur and voted for the Bill.

Later on, when the fateful law creating Peasant Chiefs\* was laid before the Imperial Council M. Pobedonostseff sharply criticised each separate clause and utterly condemned the aim and scope of the entire measure. But the Tsar, having received it as part of the late Count Tolstoy's legacy, had made up his mind to give it his sanction. He therefore sent for the Ober-Procuror and asked him to change sides and vote for the Bill in the Imperial Council. And M. Pobedonostseff forthwith obeyed. And in both cases the sequel has shown that he was right in his opposition and wrong in his obedience. And although it would be unfair to impugn his motives, which for aught we know may have been most praiseworthy, one cannot help regretting for Russia's sake, his readiness to allow the voice of reason to be drowned by the sentiment of demonstrative loyalty.

The touchstone of a politician's skill is his ability to read aright the signs of the times and to master and modify such popular movements as are of a nature to clash with his own line of policy. And tried by this test, M. Pobedonostseff is one of the ablest and most clear-sighted statesmen who ever advised a Tsar. If Constitutionalism means ruin to Russia, he is the greatest benefactor of his fatherland since Peter the Great breathed his last. He has twice succeeded in saving Russia from Constitutionalism—once in 1881, when Loris Melikoff had the approved charter in his possession, and a year later when Count Ignatieff was on the point of introducing Parliamentary government under another name.

The condition of Russia in 1880 was, from an autocratic point of view, more desperate than it had ever been since the Tartar yoke was shaken off. A wave of Liberalism had swept over the country, and was carrying everything before it. The press was breathing freely and speaking plainly, the peasants were beginning to see the relation between political power and economic prosperity, schools were springing up on all sides and disintegrating Conservative principles and institutions, courts of law were taking upon themselves purely legislative functions and were determined in their exercise by Liberal predilections, and, to crown all, the Emperor had agreed to grant a Constitution. And his promise would have been carried out by his son and successor had it not been for the marvellous energy of

\* The Zemskyeh Natshalnikes.

M. Pobedonostseff, who compassed Loris Melikoff's fall and drew up the passionate manifesto in which the present Tsar declares that he rules by the grace of God as the Autocrat of all the Russias. In the following year Count Ignatieff, then Minister of the Interior, nearly succeeded in introducing Constitutionalism under a more euphonious name, and establishing a species of Parliamentary government which should prove perfectly compatible with autocracy. Here again M. Pobedonostseff, the Hoimdall of Russian Tsardom, went to work with a will, and did not rest until the "Russian Mr. Gladstone" had bidden a long farewell to office, the clouds had rolled by and the sun of imperialism appeared more dazzling and scorching than ever.

These are the two great triumphs of the Tsar's "old man"; triumphs of which he has ample reason to be proud.

A characteristic common to most men of one idea, and the source at once of their strength and weakness, is the resoluteness with which they take the straight line to their goal, even when humanity and justice happen to be a little to the right or the left. The manifestations of this constitutional defect in M. Pobedonostseff's activity are very numerous and instructive, forming the psychological puzzle of his character.

As it is part of his duty to present every year\* a lengthy memoir to the Emperor on the condition of Orthodoxy in Russia, it is but natural that he should be eager to display a considerable balance to the good; and his efforts to bring about this result occasionally betray him into acts which, while they strike Europeans as grotesque or immoral, leave his conscience serene. His instructions to bishops in heterodox districts, putting them under an obligation to proselytise, have led to an organised and complicated system of conversion by force and pious fraud, obviously based on the view that mere formal registration in the Orthodox Book of Life, though accompanied by immorality and followed by irreligion, is better far than an honest faith in God, worshipped under some uncouth name, and an upright life outside the true fold. Bishop Benjamin, of Siberia, for instance, instituted a sort of Buddhistic hunt every year, which terrified the unfortunate Booryates far more than it improved them. A certain number of men, women, and children were annually told off, and inscribed in a special list of "individuals liable to holy baptism,"† and on the date fixed would be driven down to the river, immersed *en masse*, and then left to the practice of Lamaism as before. I read a letter from one of their chiefs last year, in which he describes himself as hiding in the forest, suffering all kinds of hardships, because

\* These reports belong to the domain of ancient history by the time they are published and made accessible to the world. In March 1895, the latest report to be had is one published in 1891, and dealing with the years 1888 and 1889.

† The official Russian term is *podlesháshitskie seyashishén nomoo kreshcháshénú*.

unwilling to be baptised, and earnestly pleads for mercy. I met another in January last year, who had come to St. Petersburg to plead for toleration. As the bulk of these unfortunate people have not the faintest inkling of the meaning of Christianity, and cannot speak the only language understood by their apostles, they are only scared by the queer things done to them in the river. Prince Meschtschersky, that *enfant terrible* of the Tsardom, published a detailed account of the matter some months ago, in consequence of which inquiries were instituted in Siberia. Bishop Benjamin at first felt himself safe and secure under the wing of the Ober-Procuror, but when telegram after telegram was received by him from the capital, and the danger to which he was exposed was made clear, he died of nervous shock.

Bad as this undoubtedly is, the treatment meted out to Protestant sects is infinitely worse. The members of the sect known as the Paschkovites (from one of the leaders, Colonel Paschkoff) have been treated worse than the heathen and the publican. Meetings at which the Bible was read were prohibited, tea-shops and refuges closed, the more zealous preachers imprisoned, and Colonel Paschkoff himself—one of those rare individuals whose beautiful lives do more to convince us of the divine origin of Christianity than all the miracles ever witnessed or recorded—was banished for ever from Russia. In accomplishing this arduous and uncongenial task, M. Pobedonostseff found it very difficult to keep within the bounds of truth, justice, and moderation; and the recollection of his backslidings in this respect is still gall and wormwood to his soul, and intensifies his hatred for an eminently Christian community. Our most odious enemy is he who wittingly or unwittingly drags our weak points into the broad light of day and betrays us into belying our principles and playing false to our convictions. Hymn-books, which M. Pobedonostseff and his clergy had sanctioned or eulogised, were suddenly condemned and withdrawn from circulation, and a hateful class of spies established—persons who denied their own religion in order to prevent other people from professing theirs, and who shamelessly lied in the interest of truth. False witnesses were found who swore that members of the sect had desecrated images and blasphemed saints; and on the strength of these depositions many were flogged, fined, and imprisoned, and deported to Siberia. And when a most honourable man came forward and made known the facts to M. Pobedonostseff, asking him to have them officially tested, the Ober-Procuror was deaf, like Festus, to the words of justice and truth. The last stage in this interesting drama was the closing of a coffee-house much frequented by poor students and factory-hands in one of the slums of St. Petersburg, because of the proprietor's refusal to remove certain

Gospel texts from the walls, where they had been hanging to my own knowledge, for twelve years. Some of the texts consisted of Christ's words to his disciples, and Colonel Paschkoff thought that he might safely assume that they would do no positive harm. "I strictly forbid you to preach any more such socialistic sermons; you shall not use the pulpit as a tribune for the spread of revolutionary doctrine," exclaimed a Roman Catholic Bishop in Austria to one of the most gifted of his priests the other day. "To hear is to obey, my Lord, I will never preach another of his sermons," was the humble reply. "Whose sermons? What do you mean?" asked the astonished prelate. "I mean St. John Chrysostom, my Lord; for it was his homily that I preached *in extenso*; but of course I will never repeat the offence in future." "Remove those dangerous words," exclaims the director of the Orthodox Church of Christ. "I cannot; they are Christ's own words," was the reply. The cases are very much alike; but there is this difference: the Roman Catholic Bishop was ashamed of his constructive disrespect for the memory of John Chrysostom, but M. Pobedonostseff was unabashed, though he implicitly censures Christ.

But of all the Christian sects in Russia, the Stundists are by far the most cruelly treated. They may be broadly described as Evangelical Christians, who endeavour to worship God in spirit and in truth, and put obedience to His will—as they conceive it—above compliance with the ukases of the Tsar. Vigorous folk like these, who take life seriously and fear only God, are odious to a statesman who acts as the official spokesman of God and Tsar; they are the hard lumps which, refusing to dissolve in the mass, are cast into the mortar and pounded. The loss of civil rights, fines, imprisonment, and banishment to the remotest and most unhealthy tracts of the Empire, were the penalties decreed and enforced against this form of Christianity until a few months ago, when it became evident that they aggravated the evil instead of remedying it. The Stundists touched the hearts of the convicts with whom they mingled; soldiers sent to their prayer-meetings for the purpose of giving evidence against them later on, oftentimes dropped upon their knees and begged to be received into the proscribed brotherhood then and there; punishment was courted rather than feared, and the sect thrived and spread.

A few months since, the Ober-Procuror turned over a new leaf, changing the system of repression. The members convicted now are no longer scattered over the country, but either imprisoned or else employed in public works for the benefit of their indolent Orthodox brethren, generally at a long distance from home. They forfeit their right to work at their trades, and, employed as night-watchmen, foresters, &c., receive but a wretched pittance fixed expressly with the object of keeping them and their families on the famine line. This

is a somewhat heavy penalty to have to pay for the right to practise what most sane people hold to be a virtue ; and it is to be hoped that no more than this was ever intended by the Ober-Procuror. Unfortunately, a good deal more regularly occurs : doings which it is difficult to describe in the language of propriety, and impossible to qualify in terms of moderate condemnation. The wives and daughters of these men remain at home, while their husbands and fathers are absent for days and nights at a time ; and the rural police and village ruffians profit by the occasion to visit these helpless females, bring their *vodka* with them, and hold their brutish orgies in their presence. A veil must be drawn over the scenes that ensue, over the crimes that cry to Heaven for vengeance. Nor are these crimes only imagined. I have lately read some heartrending appeals to Christians of the civilised world, nay, to men and women of every faith, written with the life blood of the despairing victims, in which these horrors are described. These appeals, I believe, have not yet been published. I know that they have been made in vain. People have not time in this busy age to join a crusade which has religion or religious freedom for its object. And, besides, what business is it of foreigners to meddle in Russian politics ? These are matters for the Russian Government to settle ; and it has decreed that Stundism, which undeniably constitutes a serious danger to Orthodox-autocracy, must be stamped out in self-defence. And who will gainsay the Government ?

One hopes that the Tsar's "old man," who is technically responsible for these things, disbelieves them. There is no doubt he has heard of them ; not indeed from his agents, who would suffer martyrdom rather than pain him by implying that his favourite method depends for its efficacy upon crime, but from candid Russians living at a distance, who delight in pointing out the drawbacks of his system, and measuring the distance that separates it from justice and humanity. And yet we must not confound the workman with his work. We may believe as firmly in the excellence of M. Pobedonostseff's motives as in the pitiable plight of the people, for whose possible good he is working such real evil. He is a remarkable Russian rather than a great man. He has twice saved the Tsardom from the pangs that accompany growth and expansion, by giving it the shadow and the shelter of the American moss which, now already felt to be irksome, will soon be recognised as deadly. He is still engaged in preserving the most salutary truths and sublime ideals ever revealed to man, by pinning them to the unshapely forms of fetishes. It is not exaggerated praise to affirm that of all the advisers of the Tsar, he is the most orthodox, consistent, far-seeing and successful ; and that he is likewise the only genuine Russian statesman in the Empire. What more he is, had best be left to be determined by the future historian

whose judgment, if lenient, will consist in the following reversal of the beautiful words attributed to Jesus with as much reason as any inserted in the Gospels: "Man, if thou knowest not what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest it, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law," \*

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\* One of the most Christian of the *ἀγραφα*, Cod. Cantabrigiensis, D., ad Lucam. vi. 4. "On the same day, seeing a certain person working on the Sabbath, He said unto him: 'Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou, but if thou knowest it not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law.'" *Ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριός εἰ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἰ τοῦ νόμου.*



## THE FINANCIAL SCHEME OF THE HOME RULE BILL.

**S**PEAKING at Manchester, on April 12, Mr. Goschen is reported to have said : "The financial clauses " (of the Home Rule Bill) "are dead. They have been killed already. Never was there such a financial fiasco as these clauses. The Government have not attempted yet to defend them." The Government will, no doubt, take up Mr. Goschen's challenge in due course ; but perhaps an independent *post-mortem* examination of the clauses may be permissible, and likewise useful, inasmuch as financial proposals do not readily lend themselves to be treated piecemeal in speeches.

The principle underlying the financial scheme in the Home Rule Bill is pretty evident. It is that Ireland should provide for her own Civil charges, and that, accordingly, there should be handed over to her revenue sufficient to meet those charges, and, at the same time, give her a working balance.

On the one hand, the Irish Civil charges, both those met out of Exchequer Revenue and those met out of Local Taxation Revenue, and the charges connected with the collection of the Inland Revenue and the Post Office Revenue, were computed in the aggregate, for the years 1892-3, at £5,660,000.\*

On the other hand, apparently by a fortunate coincidence, it was found that the excise duties paid by the consuming classes in Ireland, on account of beer and spirits, the proceeds of the whole of the stamp duties, income-tax, and excise licences levied in Ireland, the amount of Postal Revenue, collected in the country, and what was

\* Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 91 of 1893.

Total Irish Civil charges	£4,710,000
Collection of Inland Revenue	160,000
Postal Services	790,000
	<hr/>
	£5,660,000



derived from Ireland in respect of Crown lands and miscellaneous revenue, would yield a revenue about equivalent to the Irish local expenditure, and, indeed, estimated for the year 1892-3 to be an exact equivalent of such expenditure (£5,660,000).\*

Accordingly, the account of Ireland, when credited with this revenue, exactly balanced.

But it was deemed necessary to provide Ireland with a working balance; and this end was proposed to be attained by relieving her of one-third of the Irish Constabulary and Dublin Police charges, which charges amounted in the aggregate to £1,500,000. By receiving this relief, she would be started with a surplus of £500,000.

There was evidently a twofold reason for giving the relief in this form. In the first place, the present Irish Police forces are a quasi-Imperial as well as local body, and therefore the Irish taxpayer could hardly be expected to bear the whole cost. In the second place, as this quasi-Imperial force would be gradually disbanded, and would indeed disappear in the course of six years, it was an expiring charge, and would, therefore, be only a temporary charge on the British taxpayer.

Apart from this provisional arrangement about the Irish Police charges, it is evident that Ireland would contribute to common expenses or Imperial expenditure what she now contributes. Her present contribution can only consist of the true Irish revenue less the cost of Irish administration. Therefore, if by being credited with all such revenue, *customs duties alone excepted*, Ireland is able to balance her account, what she pays in customs duties must represent her present contribution to Imperial expenditure; and as those duties will continue to be Imperial duties paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, things would remain as they are so far as regards her contribution.

Such, then, is the principle of the financial scheme embodied in the Bill. There is certainly nothing very complicated about it, nor, indeed, anything very novel or radical in it; for it has the appearance of being a development of Mr. Goschen's proposals connected with the recent grant of Local Government to England and Scotland.

He (in effect) said to the British local authorities, "Instead of voting money every year to enable you to meet some of your local charges, we will hand you over the proceeds of certain taxes; we will give you the excise licences, and, indeed, you shall collect them, if you like, yourselves; we will also hand you over a fixed proportion of the probate duty and of the beer and spirit duties. Out of what these taxes yield, added to the proceeds of your own local rates, you must meet all your expenditure, no longer looking to the Exchequer for grants in aid."

\* Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 91 of 1893.

The present Government similarly say to Ireland: "Instead of voting money in Westminster every year to provide for your Civil Government charges, we propose to hand over to you the proceeds of your excise, stamp duties, income-tax, and licences, of the postal revenue which you collect, and of whatever is derived from Crown lands and other miscellaneous sources in Ireland. Out of this revenue, added to anything further which you may raise yourselves by local taxes, or local rates, you must pay your own way."

A great many hard things have been said of this scheme. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any proposal embodied in a Bill which has been, wittingly or unwittingly, so distorted, or about which so many contradictory and consequently self-destructive statements have been made. Let us see how far the objections to the scheme are well founded, and how far they admit of being met.

#### 1. "IRELAND WILL PAY TOO LITTLE TO COMMON EXPENSES."

"The proceeds of the Irish customs duties, amounting (net) to about £2,370,000, represent," it is urged, "an inadequate contribution for Ireland to make to Imperial expenditure. Why, Mr. Gladstone himself said, in 1886, that the death duties constituted the best measure of Ireland's capacity to pay, and consequently of her proper quota of such expenditure. According to that measure, Ireland's wealth was estimated to be one-seventeenth of the wealth of the whole of the United Kingdom. Therefore she ought to pay one-seventeenth of the Imperial charges, instead of about one twenty-fifth, as she would pay under the Bill. In other words, Ireland ought to pay £3,470,000, and not £2,370,000."

This was the contention of the *Economist*.\* Mr. Chamberlain says that Ireland ought to pay at the least one-fifteenth of the estimated Imperial expenditure (£59,000,000), or £3,900,000.†

Mr. Gladstone did, no doubt, nominally debit Ireland in his balance-sheet of 1886 with a contribution of £3,602,000 towards common expenses, which represented about one-fifteenth of what he took to be the Imperial expenditure at the time; but he did not do so in fact, for a part of what he proposed to extract from Ireland with one hand, he gave back with the other. That is to say, he made Ireland a present of the revenue derived from Irish dutiable goods consumed in Great Britain. Such revenue, which was estimated at £1,400,000 (and which, according to subsequent and more elaborate investigation, seems to have been estimated at that sum with tolerable accuracy),‡

\* *Economist* of 25th February 1893.

† Cf. Report in *Times* of Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1893.

‡ Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 93 of 1893, pp. 4, 12, and 20.

Year.	Revenue as collected in Ireland.	Revenue as contributed by Ireland.	Excess of collection over contribution.
1889-90 . . .	£9,006,000	£7,864,000	£1,142,000
1890-91 . . .	9,301,000	7,950,000	1,351,000
1891-92 . . .	9,639,000	8,149,000	1,490,000
Total of three years			3,983,000
Annual average			1,328,000

was of course really paid by England and Scotland. So, instead of debiting Ireland with £3,602,000, Mr. Gladstone actually debited her with £3,602,000 *less* £1,400,000, or with £2,202,000. In other words, instead of making Ireland pay a contribution of one-fifteenth, he made her pay in reality, as he himself admitted, "a fraction under one-twenty-sixth."\*

What it is now proposed that Ireland should pay is £2,370,000, which represents the amount of the Irish customs duties.

It will be seen by a reference to the Parliamentary Return No. 163 of 1893 that this sum closely approximates to the average annual contribution of Ireland to Imperial expenditure during the last three years.† The *Times* (leading article, 14th April 1893) says that Ireland under the Bill would pay less by nearly two millions than her present payment towards Imperial charges, and asks what justification there is for this new burden on the British taxpayer. A more pertinent question to ask would be, What justification is there for so unfounded an allegation as that which the principal Unionist organ makes?

Those who contend that a sum of £2,370,000 is too small a sum for Ireland to pay towards Imperial expenditure must be prepared to advocate the imposition of extra taxation on Ireland, in order that she may contribute her proper quota. Will any Conservative or Liberal Unionist get up in his place in the House of Commons and advocate this? What did the late Government do in this direction in the last Parliament? Did they take any steps to redress this British wrong? No. Their policy was lavish expenditure in Ireland; and it is evident that the higher that expenditure is, the smaller must be the balance of Irish revenue left to meet Imperial expenditure.

Mr. Balfour says‡ that he won't admit that the amount which Ireland has actually contributed in the past under a totally different system of Government is any guide at all. Why not? Surely it is the best of all guides, because it is a *fact*; while calculations based on any other principle must be calculations based on hypotheses, such as the relative wealth of the two countries, on which it would be most difficult to arrive at a conclusion that would command general assent, or the relative population of the two countries,

\* "Hansard," vol. 304, p. 1076.

	£
† 1889-90 . . . . .	2,685,000
1890-91 . . . . .	2,254,000
1891-92 . . . . .	2,127,000

37,086,000

Annual average . . . . . 2,355,000

‡ Cf. *Times*' report of Mr. Balfour's speech at Ealing on the 8th March 1893.

which, though ascertainable, is even more likely to be unfair and fallacious.

2. "HOME RULE WILL COST THE BRITISH TAXPAYER TOO MUCH."

"Your scheme of Home Rule," it is said, "is going to cost the British taxpayer £500,000 a year! That is to say, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to raise additional taxation to the amount of half a million, because, while being relieved of Irish charges amounting to £5,160,000, he will lose revenue to the amount of £5,660,000."

Now, in the first place, this half-million will not be a constant quantity. On the contrary, it will be a gradually diminishing quantity which will ultimately vanish; because it represents the charge on account of one-third of the cost of the present Irish Constabulary and Dublin Police forces, which charge Great Britain temporarily undertakes, and which will, in due course, wholly disappear as those forces are disbanded and their pensions drop off.

In the second place, Great Britain, having parted company with Ireland financially, will be no longer subjected to the constantly growing demands of Ireland on the common purse.

It may be said that these growing demands, which in 1886 Mr. Gladstone called "continued, never-ending, and never-to-be-limited augmentation," are exaggerated, inasmuch as Ireland's revenue grows; and, if there is more to pay on her account, there is more money with which to pay it. The fact, however, is, that the charges which the Imperial Government have found it necessary to meet in Ireland have of late years increased at a greater rate than has her revenue; and the proof of this fact is to be found in the recent Parliamentary Returns:

	1880-81.		1892 (3).		Increase or Decrease in Three Years.
	£		£		£
Revenue contributed by Ireland.	7,864,000	...	8,090,000	...	+226,000
Irish expenditure	5,179,000	...	5,720,000	...	+541,000
Excess of revenue over expenditure	2,685,000*		2,370,000†		-315,000

\* Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 163 of 1893.

† Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 91 of 1893:

		£
Revenue (other than Customs) contributed by Ireland	.	5,660,000
Add Irish Customs	.	2,430,000
		8,090,000
Irish expenditure	5,660,000	
Add cost of collecting Customs in Ireland (Mr. Gladstone's figure)	60,000	
		5,720,000
Excess of revenue over expenditure	.	2,370,000

The net expenditure in Ireland has, therefore, increased during the last three years at the rate of £105,000 a year. So at this rate, even if the immediate charge of £500,000 which the Home Rule Bill would impose on the British taxpayer were a permanent and not (as it is) a vanishing one, the arrangement would not only ultimately, but within a very few years, be to the advantage of Great Britain.

But not content with exaggerating the annual loss, and with omitting to take into account the annual gain to the British taxpayer, the financial critics make elaborate calculations as to the capitalised cost of Home Rule. "If," they say, "you capitalise at about Consol price a contribution of £500,000 out of the British Exchequer, it means mulcting the British taxpayer of a capital sum of £17,000,000." This was the estimate made by Mr. Goschen and the *Times*;\* and it is the principle adopted by Mr. St. John Brodrick in the amended balance-sheets which he scattered broadcast in the House of Commons the other evening. What is it that they are doing? They are capitalising, not only a terminable annuity, but a decreasing terminable annuity, as if it were a constant and perpetual annuity. This confusion of ideas may be pardonable in a nascent financier of Mr. Brodrick's type, and even in the *Times* newspaper, but it is an extraordinary calculation for so old and experienced a financial hand as Mr. Goschen to make, who, with his intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of perpetual and terminable annuities, ought to be able, better than any one living, to draw a distinction between their respective capital values.

It is not usual to capitalise Parliamentary grants. When free education was passed two years ago, involving an immediate addition to taxation of at least £2,000,000 a year, Mr. Goschen did not capitalise the cost at £68,000,000. Much less did he forecast the capital cost in the future of a charge of this magnitude which must automatically grow. But if capitalisation is to be the new method of appraising the loss of the State's liberality at the expense of the taxpayer, surely it is only fair to appraise likewise any gain that may result from the financial arrangement; and the prospective gain of being rid of the growing demands that proceed from Ireland is a very real and substantial one.

### 3. "THE FINANCIAL TERMS ARE TOO UNFAVOURABLE FOR IRELAND."

Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., and others contend that the financial arrangements in the Bill are entirely unsatisfactory, and that Ireland

\* Cf. Special article on "The New Home Rule Policy" in the *Times* of March 7, 1893.

can only contribute towards Imperial expenses according to her relative taxable capacity. He therefore objects "root and branch" to the plan, whereby the Imperial Government is to lay hands on the Irish customs as the Irish contribution.\* Moreover, he strongly demurs to having Ireland saddled, not only with as much as two-thirds of the cost of the present Irish Police, and with the gratuities and pensions of the present Irish Civil servants, but with a losing concern in the shape of the Post Office business in Ireland.

But are not considerations of this kind really beside the mark? It is extremely difficult to calculate the taxable capacity of Ireland, and it is doubtful whether any two authorities would arrive at the same conclusion. Do not all these questions resolve themselves into one, and a tolerably simple one? It is this: What will Ireland's working balance be? What will be her available spare cash, after the whole of her current expenditure has been met? Can a sum of £500,000 be said to be very shabby treatment? Half a million over and above the expenditure which Ireland would be required to meet—namely, in round figures, £5,000,000, means a surplus of 10 per cent. It is, then, the equivalent of a surplus of about £9,000,000 on the present Imperial balance-sheet. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer could announce a surplus of £9,000,000, would anybody regard it as an insignificant sum? Surely it is this balance of available cash (£500,000) which is the real criterion of the financial terms so far as Ireland is concerned; and as under the scheme of 1886 the available surplus barely exceeded £400,000, the present terms are better than those which were offered seven years ago.

Is not the practical question for Mr. Redmond, Mr. McCarthy, and others to consider whether they can reasonably expect to obtain from Parliament a larger margin? Unless they can convince Parliament that the proposed margin is not liberal enough—and it is clear that those who oppose the Bill on principle fasten on the present financial arrangements, which impose a burden (though a temporary and vanishing one) of £500,000 on the British taxpayer, as being too liberal—what would be gained by further elaborate calculations and new fancy balance-sheets?

#### 4. "THE IRISH SURPLUS OF HALF A MILLION IS A MYTH."

It is alleged that, in the balance-sheet which Mr. Gladstone submitted to the House of Commons when he introduced the Home Rule Bill, the Irish revenue was over-estimated and the Irish expenditure was under-estimated.

Mr. Gladstone took the year 1892-3, presumably because he

\* Cf. "Second Thoughts on the Home Rule Bill," by Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., *Nineteenth Century*, April 1893, p. 565.

wished to illustrate the financial position of Ireland under the Bill up to the latest date.

As the results of the year were not then ascertained, he apparently took the Budget figures as his guide for the estimated revenue. We now know, according to the published accounts of the revenue for 1892-3, that the Excise receipts (towards which Ireland contributes about 12 per cent.) fell short of the Budget estimate by £90,000, and that the stamp duties and income-tax (towards which Ireland contributes from 4 to 5 per cent.) realised more than the Budget estimate by £315,000. So it looks as if Mr. Gladstone was very near the mark. Mr. Brodrick, in his "corrected" tables, assumes that the normal proceeds of Irish Excise would be more accurately represented by the average of the six years ending on March 31, 1892; but his zeal and industry were ill rewarded, for he omitted to take into account the fact that in 1890 there was an additional duty placed on beer and spirits.

As regards the expenditure side of the account, it is evident that Mr. Brodrick is under the impression that Mr. Gladstone made no provision for any expenditure in relief of Irish distress; for the late Financial Secretary at the War Office corrects the present Prime Minister's figures by adding £140,000 to the estimated expenditure of £5,160,000. If anybody, however, studies with ordinary care the Parliamentary Return No. 91 of 1893, he will find that there is a provision of about £150,000 for such purposes and for the material development of the country under the heads of "Relief of Distress" and "Railways."

There seems, therefore, to be no reason to suppose that the present administrative expenditure in Ireland has not been taken at a full estimate, amply covered by an aggregate sum of £5,160,000.

It is, however, contended that the operation of the Bill will saddle the Irish Government with a heavy charge for pensions of displaced officials for which Mr. Gladstone made no allowance. Indeed, Mr. Brodrick places this charge at £165,000—£40,000 for judges' pensions and £125,000 for the superannuation allowances of Civil servants. Such an estimate apparently assumes the retirement not only of all those in the upper ranks of the Civil and Legal services, but the wholesale dismissal of the rank and file of those services.

Now, it is hardly likely, or indeed conceivable, that the Irish Government would resort to such a step, for the best of all reasons—their own interests. "To swop horses in crossing a river" is said to be a dangerous experiment, and to take possession of a going concern with hardly any of the old hands, whose experience and knowledge of its traditions are so indispensable, would be attended with almost as much risk. But, even on the supposition that the Irish Government, heedless of the risk which they would be incurring, were

disposed to make extensive change in the present administrative arrangements, it can be shown that they could indulge such a propensity to a considerable extent without encroaching upon their working balance.

In the first place, it is generally admitted that the scale of legal salaries in Ireland is decidedly high, and the number of legal officials undoubtedly excessive. The Irish Government could surely provide themselves with the best legal advisers and administrators of the law without paying £8000 a year for a Lord Chancellor, £5000 a year *plus* fees for an Attorney-General, and £3500 a year for Judges (seventeen in number), to say nothing of some twenty Recorders and County Court Judges at rates varying from £1400 to £2500 a year. In fact, the difference between the salaries and the retiring pensions of even a moderate proportion of the highly paid members of the legal profession in Ireland would constitute an appreciable saving, which, if economy were practised, would improve the Irish Budget, and which, if more extravagant notions predominated, would be applicable for new men and new places, without adding a penny to the existing Irish charges.

In the second place, the Irish Government would have considerable elbow-room with respect to the Civil service, apart from the Judiciary, the Police, and the Revenue services. The total number of pensionable officials in Ireland above the grade of the Second Division service seems to be about 500, and their pensionable salaries to amount to about £300,000. If half of these officials were retired—an extreme and unreasonable supposition—on pensions equal to half their salaries, the immediate addition to the pension list would be £75,000, but the saving on account of effective charges would be £150,000. Accordingly, new appointments could be made to the initial extent of £75,000 a year, without entailing any additional burden on the Irish Budget.

##### 5. "THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL HAVE HIS HANDS TIED."

By appropriating certain taxes to specific local purposes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot have as much liberty of action as he would have if all taxes were paid into a common or consolidated fund, and if all the local as well as Imperial expenditure were met out of that fund. This much must presumably be granted.

But it is important to note that freedom of Imperial finance has already been fettered. It was distinctly fettered in connection with the grant of Local Government to England and Scotland, and the consequential treatment of Ireland, when Mr. Goschen diverted from the Exchequer and handed over to the Local Taxation Accounts the



greater part of the Excise licences, a moiety of the probate duty, and a proportion of the beer and spirit duties. If that freedom is likely to be further fettered by extending Local Government of a more complete kind to Ireland, it is merely a question of degree.

Let us now see whether under the Bill this is a large degree

Customs and Excise duties remain under the control of the Imperial Government. The Irish Government will collect the Excise duties in Ireland; but the Imperial Government will, as now, be free to raise or lower Excise as well as Customs duties, abolish existing duties, or impose new ones.

It may, however, be said: "No; that won't be the case, because if you reduce, say, the tea duty, you will be diminishing Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenditure; and so the advocate of the 'free breakfast-table' will either have to forego his cherished idea, or will be letting off Ireland a part of her contribution."

This is a specious argument; but how does the matter really stand?

You can only reduce the tea duty by one of two means—either by having a disposable surplus, or by increasing some other tax.

If you have a disposable surplus, it must be due to one of two causes—a growth in the yield of taxes, or reduced expenditure. In either of these cases, inasmuch as, when there is a growth of revenue, it almost invariably extends to Customs duties, and as it is only under the head of "Imperial Charges" that a reduction of expenditure can reasonably be looked for, Ireland would, equally with England and Scotland, be entitled to a share in the surplus. Accordingly, each of the three kingdoms ought to share in a reduction in the tea duty secured by a surplus.

The other means of effecting such a reduction would be to increase some other tax or duty. If some indirect duty, like the tobacco or spirit duties, were increased, then under the Bill Ireland would, while contributing less to the Imperial Exchequer under tea duties, be contributing more to that Exchequer under the head of tobacco or spirits.\* So in this case, the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be no more tied under the Home Rule Bill than they now are.

But it may be said: "Take the other case. Suppose that in order to enable the poor to get their tea cheaper, you tax the rich more heavily by raising the death duties or the income-tax. You will have parted with the control over those taxes in Ireland. Consequently, the Irishman would get his tea cheaper at the expense of the British taxpayer."

At first sight there is force in this argument. A difficulty is created; but it is a difficulty that lends itself easily to be exag-

\* An increase of Excise duties, as well as of Customs duties, would under clause 10 (5) of the Bill be payable to the Imperial Exchequer.

gerated. The extent of the difficulty can only be tested by an illustration.

Suppose that the tea duty is to be reduced by 2*d.* in the pound, involving a loss of £2,000,000 to the revenue, and the loss is to be made good by the imposition of an additional 1*d.* on the income-tax. Ireland contributes about 12 per cent. of the Customs duties.\* Accordingly, her share in the reduction of the tea duty would be £240,000. Her contribution to the additional income-tax (at the estimated rate of about 4½ per cent.) would be £85,000; and, consequently, by the reduction of the tea duty Ireland would, even under existing arrangements, fail to make good the loss of revenue to the extent of £155,000. Under the Home Rule Bill, Ireland would no doubt get the entire benefit of the tea duty reduction, without having to make even an inadequate additional contribution under direct taxation. In short, the British taxpayer would lose £85,000. But, regard being had to the amount in question, is this a very material consideration? Moreover, what Great Britain would lose in the shape of additional income-tax levied in Ireland, she would gain by having no longer to find additional money wherewith to meet Ireland's constantly growing demands under the present system. As things now are, the more she costs, the less must be her contribution to Imperial expenditure; and, under Home Rule, her contribution would not be whittled away on account of that increased cost.

6. "THERE IS NO PROVISION FOR AN ADEQUATE WAR CONTRIBUTION."

"Ireland," it is said, "will be able to vote *carte blanche* for increasing the number and pay of her soldiers and sailors, and for embarking on military undertakings without feeling the pinch herself." But this is not so. Let us test it.

Suppose that a Vote of Credit for £10,000,000 is wanted. It is a reasonable supposition to make that the ways and means would be provided by an additional 3*d.* on the income-tax, calculated to yield £6,000,000, and by an increase of the Customs and Excise duties to an extent that would bring in an additional sum of £4,000,000.

As things now stand, Ireland's contribution to this increased military expenditure would be—

12 per cent. of £4,000,000 (Customs and Excise duties)	£480,000
And about 4½ per cent. of £6,000,000 (income-tax)	255,000
In all . . . . .	£735,000

Under the Bill Ireland would only contribute to the additional Customs and Excise duties, or £480,000. "This," it may be said,

\* Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 93 of 1893.

"is manifestly unfair. Ireland would be let off no less a sum than £255,000." But is it so unfair as at first sight it may seem to be? What does a contribution of £480,000 towards an expenditure of £10,000,000 represent? It represents a little over one-twentieth part of the Vote of Credit, or nearly 5 per cent. Such a contribution would be more than Ireland's contribution to common expenses is now, more than most people are prepared to debit her with, and considerably more than Irishmen say that she ought to pay. Would Great Britain, then, have any real right to complain?

7. "THERE IS NO SECURITY THAT IRELAND WILL PAY HER  
DEBTS TO THE IMPERIAL EXCHEQUER."

It has been urged, and it is certain to be urged again and again, that there is no proper security in the Bill for the proper discharge by Ireland of her large liability to the Imperial Exchequer in respect of Local Loans. To judge from the latest accounts relating to Local Loans,\* it seems probable that Ireland owes now between fourteen and fifteen millions; and, as all the money that can be advanced under the Ashbourne Acts is understood to be promised, it may well be that, before "the appointed day" arrives, she may owe as much as eighteen millions.

The Bill (clause 16) provides that this debt shall be repaid by an annuity of 4 per cent. running for forty-nine years; and a 4 per cent. annuity on £18,000,000 would be £720,000.

How is this large sum of £720,000 to be paid? One would imagine, from what has been said in more than one quarter, that it was to be paid out of taxes raised in Ireland! It seems to be forgotten that, while Ireland will be debited with this large annual payment, she will be credited with not only corresponding receipts, but receipts probably of a larger amount. For she will receive all repayments made by Irish borrowers in respect of loans; and, as a considerable part of the loans† has not only been made at higher rates of interest than that on which a 4 per cent. annuity is calculated, but has to be repaid within a much shorter period than forty-nine years, there ought to be, for many years to come, an appreciable margin between what Ireland will receive into her own Exchequer and what she will have to pay to the Imperial Exchequer.

Such a margin is, of itself, a security. But there is another respect in which the security of the British Exchequer ought to be improved in comparison with what it is now. At present, the Imperial Exchequer is face to face with local authorities, landlords, and

\* Cf. Finance Accounts, 1891-2.

† Cf. Terms on which loans are made under Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage Acts.

tenants, and is dependent on their individual good faith for the fulfilment of their obligations. This position is by no means free from risk. But when the Imperial Exchequer has between itself and the borrowers a buffer in the shape of the Irish Exchequer, and when it will be the interest not of an "alien Government," but of the Irish Government itself, to see that the State debtors do not repudiate or fall into arrear, the risk ought to be materially diminished.

If the Irish Government fail to pay the loan annuity, it is one of those payments which the Lord Lieutenant will have to enforce himself.

Mr. Balfour \* laughs at the provisions which give this power of enforcement to the Lord Lieutenant. He asks what his Excellency is to do if he is defied? Surely the answer is simple enough. His first remedy would be to apply to the Exchequer-Judges, to be appointed under clause 19 of the Bill. If the door of the Irish Exchequer were still closed against him, it would be an act of rebellion. Such a state of things is presumably not contemplated by the authors of the Bill. But if it did arise, it would have to be terminated like any other act of rebellion, for which no Act of Parliament can provide any more than for a general strike against the payment of taxes or of instalments under the Land Purchase Acts.

8. "THERE WILL BE EVASION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES, AND DUTIABLE ARTICLES WILL BE ADULTERATED."

Mr. Balfour (in effect) says,† "How are you going, with officials in a foreign garb, to levy your Customs duties in Ireland, which at this moment is a paradise of smuggling?"

The menials of the "alien Government" are in Ireland now collecting Customs duties. Their action is not thwarted; their interference is not resented. Why should they meet with greater difficulty in the future than in the past? They would have, as now, the assistance of Admiralty cruisers, and they would continue to have at their disposal the services of the coastguardsmen.

"That is all very well," it may be urged; "but the Customs officers in Ireland have now no difficulty in obtaining warrants from magistrates, when any house is suspected of illegally harbouring smuggled goods; and they have at their back a body of semi-Imperial police to enforce the law for them. It would be otherwise under Home Rule." An argument of this kind is apparently founded on a misapprehension of the present procedure. Customs collectors have, as a matter of fact, no occasion to apply to any magistrate. They have always in their hands writs of assistance, which they can use whenever the necessity arises. Such writs require the justices,

\* Cf. Mr. Balfour's speech at Ealing on March 8, 1893.

† Cf. Same speech.

sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, "*and all other our officers and subjects,*" to aid the collectors in the execution of their duty; and, armed in this fashion, they would have as much right to demand the assistance of a local police as that of the present Constabulary; while the requirements of the general law that all persons are bound to aid the execution of the Queen's warrant would in no way be affected.

It may be said, as indeed Mr. Balfour has said,\* "The duty of the Custom House does not end, and cannot end, at the port of entry. Inspection is necessary, especially in the case of tobacco, in order to provide against the adulteration of goods and the consequent evasion of duty. At present inspection is intrusted mainly to Inland Revenue officers. If they are no longer Imperial officers, how and by whom will the inspection be done?"

If it is permissible to answer one question by asking another, one would inquire, why inspection in tobacco manufactories, which appear to be not numerous in Ireland, and which are mostly located at ports, could not be equally well done by Customs officers, who presumably might have access, as easily as the Excise officers, to the experts in the laboratory at Somerset House?

Tobacco-dealers may be numerous in Ireland; but it is hardly likely that these traders are very regularly surveyed. Officers have presumably power to inspect the stocks of tobacco and to take samples in suspected cases; and, in order to maintain this occasional inspecting, there seems to be no reason why Ireland should not be divided into districts placed under the control of Customs officers, who would make surprise visits, and, if necessary, procure samples for analysis at Somerset House. It should be remembered that in so acting these officers would be acting in the interests not only of Imperial revenue, but also of the Irish consumer of tobacco.

It may be that, when Mr. Balfour spoke of Ireland as "a paradise of smuggling," he was referring not to the evasion of duties on foreign articles, but to illicit distillation of home-made spirits. But "smuggling" in that sense would, under the Bill, be the concern of the Irish Government. If they chose to wink at such proceedings, it would not be the Imperial Exchequer, but the Irish Exchequer, that would be the loser; and therefore it would be the interest of the Irish Government to see that the Excise laws are enforced.

#### 9. "THE MOVEMENT OF FOREIGN DUTIABLE ARTICLES INTERNALLY WILL BE RENDERED DIFFICULT."

"What facilities would there be," it may be said, "for removing dutiable goods from the ports to inland towns in future? Now they are moved, to suit the convenience of merchants and tradesmen, from

\* Cf. Mr. Balfour's speech at Ealing on March 8, 1893.

Customs warehouses to Inland Revenue warehouses. But when Inland Revenue warehouses are no longer under the control of the Imperial Government, the Customs officers will, in order to safeguard the revenue, no longer be able to extend the present facilities."

It seems to be forgotten that, if goods are moved from one place to another without having paid duty, the remover has to give bond, and if the goods do not reach their proper destination, and the duty thereon is not forthcoming, he is called upon to pay the duty himself under his bond. Similarly, if dutiable goods reach their destination in a condition which shows that they have been tampered with on the journey, the remover is called upon to make good the loss.

At the present moment Customs officers collect Excise duties, and Excise officers collect Customs duties. There is reciprocity between the two Departments. It may be that, if Excise officers are no longer under Imperial control, it will be desirable to keep the Customs and Excise warehouses distinct. But, if a separation is made, it will merely be reverting to the arrangements formerly in force.

#### 10. "THE SOLVENCY OF IRELAND WILL DEPEND ON THE CONSUMPTION OF WHISKY."

No doubt the consumption of whisky will constitute the most important branch of Irish revenue. Indeed, in order to balance her accounts, Ireland ought to derive from the spirit duties £2,600,000,\* or about 46 per cent. of her entire revenue; and any appreciable shrinkage of these duties would be a serious matter. But Ireland is not the only country that would be placed in difficulty if the proceeds of taxes imposed on alcoholic drinks were to fall off to any great extent. In 1891-92 the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to find money with which to meet expenditure to the amount of £97,500,000;† and no less than £32,250,000 were derived from alcohol,‡ which accordingly provided him with 33 per cent. of the entire revenue under his control. A fall-off of 5 per cent. in the drink duties of the United Kingdom would make a difference to him of £1,600,000, or 10*d.* per head of the population. A similar fall-off in the total drink duties to be credited to the Irish Exchequer—viz., Excise duties on beer and spirits, amounting to £3,220,000—would make a difference of £160,000 to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer of the future, or 8*d.* per head of the population. These are both disagreeable contingencies to contemplate; but there is a reverse side to the picture. If people spend less in drink, they are better off in other ways, and consequently can better afford to stand other increased taxation.

\* Cf. Parliamentary Return No. 93 of 1893, p. 23.

† Cf. Same Return, p. 42.

‡ Cf. Same Return, pp. 21, 23, 26.

In connection with the difficulty which it is stated that Ireland would experience in making up any deficit of revenue, it should be remembered (what often seems to be forgotten) that she is at present exempt from Inhabited House Duty and Establishment Licences, and escapes the incidence of the Land Tax. Her Government might, accordingly, have recourse to these sources of revenue without subjecting individual Irishmen to any greater taxation than that to which corresponding individuals in England and Scotland are already subjected.

The principal objections taken to the financial clauses of the Home Bule Bill having been faced, it may be well, in conclusion, to summarise what appear to be the advantages of the present scheme:—

1. It is simple—simple in principle, and simple in that it avoids complications of account; and simplicity is of itself a great consideration.

2. It avoids the difficulty of defining specifically, not only what Ireland's proper quota of Imperial expenditure ought to be, but also what accurately constitutes Imperial expenditure. Under the scheme the Imperial Government, apart from the provisional arrangement about the Irish Police charges, will take from Ireland for common expenses what Great Britain now takes, and what she has been, and is, content to take.

3. It appears from the explanatory notes contained in recent Parliamentary Returns \* that there is little or no difficulty in calculating what the inhabitants of Ireland pay in the shape of Excise duties, or contribute to those duties, consisting as they do of the duties on beer and spirits, the removal of which from one place to another is easy to follow. Nor is there any difficulty in calculating the Irish contribution to direct taxes. It is these duties and taxes which the Bill would hand over to the Irish Government—that is, her Excise duties to collect, and her direct taxes to impose, as well as to collect. It would be otherwise with Customs duties, for these duties consist of duties on a variety of foreign consumable articles, and the removal of such articles from Great Britain to Ireland, and *vice versa*, does not admit of being so readily detected. According to the Parliamentary Returns, it is believed that the duties on foreign articles actually paid by Irishmen have been ascertained with a close approximation to facts; yet there must be some element of speculation in the calculation, dependent, as it appears to be, on free access to the books of shipping and railway companies. These duties are retained by the Imperial Government, and thus the questioning of the

\* Cf. Parliamentary Returns No. 329 of 1891, pp. 10-13; No. 91 of 1893, p. 3; and No. 93 of 1893, p. 2.

accuracy of the calculation, which would be necessary if Ireland were credited with her Customs duties, is avoided.

4. The interference of Imperial officers in collecting Irish revenue would be limited to Customs duties, which are collected at ports.

5. The risk of friction between the Imperial and Irish Governments would be reduced to a minimum.

6. Ireland's fiscal freedom would be considerable, but, though considerable, it would least hamper the fiscal arrangements of the Imperial Government, and unity of commercial legislation throughout the United Kingdom would be ensured.

7. Ireland would be started on the road of self-government with a working balance of a respectable amount, while, in so starting her, Great Britain would only incur a temporary and expiring charge, and, as a set-off in the meanwhile against such charge, would be saved the constantly recurring demands which Ireland makes upon the British Exchequer under the present *régime*.

NEMO.

April 17, 1893.



## SOME ASPECTS OF 'HOME RULE.

SINCE the appearance of the report and judgment of the Parnell Commissioners, I do not know that any document has thrown a more vivid light upon the character of the Home Rule movement in Ireland than the recently published return of illiterate voters in the election of 1892. It has revealed the astounding fact that of the Irish voters in that election no less than 84,919, or more than one in five, professed to be unable even to read the names upon the ballot paper. It is true that much of this illiteracy was probably assumed, it being the custom of priests to require doubtful voters to profess themselves illiterate, in order to control their votes, and prevent all possibility of evasion; but this fact will scarcely be said to diminish the significance of the return. The two election petitions in Meath have thrown a light which is probably new to most Englishmen on the systematic, unblushing clerical intimidation which prevails in Irish county elections. It has been shown how a bishop can prescribe votes as if he were defining a doctrine or ordaining a fast; how lavishly spiritual threats are employed; how unscrupulously the pulpit, the altar, and even the confessional, are made use of for electioneering purposes. The facts have been proved by overwhelming evidence, by Catholic witnesses before an intensely Catholic judge, and the elections referred to were not contests between Loyalists and Separatists, but between the two sections of Home Rulers. Bishop Nulty, who was principally implicated, has lately published a pamphlet in his defence, and a main part of that defence is that he was opposing the still greater intimidation of the opposite section of Home Rulers, and that, but for that intimidation, the conduct of his priests would never have been disclosed. He describes the Parnellite organisation as "about the most arbitrary and tyrannical

system of intimidation that was ever yet tolerated in any civilised country." He declares that this "odious and tyrannical intimidation terrorised the people in every county in this diocese where Parnellism was dominant," and he adds very significantly, "that it was mainly through the aid of this execrable force that Parnellism even now has partially succeeded in extorting from a cowed and terrified section of the public the contributions that are required to meet the expenses of these vexatious election petitions."

If these are the methods employed by the Home Rulers in their intestine quarrels, it is easy to realise the fate of any farmer or labourer who desires to vote on the Unionist side. Since the report of the Parnell Commissioners, no one has any excuse for pretending to be ignorant of the character of the "elaborate and all-pervading tyranny" of boycotting, which has been chiefly devised and warmly recommended by the men who are now Mr. Gladstone's closest allies and who would certainly be Ministers in a Home Rule Cabinet. This method of coercion is still pursued. It was only a few weeks ago that a gentleman who mixed much with Irish farmers told me how often substantial farmers said to him, "We dread this Home Rule business, sir, just as much as you do, but what can we do? If we sign a petition against it we should not dare to appear at the chapel, and no one would be allowed to buy from us at the market."

It is by these methods that what Mr. Gladstone calls "the Voice of the Nation" has been manufactured. It must be added that the parts of Ireland where this intimidated ignorance chiefly prevails are precisely those which are the most over-represented. They are enormously over-represented as compared with British, and especially with English constituencies. They are largely over-represented as compared with the loyal, wealthy, and industrious counties of Ulster. Mr. Gladstone's majority is mainly based on this over-representation, and he is doing all in his power to perpetuate and to increase it. His scheme would throw an overwhelming preponderance of power in Ireland into the hands of a single class, and that class the most ignorant, the most dependent, and the most disloyal. It would also give the same class an overwhelming voice in the selection of the eighty members who are to sit in the Imperial Parliament and to make or unmake British Ministries. They would constitute even more than at present a kind of electoral aristocracy, wielding a far greater proportionate power than any other class of electors in the kingdom.

I have spoken of those whom Mr. Gladstone calls "the Voice of the Nation." A few words may be added about those who are not allowed to have any such claim. The constituency which evidently excites Mr. Gladstone's special antipathy, and which he now proposes to disfranchise, is Trinity College. This great University has for many generations educated the flower of the intelligence of Ireland.

It has sent into the Imperial Parliament a greater number of representatives of conspicuous ability than any other Irish constituency. Its electors largely outnumber those of many of the Irish boroughs, and they consist of highly educated men scattered over the whole surface of the country, taking a leading part in many professions and industries, and coming in close contact with an altogether unusual variety of interests, classes, and opinions. If the object of representation is to reflect faithfully, in its variety and due proportion, the opinions and interests of the community, no constituency could be more essentially and more usefully representative. Yet we are informed by Mr. Gladstone and his followers that in computing the relative strength of the opposing parties in Ireland, Trinity College must be subtracted, as it does not represent the nation. This dignity, it seems, belongs more truly to the illiterates, who, in some remote western county, or in some small decaying county town, are driven like sheep to the polling booth by agitators or priests !

Another class who are still more emphatically severed by the new Radicalism from the nation, are the owners of land. Only recently Sir Charles Russell was put up to repeat the old slanders against the class, and the gentleman who has been appointed as Chief Secretary to preside over Irish property was for years distinguished as a newspaper writer for the virulence of his abuse of its owners. This is not the place to enter into a general examination of the character of the Irish landlords. They were the class of which Grattan's Parliament, which is now in such high favour in Gladstonian circles, mainly consisted. Whatever were their faults, it can be clearly proved that they did not, as a general rule, exact oppressive or competitive rents from their tenants. The fact that, whenever sub-letting was permitted, the immediate tenant almost invariably re-let his tenancy at an increased rent, and that this process was often continued three or four deep—the fact that whenever tenant-right was conceded it was saleable for a large sum—the fact that recent legislation, taking away without compensation legal rights which landlords undoubtedly possessed, was justified on the ground that those rights were never, or scarcely ever, enforced, sufficiently proves it, and everyone who has any real knowledge of Ireland knows what an enormous proportion of the works that have most benefited its country districts are due to landlord energy, munificence, and intelligence. I here only speak of the rights of this class. It is the right which all owners of indisputably legal property have to protection from every honest Government. It is strengthened by the fact that, since the establishment of the Encumbered Estates Court, no less than fifty-two millions have been expended at Government invitation in the purchase of land which is held under a Parliamentary title—a title which is exactly as good as that of a Fund owner or of any other Government

creditor. It is still further strengthened by the fact, which is established by overwhelming evidence, that the attack upon landlords has been mainly political, being an attempt to drive from the country "the English garrison," in order to shake the foundations of English rule. Nor should it be forgotten that, by the legislation of 1870, 1881, and 1887, Parliament undertook to regulate all the conditions of landed property in Ireland, and by exacting large sacrifices, both of income and power, from its owners guaranteed to them the full enjoyment of what remained.

No property in the kingdom has a clearer title, and it is childish to suppose that if it can be confiscated under the shadow of British law, any other kind of property can be permanently secure. It cannot be too frequently repeated that under recent legislation landlord oppression, which was never very common, has become absolutely impossible; that the position of the Irish tenant in the eyes of the law is at the present hour superior to that of any other tenant in the world, and that if the object is to convert by honest means the tenant into a freeholder, this can only be done under the Union, for it can only be efficiently accomplished by loans at very low interest, based on the unrivalled credit of the Imperial Parliament. The object, however, of the leaders of the Nationalist party has been very different. One of the most conspicuous of them is an enthusiastic disciple of Mr. George, whose special doctrine is that all landed property should be confiscated without compensation. The other leaders are the authors or supporters of "the Plan of Campaign," of the "No-Rent Manifesto," of the theory of "prairie value"; and in countless speeches, which are very familiar to all who have studied the Irish question, they have been preaching what Mr. Gladstone truly called "the doctrine of public plunder," making it, as he truly said, their mission "to demoralise the people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbours the objects of their covetous desire." Very naturally the idea has spread throughout Ireland that under an Executive composed of these men it will be impossible to enforce the collection of rents, and that compulsory sale at fancy prices, and by means of discredited securities, will soon place the tenants in possession of the land for a mere fraction of its value.

The members of the present Cabinet are perfectly aware of this fact. Mr. Chamberlain has very recently quoted the remarkable language in which Mr. Bryce not long since declared that the control of the land was what was chiefly desired in Ireland, that it was desired for the purpose of robbery, and that it was a clear obligation of honour on the part of the English Government to protect it. Sir George Trevelyan has in his day been very eloquent upon the madness and the dishonesty of placing the command of the police and the

protection of life and property in the hands of open sympathisers with moonlighting and agrarian fraud. Lord Spencer was equally emphatic upon the meanness and treachery of which an English Government would be guilty which left the just rights of Irish landlords unprotected and uncared for. Sir W. Harcourt assured the House of Commons that the right of the Irish landlord to a fair rent was as clear as his own right to the coat on his back, and that the Liberal party would never connive at spoliation. Even Mr. Morley was good enough to acknowledge that Irish landowners were not unentitled to the protection of the eighth commandment, and that legislation was required "to prevent tenants from robbing their landlords"; and it was as "an obligation of honour and good faith" that Mr. Gladstone brought forward his Land Purchase Scheme in 1886.

The obligation indeed is sufficiently obvious. No graver charge can be brought against the public character and the personal honour of a Minister, than that he is setting up a political body which he knows to be desired for the purpose of fraud, and which he knows to be efficient for that purpose. In the present Bill there is not a single guarantee of the smallest value for the protection of landed property. It will remain with an Executive drawn from the members of the old Land League to give or withhold the protection needed for the collection of rent or the safe residence of landlords, bailiffs, care-takers, or tenants; and after the interval of three years an Irish Legislature, directed by Land League Ministers, will have practically unlimited power of legislating about Irish land. In Ireland the question of machinery is much less important than the question of the men who work it. Place at the head of affairs men who have for years been the preachers of anarchy, and, whether they wish it or not, all the elements of anarchy will be inevitably let loose. Give the power of the police to disloyal and dishonest men, who wish to confiscate and not to protect property, and no paper guarantees will be of the smallest value. What importance can be attached to the provision that no one may be deprived of property without due process of law and just compensation, when the very danger to be feared is unjust legislation, and when it is left to the teachers of spoliation to define compensation? The invaluable article in the American Constitution which provides that no State can make a law "impairing the obligation of contracts," has no place in Mr. Gladstone's scheme, and it has been abundantly shown that his Legislative Council will be an absolute farce. Even if it were a real representative of property, it could always, according to the provisions of the Bill, be overruled by the more numerous House in a little more than two years. There is likely, however, to be no necessity for such overruling. A body elected over the greater part of Ireland chiefly by

farmers whose farms are rated at just over £20 a year, will be substantially identical with the larger Chamber. As Mr. Plunket has shown, the qualification which is pretended to be sufficient to form a safe barrier against legislative confiscation has been found in practice too low for common juries. In order to secure an even tolerable administration of justice, Parliament has been obliged to double it.

The profound dishonesty of this legislation is sufficiently clear, and it is certainly not surprising that the whole body of the Irish landlords, both Catholic and Protestant, are arrayed against it. Few incidents in the present controversy have been more striking than the powerful and touching manifesto against Mr. Gladstone's policy which was issued by the leading Catholic gentry of Ireland. Most of these have been life-long Liberals. Nearly all have been constant residents in Ireland. Many of them bear names that have been conspicuous in dark and evil days for the purest and most self-sacrificing patriotism, and the son of O'Connell and the grandson of Grattan are among them.

It is not, however, among this class alone that Protestants and Catholics are united. Never, perhaps, was a policy that it was intended to impose upon a nation so almost unanimously condemned by its intelligence, enterprise, property, and industry. If we look through the names of British members of Parliament, it will at least be found that on all sides of politics there are great employers of labour, men vitally and personally connected with the chief industrial interests of their country. Such Irishmen are to be found in Parliament, but they are to be found to a man among the Unionist members in either House. With the not very brilliant exception of the *Freeman's Journal*, I do not know of a single important industrial enterprise in Ireland with which the Irish Nationalist members have any considerable connection, and I should doubt whether there are half-a-dozen men among them who, as far as their personal interests are concerned, would not be amply compensated by a very moderate salary for any possible financial ruin that might be brought upon their country. On the other hand, nearly all the great merchants, shipbuilders, manufacturers, and traders—the overwhelming majority of the chief employers of labour—of the bankers, of the stock-brokers, of the members of the lay professions, have condemned in the most emphatic terms the Home Rule scheme. No clear-sighted man can misread the significance of the sudden and general fall of all the chief Irish securities which took place when Mr. Gladstone's policy was first announced and which has been repeated since the present Home Rule Bill was introduced. It has lowered the value of these forms of Irish property by more than three millions. From all sides in Ireland accounts are coming in that trade orders are suspended; that industrial undertakings are abandoned; that deposits

are being drawn from the banks : that investments are being realised : that movable capital is fast pouring out of the country. This is the result of Mr. Gladstone's policy, while Home Rule is still a distant and most doubtful contingency. Who can question that the fall would be far greater and the emigration of industries and capital far more disastrous if Home Rule became an immediate certainty ? Who can measure the ruin that it would bring on a country which is but just rising out of great poverty, and especially upon the working classes who depend for their whole subsistence on the range and activity of enterprise and on the abundance of capital ?

The fall is surely not surprising. Mr. Gladstone has been recently haranguing the Belfast deputation upon the measure of prosperity which was attained by Ireland under the Irish Parliament of the eighteenth century. His very recently acquired knowledge of Irish history is neither accurate nor profound, but he must at least know that the old Irish Parliament, which was in the highest degree representative of property and loyalty, bore no real resemblance to the body which he is now attempting to establish. It does not need to be a great political economist to predict the effect upon the prosperity and credit of a country of setting up a Government which is in violent opposition to its great industrial forces, which owes its existence to systematic attacks on contracts and on debts, and which consists of men who have been judicially pronounced guilty of criminal conspiracy. I do not here enter into the details of the financial arrangements of Mr. Gladstone's Bill. They appear to have no friend beyond the front bench of the Ministry, and the Nationalist members themselves with one voice declare that they could only lead Ireland to bankruptcy. But apart from this consideration, no country can possibly flourish under a Government which is in violent opposition to the most industrious, prosperous, and intelligent sections of the community, and which consists of men who have built up their whole political power by preaching anarchy and repudiation of debt. If Home Rule ever becomes possible in Ireland, it will only be when it has dissociated itself from all predatory designs, and when its guidance has passed into the hands of men who command the confidence of the great industrial interests of the country.

Let any Englishman go through the six counties of Ulster which concentrate in the highest perfection all the elements and energies of the most prosperous industrial civilisation, and then pass into the thriftless, ignorant, poverty-stricken, priest-ridden districts of the South and West, and he will scarcely fail to perceive the madness of attempting to place the former under the latter. The figures quoted in the weighty representation lately presented by the Belfast Chamber of Commerce to Mr. Gladstone are sufficiently eloquent.

They show that thirty-four per cent. of the foreign and colonial imports of Ireland were imported into Belfast alone ; that thirty-nine per cent. of the whole harbour receipts of Ireland were levied there ; that the amount collected in the Customs Department and by the Inland Revenue Department there amounted to over £3,250,000, " being a contribution to the Imperial revenue surpassed by no port in the United Kingdom, except London and Liverpool. It is nearly a million more than the Prime Minister's estimate of Ireland's share of the Imperial expenditure." And the representatives of this great industrial community record their deliberate conviction " that the Bill, as drawn, is radically and incurably unjust ; that should it become law the result will be a blow as deadly to Irish commercial interests as were the measures framed centuries ago intentionally to ruin Irish trade ;" that it could only be enforced in Ulster by coercion—" coercion by the force of the Empire directed against those who have done most service to Ireland, the most industrious, the most law-abiding, the most faithful and dutiful subjects the Queen has in the whole Island."

Fox, once speaking of the people of Ulster, described them as " the old leaven that rescued the country from the tyranny of Charles I. and James II. . . . the leaven that kneaded the British Constitution." " The north of Ireland," Grattan wrote in 1801, " contains the active citizens of Ireland, its principal wealth, industry, and spirit." The resolution of Ulster, so emphatically expressed, to pay no taxes and yield no obedience to such a Parliament as Mr. Gladstone intends to set up, apparently excites among some of Mr. Gladstone's satellites almost as much ridicule as the attitude of the New Englanders did in Tory circles at the time of the Stamp Act. For myself, I am convinced that no graver error was ever committed than to underrate the resolution of Ulster, and to believe that the strong, stern, Puritan element that underlies it is destined to evaporate in words. I believe that Mr. Gladstone has brought the country within more " measurable distance" of serious civil war than it has ever been in during the century, and that whatever system of Home Rule the wisdom of Parliament may decree, the stubborn resistance of the six counties would dislocate and destroy it. But if the conflict began, who can tell how much blood might be shed, how much capital and industry might be driven from the country, how fiercely the old animosities of creed and race would be revived ?

The rapid extension of the fear of Home Rule in the other portions of Ireland is also very evident. It is not merely among the Protestant minorities, who naturally fear oppression from the rule of men whose whole policy during the late agitation has been lawless and systematic oppression of minorities. Every one with anything to



lose is alarmed, and there are clear signs that this alarm is extending to the large farmers. They are beginning to see that in spite of Mr. Gladstone's predictions of "the plethora of money" which is to bless the country, the first consequence of Home Rule must be to drive out of it both industry and capital; that anarchy, whatever may be its other merits, is not likely to prove an economical thing; that taxation under an Irish Parliament will infallibly be much heavier than at present, and that a large part of it will certainly centre upon them. They are perceiving too that Home Rule means the complete cessation of those Government grants, and those loans at low interest for agricultural and industrial purposes which have proved of such inestimable benefit, and that even the acquisition of land by compulsory sale at confiscatory rates may be too dearly purchased. There is indeed strong reason to believe that many of them would gladly see the agitation turned from the channel of Home Rule into a demand for compulsory sale at very low rates. A signed letter appeared not long since in a leading Irish paper from a large farmer near Thurles—one of the most Catholic portions of Ireland—which represents, I believe, so truly the real feeling of many members of his class that I will lay the chief part of it before my readers.

"I am a large farmer and grazier, and I do not see what fear there is in saying a few words of honesty, and what I know is in the mind of many of my class.

There is not one solvent man of my class that I know who is in favour of this Bill. At fairs and markets one hears nothing but words of dread about it.

No one dare hold a meeting in favour of the Bill in the town of Thurles to-morrow. All the merchants and shopkeepers I know are dead against it. Who is in its favour? The corner boys, the insolvent farmers, and a few wild young curates.

It will benefit none but those and the Irish members who are tearing each other like Kilkenny cats in Dublin, and will only cease when they have a chance of a go at us.

What we all want is a good Land Bill and compulsory purchase at, say, fifteen years of the judicial rent. Our M.P.s could get that for us easier than Home Rule, but it would make us rich, peaceable, and independent, after which the penniless M.P.s would have to go, and therefore instead they want to give us a hornet's nest, which no one can manage but themselves. Who will lend us money if we get this Bill, which God forbid? If I want £100 to build a shed, who will lend it to me at four per cent. for interest and instalments extended over a number of years?

I fear people are not thinking, but are letting themselves be led over a precipice, and when the fall comes it will be too late to look back. It is like a poor farmer, who having a sort of partnership with a rich landowner, would go up one fine day and say to the rich man, 'I don't want to have any more to do with you!' . . . He would soon feel very sick, and so will poor Ireland if she makes this awful mistake at the bidding of a handful of scoundrels."\*

The absurdity of supposing that the present Bill can have any character of finality, or can even give Parliament any respite from the Irish question, has been sufficiently shown. It is indeed extraordinary that any sane man should have doubted it. Eighty Irish members, the large majority of whom are certain to vote exclusively with Irish objects, are to remain in the Imperial Parliament. A legislature is to be set up in Ireland which will be in the hands of men who have been uniformly preaching the most extreme doctrine of Nationality; who will have none of the sobering influence of property, and whose continuance in power will be wholly dependent on the favour of the most ignorant and most violent classes in the community. This legislature will have an absolute power of determining whether or not Ireland shall give any real assistance to England in the event of a foreign war, and it will at the same time be restricted in its other powers in a way which no self-governing colony would tolerate for a year. Can it be doubted that it will avail itself of the first opportunity to get rid of its tribute and its restrictions? The present measure will simply be accepted as an instalment—as a platform from which further concessions may be easily extorted. In the case of Sweden and Norway, we have at the present moment a vivid picture of what is likely to occur. Norway possessed a measure of Home Rule which far exceeded that which is offered to Ireland, and it was vainly supposed that this would prove final. Fifteen years ago no one spoke of Separation. Now Norway is loudly clamouring for a separate diplomacy and separate foreign policy; and Professor Sars, her most distinguished historian, is proclaiming, amid the enthusiastic applause of the Radical Party, that complete independence is the only real and final satisfaction of Norwegian nationality.

It is for such a prospect that England is asked to pull to pieces her ancient Constitution, and to set up a new system in which it will be scarcely possible for any Government to secure a permanent majority. It is for such a prospect that she is asked to throw a great burden of additional taxation upon her people, and to place a most formidable obstacle in the way of any further reduction of Customs duties. It is for such a prospect that she is asked to incur the deep dishonour of abandoning loyalty and property; to let loose all the powers of anarchy in Ireland; to plant in the heart of her Empire an element of weakness which would probably prove fatal in the first great war in which she was engaged.

"There has always seemed to me one very simple test in this question," a distinguished foreign statesman once said to me. "You will not find in Europe"—and he might have added in America—"a newspaper, you will not find a politician, who hates England and desires her weakness or her downfall, who is not in favour of Gladstone and Home Rule." No one can be astonished that it should be

so. The Home Rule scheme makes the defence of the Empire in time of danger absolutely dependent on the cordial concurrence of two legislatures and of two executives. At present in a great war the Imperial Parliament has a complete command of the resources of Ireland, and a small disloyal minority would be powerless within it. Under the new system, while the Customs which are assigned as an Imperial contribution will necessarily dwindle in time of war, the contribution to be made by Ireland would wholly depend on the goodwill of the Irish Parliament. The men in whose hands it is proposed to place the Government of Ireland represent those who, from the days of the Sepoy Rebellion to the days of the Mahdi War, have uniformly sympathised with the enemies of England. It is proposed to abandon, betray, and mortally offend the loyal population, and at a time when the military power of Great Britain in comparison to that of Continental nations is weaker than it has ever before been ; it is proposed to disband a semi-military force of 12,000 constabulary—one of the most intelligent, most loyal, and, in proportion to its numbers, most powerful armies any country has ever possessed.

These considerations are not likely to appeal to Mr. Gladstone. His mind is evidently under the complete and uncontrolled empire of a single idea. Those who have watched his career of late years can have no difficulty in perceiving how completely he is alienated from all sympathy with the greatness of the Empire, and there are signs that his feelings towards England in particular have developed into something not far removed from positive hatred. A nature by no means wanting in vindictiveness has evidently been exasperated by the continued opposition of the English constituencies to his policy. No attentive observer can fail to notice the persistence with which he has been disclaiming his English origin, his efforts to inflame provincial jealousies in Scotland and in Wales, his constant appeals from English to foreign or American judgments, his cordial sympathy with anti-English literature, heroes, and parties in Ireland. His Home Rule policy is quite of a piece with these indications, and it must be remembered that it is the policy of an old man who can scarcely in the course of nature be called on to grapple with the dangers he is bringing into existence. The supreme power in English politics has passed from the upper and middle classes to the democracy. Will that democracy have the prescience as well as the patriotism to deal with the problem : to realise that England, which is now so peaceful and so powerful, may be one day engaged in a struggle in which a slight adverse touch may turn the balance of her fate ? While England has refused to adopt the military policy of the Continental nations, France has constructed since 1870 one of the most powerful armies the world has ever seen, and the great

American Republic has announced her intention of devoting a large portion of her vast wealth to the creation of a war-navy. Is this a time when any patriotic man should support a measure that would divide, disperse, and enfeeble the resources of the Empire?

The Home Rule policy would have had no chance with the old constituencies that existed before 1867. It would be equally hopeless in those well-organised democracies in which a three-fourth or a two-third majority is required for constitutional change. Never indeed was there a case in which the wisdom of this rule—which prevails in nearly all other countries—was more evident. The change which Mr. Gladstone is advocating goes to the very foundations of the British Constitution and Empire. It is a complete reversal of the Imperial policy of more than eighty years. It was a surprise forced upon a startled party by a single man, who, at the age of seventy-six, changed the whole Irish policy of his past life. The nucleus of the majority which supports it consists of eighty members, who are notoriously indifferent to Imperial interests, and whose leaders have been judicially condemned on grave charges, vitally affecting the security of property and the wellbeing of the Empire. A decided British and an enormous English majority is opposed to it, and the consensus of educated opinion against it is probably greater than against any other important measure of the present century.

It is equally certain that the small majority which has been obtained has not been obtained upon the merits of the Bill. Few things in modern politics have been more discreditable than the way in which the leading features of the Home Rule scheme were withheld from the electors up to the time of the Election, the attempts to induce them to sign a kind of blank cheque in favour of Mr. Gladstone, the attempts to rush the Home Rule Bill through its second reading before the country had time to master its provisions. At the same time class animosities were steadily fanned. A multitude of other issues were raised in order to win a majority. Every fad was encouraged; every particular section of voters was promised something; Bills were launched which there was no serious prospect of carrying; and it is the hope of the more astute members of the party, that under the cover of such measures as Disestablishment in Wales and Scotland, Local Veto, Parish Councils, and a new Reform Bill disguised as a Registration Bill, constituencies that are hostile or indifferent to Home Rule may be induced at the next election to return a sufficient majority to enable Mr. Gladstone and the Irish members to carry out their design. England must indeed be much changed if such transparent trickery can ultimately succeed.

Nothing is more conspicuous in this Bill than the absence of any serious attempt to protect minorities and secure property. In this respect it seems to me decidedly worse than the Bill of 1886, and both

of them appear to me inferior in constructive ability, and still more in honesty of conception, to the scheme which a few years ago was published by Sir Gavan Duffy in this REVIEW.\* The idea of an intermittent Parliamentary contingent which can always place a Government that has a clear majority on English questions in a minority on Imperial ones, or which can maintain by its votes on questions of confidence a Government that is always defeated on English questions, is so palpably unworkable that it is difficult to suppose that it can have been seriously intended to become law. I believe that among Mr. Gladstone's followers there are a large number who in their hearts have little or no illusion about the policy they are supporting, and who are quite conscious of the enormous preponderance of argument against it. It is a common saying among those who are in a position to know, that if the House of Commons could vote by ballot the Bill would certainly be thrown out. In spite of the great secession of intellect and character from Mr. Gladstone's party in 1886, that party still contains members who are remarkable not only for talent but for judgment, and very few persons believe in the sincerity of their enthusiasm for Home Rule.

Personal ambitions and the pressure of local cancauses play no doubt, in these cases, a great part, but I do not think they play the only part. Party discipline and attachment are very strong things. There is the desire to keep up a great party organisation, and to prevent it from falling wholly into the hands of fanatics and faddists, of clever lawyers and party hacks. There is a feeling that—thanks to the House of Lords—the Home Rule Bill cannot possibly at present become law, that many of its leading provisions are so hopelessly unworkable that they must be completely transformed, and that the whole policy rests largely on a single life.

Motives of this kind have probably had a great influence in the present crisis, but I do not think that those who are acting upon them are acting wisely. It is difficult to overestimate the blow which has been given to public confidence and character and morals by the Parliamentary support which this mad scheme has obtained, and it will be long before Ireland recovers the injury it has done her. Members of Parliament are excellent judges of their immediate interests, but they are apt to underrate the importance which, in the long run, character still possesses in English public life. Memories no doubt have become very short, and new alliances and combinations may be in store for us, but I believe that England will not forget the men who have been accomplices in the Great Betrayal.

W. E. H. LECKY.

\* "A Fair Constitution for Ireland." This very remarkable article has since been published as a separate pamphlet, and has gone through two editions.

## THE RECENT ECLIPSE.

THE total eclipse of the sun which took place on April 15-16 is in some respects the most remarkable event of the kind in the present century ; certainly no other like phenomenon occurring within the next decade will equal it in the presentation of exceptionally favourable conditions. It is obvious that there are two criteria by which we may judge of the suitability of an eclipse of the sun for the purposes of the astronomer ; the first relates to the astronomical conditions, and the second to those of a merely geographical character. Of course it must be understood that any eclipse which would disclose information sufficient to justify despatching an expedition for thousands of miles must be total. There is but little to be learned from any observations at a place from whence the disc of the sun appears only partly obscured by the interposition of the moon. Such an opportunity may, indeed, enable accurate determinations of the relative positions of the sun and the moon to be obtained which are often of service in our efforts to improve the tables by which the movements of the moon are calculated. But this object is of very slight importance compared with those which chiefly occupy our attention during a total eclipse. The primary question in determining the astronomical value of a total eclipse relates to the duration of the phase in which the obscurity is total. Tested by this standard, the phenomenon which has just occurred is one of exceptional value. The phase of "totality" lasted for four minutes forty seconds on the east coast of Brazil. This may seem, indeed, but a short time in which to commence and complete an elaborate series of observations and measurements ; but by skilful organisation of the work it is now possible for a corps of experienced observers to effect, even in this very limited time, an amount of careful work that would greatly surprise

any one who was not acquainted with the resources of modern scientific methods. Indeed, on former occasions many successful eclipse observations have been made when the period of totality has been much less than that just stated. Even in the recent event which we are now considering, other stations in which the duration of totality has been much below the maximum have been occupied apparently with much advantage. Thus in Chili totality lasts for two minutes fifty-six seconds. It is nine seconds longer in Argentina. It reaches the maximum for available terrestrial statistics on the east coast of Brazil; but the actual maximum duration of four minutes forty-eight seconds would be observed from a point some hundreds of miles off in the Atlantic. On the west coast of Africa, at Senegal, the duration is four minutes ten seconds. Expeditions from various nations have been despatched to the countries we have named. So far as the results are yet to hand, they indicate that on the whole there has been a degree of success which amply repays the trouble that has been taken and the expense that has been incurred.

To realise the conditions under which the eclipse is produced we must remark that, wherever the moon may happen to be, it bears at all times a long conical shadow projected behind it. The cone comes to a point at a distance which varies somewhat, but is about a quarter of a million miles from the moon. For the production of a total eclipse of the sun it is necessary that the eye which observes should be somewhere within the cone of shadow. Even when the moon does come in between the earth and the sun it will sometimes happen that the shadow cone is too short to touch the earth, in which case an annular eclipse will result. Sometimes, however, owing to the varying distances of the sun and the moon from the earth this cone does extend far enough to reach the earth, and then observers who happen to occupy any spot in the shadow will have a total eclipse presented to them.

About 1 p.m. Greenwich time, on Sunday, 16th April, the sun was rising in the Pacific Ocean in a state of total eclipse, the moon casting a deep black shadow on the shining waters around. This shadow was at first oval in form, and the shortest diameter extended some ninety miles north and south. The black patch then commenced its great eastward journey, and presently reached land on the coast of South America. The local time was then about half-past seven in the morning at the point of arrival on the coast of Chili, in 30° south latitude. Professor Pickering was among the first of an ardent corps of astronomers ready to greet the total eclipse and to utilise to the utmost the advantages of an early station. Then the shadow began its journey across the South American Continent. With a speed of something like 3000 miles an hour, far swifter than any rifle bullet ever moved, the silent obscurity sweeps across wide deserts in

the interior, and then over the noble rivers and glorious forests of Brazil, to quit the land after the sojourn of barely an hour. Along its track it has been watched in two or three places by interested observers armed with spectroscopes, photographic cameras, and the other paraphernalia of the modern astronomer. Doubtless the sudden gloom caused no little dismay to many a tribe of savages in the deep interior of tropical America. We may also conjecture that other creatures besides man will have had their share of astonishment. Darwin and Bates have charmed all readers by their exquisite delineation of those virgin forests of Brazil, where organic nature is developed with a luxuriance which those whose rambles have been confined to sterner climes have never been able to experience. Probably in Brazil, as elsewhere under similar conditions, tender plants evinced their belief that night had prematurely arrived. Beautiful flowers no doubt closed their petals as they are wont to do after sunset. Other flowers, again, which open out at night to solicit the attention of moths, to whom the darkness is congenial, doubtless began to expand their charms. With the advancing gloom such plants as emit their delicious perfume only when the glory of the day has vanished will have been likewise deceived by this eclipse, as they have been known to be on other occasions of a like kind. We can also speculate on the amazement which the total eclipse must have produced among the various races of animals. The great flocks of Brazilian macaws must have wondered why the time for going to roost has indeed arrived again so soon. The chattering monkeys and the skulking jaguar will have been sorely puzzled; while the marvellous nocturnal insect life which Mr. Bates has so forcibly described will have been deceived into temporary vitality. For some minutes it may be reasonably assumed that the forest depths must have resounded with those myriad notes of crickets and grasshoppers which appear to be one of the most striking features of night in the tropics.

Quitting the east coast of America, the lunar shadow took an Atlantic voyage. It crossed the ocean at perhaps its narrowest part, and may have buried in its gloom many a vessel whose crew gazed with astonishment at the unwonted spectacle. Here the conditions of good observation, so far as celestial requirements are concerned, would have been of the most desirable nature. The sun would be right overhead and the fervid glories of the equatorial noon would have been suspended for the space of nearly five minutes. Splendid indeed must have been the view of the corona obtained by those who were fortunate enough to have been in the right position on the ocean, with a clear sky overhead. But from the astronomer's point of view the observations which can be made on board ship are of but little importance; the deck does not offer the stable foundations that are required for elaborate photographic or spectroscopic



apparatus. For the space of an hour, therefore, while this ocean passage was in progress, there were but few opportunities, if indeed any, for valuable contributions of facts to illustrate our theories of the corona. The speed with which the shadow traversed the sea happens to be not so great as that with which it crossed South America. The consequence is, that rather more than an hour was occupied by the journey of the shadow from the American coast to the African coast. This ocean distance is only about half as long as the track pursued across the South American continent. Nevertheless, in consequence of the decline in speed about the middle of the eclipse, the time required by the ocean journey happens to have been about the same as that needed for the previous land journey. A few minutes after half-past three, Greenwich time, on Sunday 16th, the shadow reached land again, on the African coast, near the River Gambia, about north latitude  $15^{\circ}$ . Here the eclipse was destined to receive a cordial welcome from the bands of astronomers who were ready to receive it. Sweeping onwards with a pace which had now begun again to accelerate, the shadow advances into the interior of Africa, keeping below the parallel of  $20^{\circ}$ , and gradually curving southwards. At four o'clock on Sunday afternoon, the position from whence totality was to be observed had advanced to the east of the meridian of Greenwich. The end of the phenomenon was now rapidly approaching; the last glimpse that could be had of it from this globe would have been from the desert of Sahara, where, just at the moment of sunset, the phase of totality was reached. At a quarter-past four, the eclipse ceased to be total anywhere, but an hour longer had yet to elapse before the partial eclipse had vanished from the globe.

It is plain that the best sites, so far as astronomical conditions are concerned, must be those where the duration of totality is as long as practicable. To secure them, we must occupy sites which lie as nearly as possible in the middle of a strip, eighty miles wide, extending from the South Pacific to the middle of Sahara. It fortunately happens that on this occasion those localities where the astronomical conditions are favourable also turn out to be those where the geographical conditions are suitable and comparatively convenient. At Chili, in Argentina, in Brazil, and on the African coast, astronomers have been able to obtain a series of admirable positions, not often paralleled in eclipse observations. One special advantage offered by this chain of observing stations should be particularly noticed. It is a question of considerable importance to examine the nature of the changes which take place in the corona. It has sometimes been thought that such changes frequently occur with extreme rapidity. No doubt, when we remember the scale of the objects involved, it will hardly be imagined that in the brief interval of four or five minutes, during which the

eclipse lasts, any variation in the corona should have taken place considerable enough to be recognised from the distance at which we are placed. If, however, the photographs obtained at Chili and in Africa should turn out to have been as successful as we have now good reason to hope, then we shall have the opportunity of carefully examining whatever changes may have taken place in the corona in the interval between the time of totality in Chili and the time of totality in Africa. As we have pointed out, this period is no less than two and a half hours. In this respect, the advantage offered by the present eclipse is almost unique, for though on other occasions observations of totality may have been possible for a number of seconds greater than those at either of the stations we have named, yet the circumstance of having in the same eclipse two occupied stations so widely separated as the western coast of North Africa and the western coast of South America is quite an exceptional advantage.

And now as to the problems which astronomers have proposed to themselves to solve when undertaking the observations of the recent eclipse of the sun. The history of modern astronomy makes it plain that a remarkable change has taken place in the nature of the questions which specially demand attention during such phenomena. Twenty-five years ago a total eclipse was regarded as of special value, as it afforded us the opportunity of investigating those remarkable prominences or coloured flames round the sun's margin which were then considered to be visible by no other method save that offered by the occasional occurrence of an eclipse. Attention was no doubt also directed in the earlier eclipses to the silvery corona which stretched from the sun to such a vast distance into the surrounding space. The corona, though a permanent appendage of the sun, was only to be recognised when by the direct interposition of the moon the light of the sun was cut off, and in the gloom thus arising the radiance of the corona became readily and even brightly discernible. But the memorable discovery made by Janssen and Lockyer, independently, in 1868, showed that the prominences could be observed without the help of an eclipse, by the happy employment of the peculiar refrangibility of the rosy light which these prominences emit. This improvement in observational astronomy revolutionised the method of utilising eclipses. We are now so well acquainted with the forms of the prominences by the spectroscopic method that the eclipses have but little to teach us. Of course it will be admitted that there are many circumstances with regard to these objects as to which we at present know but very little; however, we do not look in any considerable degree to eclipses for their solution. Quite recently a further extension has been given to the spectroscopic method of studying solar prominences by the beautiful invention of Professor Hale of Chicago. He has employed a very elaborate apparatus by which he is able, as it

were, to sift out from the sunlight the beams of that particular refrangibility which astronomers would denote by saying it belonged to the H line of the spectrum. With the light so chosen Professor Hale obtains a photograph. It so happens that in the light of this particular hue—an invisible hue, it may be added, only perceptible to the peculiar sensibility of the photographic plate—the prominences are peculiarly rich. It follows that when all other light is withdrawn, as Professor Hale's method enables him to do, the ordinary solar light remaining has become so much weakened that it is no longer able to quench the beams from the prominences, and hence these are able to imprint an image on the photographic plate. Thus we can now obtain—not, as heretofore, merely isolated views of special prominences through the widely opened slit of the spectroscope—but we are furnished after a couple of minutes' exposure with a complete photograph of the prominences surrounding the sun. In Professor Hale's remarkable pictures, not only is every large prominence exhibited with ample detail, but the incandescent region of the chromosphere from which these prominences arise is also recorded with accuracy.

It may therefore be said that with this admirable process available the eclipse is no longer of much account for the purpose of instructing us as to the prominences. No doubt a pleasing picture of these objects may be afforded. Professor Pickering, indeed, describes them as of much interest on the recent occasion; but the attention of the eclipse observer in the present day is almost wholly directed in a different direction.

For the corona is still only known to us by such opportunities as eclipses present. No doubt attempts have been made by photographic methods of various kinds to enable the corona to be brought within our scrutiny under ordinary circumstances. Up to the present, however, success is not claimed to have rewarded these efforts. The sunlight is so intense that if it be reduced sufficiently by any artifice, the coronal light also suffers so much abatement that, owing to its initial feebleness, it ceases altogether to be visible. We are therefore wholly dependent on eclipses for accessions to our knowledge of the corona, so it will not be a matter of surprise that on the recent occasion the attention of the different parties has been almost entirely concentrated on the minute scrutiny of the corona by every device which is likely to throw light on its nature.

The astronomers of Great Britain had as usual taken a leading part in organising plans for the purpose of observing this eclipse. A joint committee of the Royal Society, and of the Royal Astronomical Society, has had general charge of the arrangements. The sinews of war have been chiefly provided from that liberal grant of £4000 a year which the State places at the disposal of the Royal Society for

furthering the interests of science in such ways as may seem most advantageous.

Assistance of other kinds has been also forthcoming. The owners of valuable instruments have, in many cases, placed them at the disposal of the observers. The Admiralty has provided such facilities of transport as were needed to attain out-of-the-way places. The comity of nations has also been illustrated by the readiness with which the authorities of the French and Brazilian Governments respectively have complied with the requests made to them. They have afforded accommodation and courtesies to the parties on the coast of Brazil and in the French territory on the African coast to which the two British expeditions have been despatched.

A careful study of the meteorological conditions of the different localities was a necessary preliminary to the choice of stations. For it need hardly be said that, however suitable a station may have appeared to be from the astronomical facts of long duration and of high altitude of sun, yet if the locality in question were one likely to be obscured by clouds it would be somewhat improvident to despatch an expedition to a place where the chances of success were so greatly jeopardised. Perhaps the most elaborate study of the meteorological conditions bearing on the question is contained in a paper contributed by Prof. David P. Todd to the *Meteorological Journal*. In this he brings together a mass of information collected from divers authentic sources. The inhabitants of Chili were able to report that the observations of any celestial phenomena which take place in April were almost certain to be made in a cloudless sky. Indeed it appears that in the mountainous regions of that favoured climate the atmospheric conditions are almost ideally perfect for the purposes of the astronomer. The course of the shadow then lay through Argentina, where the residents assure us that April is the best month in the year for clear atmosphere and light skies, and that it could only be by some exceptional misfortune that the observers would meet with disappointment. Reading this in any other spring than this present season of extraordinary mildness and purity, we dwellers in these latitudes would feel envious of those whose homes lay in climates when a cloudy day in April was spoken of as a wholly exceptional misfortune. In Paraguay, which the shadow next traversed, it seems that meteorological zeal has not yet been kindled. No accurate information as to the clouds or weather to be expected in April was forthcoming in response to Mr. Todd's urgent inquiries. In despair of being able to offer climatic inducements to the expedition he expresses a hope that any eclipse party despatched there might include zealous naturalists. To them he thinks that the attractions offered by pumas, jaguars, cobras, and cross vipers in abundance may "offset the possible loss of the corona to the astronomer." But it may well

be doubted whether the enthusiasm of the astronomer, who studies with much interest *Serpens* and *Draco* in the skies, will have been sufficient to have induced him to journey all the way to Paraguay in expectation of becoming acquainted with their terrestrial representatives, possibly on closer terms than he could desire.

At Brazil, where the astronomical conditions are of the best, the risk of clouds was considerable. It seems that about half of the days in April on the coast at *Para Cura* are likely to be obscured. Fortunately, however, the observers were favoured with good weather. It is, moreover, possible that stations in the interior of Brazil, where their conditions are more favourable, have also been occupied by observers. Pains had also been taken to determine the probable cloudiness at this season along the Atlantic track followed by the shadow. Now that the phenomenon is over there is no necessity for alluding to more than the final result of the inquiries. They showed that the probability of a clear sky at midday in April at any point along the track followed by the eclipse from *Ceara*, where the central line leaves the coast in Brazil, to *Gambia*, on the other side of the Atlantic, is about one half.

It was not possible to obtain any very definite information as to the extent of April cloudiness in the interior parts of Africa which were passed over by the lunar shadow ere it quitted the earth finally. It seems, however, impossible to doubt that an expedition might have been despatched to some locality in the far interior of *Senegal* or *Sahara*, where the atmospheric conditions would have been excellent. The advantage of occupying such a position would have been obvious. A continuous chain of observations of the corona would then have been available from the time the sun was rising on the coast of South America to the time of sunset in *Sahara*. The great advantage of such an expedition would have been that it would have afforded an opportunity for testing in the completest manner whether the corona submitted to these rapid changes in the few hours to which we have already referred. The present eclipse was admirably suited for this investigation, for the terrestrial conditions were such as to enable the observations to be made both at the beginning and the end of the phenomenon. Further, as the sun-spots are now very abundant, it is presumed that the sun is at present in a condition of exceptional activity, and consequently it seemed reasonable to suppose that, in sympathy with what was going on below, the corona would be in a disturbed state at present. Unfortunately, however, it has not been found practicable on this occasion to make use of the extreme end of the track of the shadow.

The English Brazilian party, consisting of Messrs. Taylor and Shackleton, were stationed at *Para Cura*. The African party was organised on a somewhat larger scale. Professor Thorpe was placed

in command of it, and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Hills, R.E., Sergeant Kearney, R.E., and Messrs. Fowler, Gray, and Forbes, from the Royal College of Science. They were despatched to Bathurst, thence to make their way to a station in French Senegambia only a few miles south of the central line of totality.

It would be impossible for us to describe fully in this paper the different lines of observation which have been undertaken by the several members of the two parties. I can only just mention one or two of the special classes of work which, so far as the information yet received is available, seem to have been successfully accomplished. As the pictures of the corona vary so much with the instrument employed, it is clearly desirable to have some means of discriminating between the actual changes which may have taken place in the structure of the corona itself between one eclipse and the next, and those changes in the representation of it which merely arise from instrumental differences. There is no means of attaining this end so simply and so securely as to provide that the same photographic apparatus shall be used on each occasion. For this reason it is satisfactory to learn that the corona has been photographed in Africa on Sunday, the 16th instant, with the same 4-inch lense of 60 inches focus which was used in Egypt in 1882, in the Caroline Islands in 1883, in Granada in 1886, and in the Salut Islands in 1889. We have thus a connected series of pictures of the corona, taken as far as possible under similar conditions, extending over a period of eleven years.

Particular interest will be attached to the department of work assigned to Mr. Fowler in Africa. He has photographed the spectrum of the corona, produced by placing a glass prism in front of an object-glass of six inches aperture. If his pictures are as successful as we hope they will prove to be on development, they ought to throw much light on the nature of the corona. The peculiar advantage of this method of observing is that for each source of light of special refrangibility in the corona a distinct image of the corona will be impressed on the plate. If, for example, the coronal light was of that strictly monochromatic type which the light of certain nebulae appears to be, then the coronal photograph as produced through the prism would represent the details of the structure in a single definite picture. If, however, as seems much more likely, the corona diffused light of two or more different refrangibilities, then separate pictures of it would be depicted in distinct positions on the plate, in correspondence with each of the constituent rays. The several pictures that are thus obtained would be indications of the different kinds of light of which the corona was composed. So far as these various simulacra can be discriminated and interpreted, they will afford indications of the material constituents of the luminous substances from which they

originate. It need not be expected that these several pictures should resemble each other. If the different parts of the corona contain different elements in their constitution, as is certainly most probable, then the several pictures will evidence this by their difference in outline. No doubt the different photographs may to some extent overlap, but though this will interfere with the pictorial effect, it will not prevent their interpretation in the sense that is instructive to the astronomer.

One of the most remarkable features in the structure of the corona are the presence of streamers or luminous rays extending from the north and south poles of the sun. These rays are generally more or less curved, and it is doubtful whether the phenomena they exhibit are not in some way a consequence of the rotation of the sun. This consideration is connected with the question as to how far the corona itself shares in that rotation of the sun with which astronomers are familiar. I should perhaps rather have said—that rotation of the sun's photosphere, which, as the sun-spots prove, is accomplished once every twenty-five days. Even this shell of luminous matter does not revolve as a rigid mass would do. By some mysterious law the equatorial portions accomplish their revolution in a shorter period than is required by those zones of the photosphere which lie nearer the north and south poles of the luminary. As to how the parts of the sun which are interior to the photosphere may revolve, we are quite ignorant. Nor does there seem much likelihood of any discoveries being made which will clear up this matter. Up to the present we have no means of knowing to what extent the corona shares in the rotation. It would seem certain that the lower parts which lie comparatively near the surface must be affected by the rapid rotation of the photosphere. But it is very far from certain that this rotation can be shared in to any great extent by these parts of the corona which lie at a distance from the sun's surface as great as the solar radius or diameter. The study of the photographs may be expected to throw some light on this subject; especially will this be the case if the pictures taken at different parts of the track at an interval of two hours or more admit of satisfactory comparison.

The spectroscopic testimony forms of course an exclusive source of information as to the nature of the elementary bodies present in the corona. Up to the present it must be admitted that our knowledge on this subject is rather of a negative character. The spectroscope has hitherto mainly afforded us indications of elements which seem to be undeterminable by our knowledge of terrestrial chemistry. Professor Schuster, after a careful discussion of the evidence afforded by other eclipses, has come to the conclusion that it is not at present possible to identify the lines specially characteristic of the coronal spectrum with those of any known terrestrial substances. Indeed,

the corona presents a curious green line that seems to denote some invariable constituent in the sun's outer atmosphere; but the element to which this green line owes its origin is wholly unknown. It has been conjectured that it is due to some body present in the sun which is unknown to terrestrial chemists. The elucidation of this question is from every point of view one of the most interesting problems in solar physics.

The information to hand assures us that the observers under Professor Thorpe on the west coast of Africa, have been favoured with weather which permitted them to carry out almost their entire programme. Of course, until the photographs have been developed and studied it will not be possible to pronounce emphatically as to the information they have attained. With the success at Para Cura, and of Professor Pickering on the other side of South America, there is excellent reason for the hope that the eclipse just over will result in valuable accessions to astronomical knowledge.

R. S. BALL.



## A MAY-DAY DIALOGUE.

### ECONOMIC, NOT PASTORAL.

#### I.

**T**HAT solemn Roman landscape, where the hillock whose grass your horse tramples may have been a great city before Rome was, had brought its usual thoughts of time and instability.

"Then," said Donna Maria suddenly, broaching a subject she had instinctively avoided, "you no longer believe in Socialism, Cousin Boris?"

The young Russian smiled bitterly. He felt acutely the contrast of the Boris of to-day, as well-groomed as the horse he rode, accompanying a rich and pretty woman on her errands of sentimental archaeology, and the Boris of four years ago, who had written to her, with hands grimy from breaking-up types, that he had thrown in his lot with the industrious and the oppressed.

"Socialism," he answered, "is a very big word, and one which women of the world are apt . . . ."

"Yes, yes," she cried, "which women of the world are apt to employ merely as a term of abuse. You are quite right; I used to be so intemperate when I was young! But I have really tried to be fair; I have read a lot of books, and I have understood what your former friends think. Let the State only suppress money, confiscate capital, regulate the production of commodities in national factories and their exchange by means of soup-tickets, and there will be an end of injustice, misery, and crime. They have the social mechanism, every piece numbered and labelled, ready to hand, fit for putting up! Happy people! They need scarcely stir, barely think, and certainly never repeat that silly Christian trick of self-sacrifice; next year they may take to any convenient form of lotos-eating, for, of course, they

will have twenty hours of leisure. I forgot; the State will have decided what sort of plant the lotos really is, and which is the best way of eating it."

Donna Maria spoke with an air of impetuous relief; and when she had done, she began stroking her horse's neck, as if she had had just finished a long gallop. Lady Althea noticed the movement and understood; but she could not understand why her friend always spoke on this subject as if she were impartial, and always looked exasperated.

"You are right, my cousin," answered the Russian after a brief silence. "Socialists *are* happy, happy people. I was very happy when I could still believe that the world's misery is all due to an easily altered system. To return to your question: Yes, I no longer believe in Socialism, I no longer believe that the mischief comes from speculation or lending at interest, nor that the State is the same thing as society, nor that society may enslave its own members; still less that by making laws you can change hearts. All these Socialistic remedies have come to mean, in my eyes, merely so much juggling, transferring prosperities from one pocket to the other, and losing a good deal in the transfer. I no longer believe in a single one of their remedies, but I wish to Heaven I did. I wish I could still believe that a clean sweep can be made of all this inequality and injustice, which means waste—waste of wealth, of feeling, of energy, of time; waste of those who are rich and of those who are poor. Ah, I wish I could remain a Socialist still."

"But are you sure," asked Lady Althea, as if repeating to herself some thought which was uppermost in her mind, "are you sure that there is no other remedy than that of the Socialists for us to believe in?"

But Boris took no notice of her words.

"Please, do not think," he continued passionately, "that my feelings have changed because my beliefs have altered. I hate as much as all the Socialists rolled into one, the state of things of which we and they, and all our respective follies, are all equally a result. I would go round the world, if hatred could not take care of itself, teaching the people to hate all our boasted civilisation, either reduced to the barest necessities, physical and moral, or clogged with unuseable comforts and pleasures. For I hate your unequally distributed wealth, still worse your unequally distributed leisure—meaning overwork and stupidity on the one hand, and *ennui* and stupidity on the other; I hate the lack of freely circulating life and experience, the barrier of useless possessions and covetous necessities which divide us from one-half of our fellows. I hate, above all, the hypocritical twaddle which calls the rich classes the educated, and confounds their self-indulgence with refinement."

They rode on for awhile in silence—the young Russian exhausted by his own violence ; Donna Maria, taken aback, grieved like a good child suddenly scolded ; and Lady Althea stifling indignation at what seemed to her personal and intemperate. They were crossing some low undulations of grass, greening again after the winter's sering, and with a faint wintry grey in its green that made one think of northern dunes. Around them was that vast emptiness : no house or tree attempting to intrude, and fences and ditches not interrupting its long low lines ; a full, brown stream, sluggishly tugging at the swamped willows, not visibly breaking its surface ; green emptiness bounded by the blue hills, their tops powdered with the last spring snow, and on whose flanks the gathering white cumulus clouds cast slowly moving shadows. A dip in the ground, and the mountains disappear and the clouds with them, save such as have got broken off and roll vaguely about, greyish-white balls, in the high blue sky, making you realise how infinitely high, fathoms and miles, and thousands of miles, that blue vault really is. A dip, and then a little ascent, cleared by the horses so quickly that you scarcely realise it ; the cloud chain reappearing, and under it the chain of blue snow-powdered hills ; and once at the top, the great grey-green emptiness reappearing also, rolling away on all sides.

"You have told us what you hate," said Donna Maria at last, a little tremble of emotion in her voice ; "things which, after all, we perhaps hate as much as you . . ."

"I trust you do not, dear cousin," interrupted Boris, sarcastically, "for I should be sorry to think your delightful Greek serenity hid as uncomfortable a soul as mine."

"As much as you, but not perhaps in the same way, Boris ; for I think that in your Socialist days you talked yourself into the Socialist belief—the belief with which Socialists sow class hatred wherever they go—that the rich are deliberately and systematically oppressing the poor, that they hate them, and that the poor ought simply to hate them back as hard as they can. It makes me quite miserable, because, besides the folly and wickedness implied in all hatred, it seems to me that you are wasting so much invaluable moral capital, so much power for good. The upper classes cannot of course bring to the work the energy of personal interest, of envy and hatred ; but are these efficacious feelings not very two-edged tools—I don't know whether your system of ethics allows me to employ so feudal an adjective as *base* ? Is not the energy of disinterested morality and benevolence as good and better ? That it exists in less amount I am forced to admit ; any ruffian may desire such social reorganisation as will benefit himself ; whereas the man who can desire what will not be for his own bettering, and may be to his detriment, is not by any means so common. And the number of interested persons—I

will not say even mean and selfish ones—among the lower class, is undoubtedly greater than that of the disinterested, exceptional souls among the upper ; so that the force of envy and hatred is likely to be greater than that of sympathy and justice. But should we therefore waste the lesser in quantity, the better in quality ? And will not the world require every scrap of decent disinterestedness, of cultivated feeling, of sober thought, to prevent this sea of covetousness and vindictiveness and ignorance from overwhelming all noble and beautiful things ? ”

Lady Althea had been listening attentively as they rode along, her eyes fixed on those distant cloud-hills, and on a group of stone-pines and a kind of castle which had appeared in sight, the first incident for miles among those pale-green grassy billows.

“ I think,” she said, “ that the upper classes should not allow any good there is in them to be wasted. I don’t mean merely for their own sake, though Heaven knows how many of them lose by not knowing their own duties ; I have seen so much of that : honest and intelligent creatures becoming daily more enslaved by the various fleshpots—material, æsthetic, or what they call social, which is in reality the very reverse of social ; their lives consumed in a routine of waste of money, food, time, energy, thought, sometimes of a kind of heroism even ; doing things which ‘ have to be done ’ not because these things are useful or even pleasant, but because their doing has become systematic. And such enslavement to the fleshpots—sometimes due to sheer ignorance that the world contains any other interests—to the clothes, carriages, titles, dinner-tables, and grouse moors, all things which only the rich can possess and the idle can attend to—means sacrifice of many nobler things for the sake of those fleshpots ; certainly sacrifice of much true happiness as well as possible usefulness. Maria accuses the Socialists of wasting the good that might be got out of the upper classes ; but, really, I think it is rather the upper classes who are guilty of this wastefulness. For in these upper classes—I hate that ridiculous *upper* and *lower*—if there is a waste of material wealth which other folk are famishing for, there is nearly as great a waste of intellectual and moral wealth : mind and culture and leisure become barren for lack of generous impulse ; generosity and tenderness grown mischievous for want of thoughtfulness and knowledge.”

“ Exactly so ! ” exclaimed Donna Maria enthusiastically ; “ it is this which I want to prevent ! Of course I understand ”—and her charming mobile child’s face grew very grave—“ that a better distribution of wealth would immensely increase the possibility of decent living, of usefulness and happiness in both classes, the one which possesses too much, as well as the one which possesses too little. For of course it is evident how difficult sobriety, purity,

industry, and honesty must be in certain positions—not merely the less comfortable ones created by our present imperfect repartition of wealth; just as it is evident that education and the leisure necessary thereunto can be fully attained by every one when only economic relations are greatly modified. But it is equally certain, only people don't choose to see it, that these economic relations cannot be really improved, that opposing classes of strong unscrupulous creatures, and of weak and demoralised ones, cannot be secured against, until whatever possibilities of sobriety, purity, industry, honesty and gentleness, now being wasted, be turned to their full account; until the leisure, education, and generous impulse already available, be really turned to profit. Since all real improvement in the world's condition must be very gradual, extending over much time and ramifying in many directions, we must do all in our power to help this slow movement by removing old obstacles and forestalling new ones. I don't believe in the efficacy of a mere change of forms, any more than in the alteration of mere names; I believe we must persistently work at the renovation of the very material of human progress—the human heart and mind. That is why I consider it positively criminal, both on the side of rich folk who won't do it, and of your Socialists who try to prevent them—positively criminal that the privileged classes should not be turned to account in thinking and feeling for those unprivileged classes who cannot yet think or feel for themselves . . . .”

“But how do you know that the unprivileged classes cannot yet think or feel for themselves?” asked Lady Althea, startled by the sweepingness of this assertion.

“Because they are too busy building our houses, weaving our clothes, sweeping our floors, cooking our dinners, and grooming our beasts, my dear Lady Althea,” answered Boris, passing his hand as he spoke over his horse's sleek neck, and nodding, to mark the contrast, towards a group of peasants, tattered, shaggy, and fever-stricken, who had issued out of one of the reed wigwams dotted about the immense grazing ground.

“Of course they are unable,” went on Donna Maria, regardless of the interruption, but stopping her horse and fumbling in her coat pocket. “Lend me five francs, Boris; I think they ought to have quinine. For it is all very well: the merely material, mechanical, legal monopolies we can gradually strip off, or you can violently strip off us—such as the monopoly of land and of capital—but other monopolies, grown in the centuries to be part and parcel of us, will not be so easy to get rid of, monopolies of thought and feeling; and while we possess them we must see to their being employed, not for mischief, but for the good of the people. I fear,” added Donna Maria, as they cantered off from the huts and their squalid inhabitants, her vivacious mind suddenly shifting its quarters, “I

fear—I fear those people will just play at the lottery with those five francs, and they are so demoralised already. Please, please, Althea, remind me next time we have a ride to get Agostino to make me some little packets of quinine, like those I have for our people in Lombardy. It is shameful that you positively cannot buy unadulterated quinine at village apothecaries'. They take advantage of the poor people who require it so much and pay for it so exorbitantly: that is what comes of the upper classes thinking only of their comforts and amusements."

Even the bitter spirit of Boris was subdued by this characteristic revelation of his cousin's personality. He remembered how his old friend Baldwin used to compare her to the Roman sea-wind: the little gentle breath, warm, kind, scarcely rippling things, making trees bud, flowers bloom, and birds sing in the listener's heart; but at other moments turning into a blustering gale, carrying off hats and cloaks, and pulling up trees by the roots: the sea-wind which shakes up, warms, chills, caresses, outrages by turns, but leaves the world more wholesome and summer-like than before.

"I see," he said laughing. "The upper classes are to administer moral tonics and fever-powders to the lower, having had the advantage of dealing at large spiritual warehouses, instead of depending on miserable country retailers."

"But do we always give them the same unadulterated moral drugs which we swallow ourselves?" asked Lady Althea. "That is the question. And so far as I can see, it is exactly what we do not, my dear Maria. Before being able to judge correctly *for* the uneducated, we ought evidently to form a correct judgment *about* them. Now, it so happens that we are perpetually judging the lower classes by standards different from those by which we judge ourselves."

"Of course," interrupted Donna Maria, "we can't ask as much of them as of ourselves; so we *must* have two standards."

Lady Althea looked at her friend for a moment with that puzzled incredulity with which she always met cases of self-delusion or insincerity.

"So one might expect. But, as a matter of fact, we ask much more of them than of ourselves. We insist upon every virtue from the class of people to whom such virtue is infinitely more difficult, merely because their bad luck makes it less easy to repair the want of it; while we ask very little of ourselves, because our many advantages make it easier to compensate for our deficiency in virtue. Because we happen to have secured to us certain reserves which we can always fall back upon, a lot of things are legitimate or permissible which in the poor, merely because they are poor, are wicked, unpardonable, and such as to hurry them irremissibly down the bottomless pit. Among my acquaintances is a certain little sempstress; her husband is dying at the hospital; she lives in a tiny dark smelling room, and

she has got three restless, unruly little children, always up to some mischief. Well, whenever I go to see her, I let her know—I am bound to let her know—how wrong, how very wrong it is of her—wrong enough, in fact, to deserve that all friends should throw her over—that she should waste time, dawdle in the street, or jabber with the neighbours; be slack, careless, and think of anything, in short, besides getting a certain number of handkerchiefs hemmed by a certain date. Yet the poor creature's circumstances are not conducive to energy and concentration; and her pleasure in life, indeed her solace in trouble, consists solely in dawdling and jabbering. Yet I am doing my duty in telling her she is a very reprehensible young woman. Similarly, we all fall ruthlessly upon the working man who marries too early in life; we inveigh against his lack of self-restraint and his grossness; yet he may in reality be following the one call of something human and noble—affection, desire to protect and receive sympathy. Now, if the woman with the dying husband and the three little children were a lady, if the young man wanting to marry his sweetheart had an independent fortune, we should admit that their conduct was very human and proper. . . . Oh no! I don't say we ought to encourage them in giving way to such human tendencies, since in their case the result would be only disastrous to themselves. I merely remark that our manner of judging those worse off than ourselves is, although perhaps inevitable, not very just, or merciful, or intelligent. Of course, this is all due to the economic fact, which no Socialistic sophisms can alter, that capital, and the abilities required for the management thereof, are less plentiful and more in demand than mere labour, and that labour consequently gets the lesser share of the wealth it helps to produce; but it is a mere accident that capital and labour should stand in this particular relation at this particular moment in the world's history, and that we particular individuals should happen to represent capital which gets the large share, and those other individuals labour which gets the smaller one. Of course we give, for instance, food and shelter in return for the work of our servants; but accident has so placed us that *we* get food and shelter, the first cuts off the joint, the fresh dishes, the better rooms and furniture, without any such labour. What are we doing for them, while they are sweeping, and scouring, and cooking for us . . . ?”

“Well,” interrupted Boris, “you for one, Lady Althea, were sweeping, and sewing, and cooking all for yourself when I saw you last in London.”

“Most of us,” she went on, drily, “are not doing much—at least much that can be of use to the hewers of wood and drawers of water. A man or woman of independent means, who desists from crime and vice, taking life merely as a pastime, is a perfectly

blameless creature; if the pastime be of an intellectual or artistic type, he or she is even an object of admiration. Oh yes, it is quite natural. But the result of it is not pretty. It isn't pretty to censure so freely in others what we admit as proper in ourselves, merely because our circumstances allow us a lot of luxuries of conduct in which those others must not indulge. To them it must seem very much as if because we are rich, we need never give; and because they are poor, they shall never take. It would be more seemly, don't you think, if, since we can't justify the accident that has given us all the advantages, we should at least justify our right to advise, to reprimand, to say 'Take patience' or 'It must be borne' to those whom accident has given only disadvantages?"

"But that is exactly what I have been preaching all along!" exclaimed Donna Maria. "We should show them that if they must bear much, we also will carry our load; that if they are threatened for ever with material want, we, on the other hand, are driven to work, to read, to think, and experiment and select, by the fear of moral bankruptcy; and it is one of my quarrels with all you Radicals and Socialists," went on Donna Maria hotly, unconscious of Lady Althea's smile of tender admiration and amusement, "that you prevent the lower classes from realising the natural division of labour, the give and take of those who work with their hands and those who work with their brains and hearts—or at least who ought to; you, on the contrary, teach the people that progress would move on much quicker if we were to harness the ox and yoke the horse!"

"I agree in everything you say," answered Lady Althea, riding along, Boris thought, like a sort of equestrian goddess of justice; "only, it happens to be not the Socialists and Radicals, but our own old Conservative society, which is perpetually yoking the horse and harnessing the ox—or at least disposing of its human cattle quite irrespective of their congenital peculiarities. A man who would make an excellent navy is allowed to be a prince, with a prince's education and responsibilities; a woman who would make a perfect princess does charring, and can scarcely spell: everywhere we see men and women excluded from the places to which, by the grace of Heaven, they were born. Has it never struck you how indifferent we are to Nature's hierarchies, and how large a proportion of human beings are, in the truest sense of the word, *déclassés*?"

"Yes, yes," answered Donna Maria, more anxious to develop her own favourite theory than to do justice to her companion's amendments thereof. "Of course all that will be adjusted in the long run, and the upper classes will represent all that is best in every condition of life. What I insist upon is, that the upper classes—that is to say, the people who have more leisure and comfort and refinement—are, so



to speak, paying for their privileges by keeping up the standard of civilisation."

"Oh, my dear cousin! is it possible that you, a woman of the world, should believe such a thing as that?" burst out Boris. "Why, have you never asked yourself what would happen if some day the people, getting tired of such assertions, were to burst in upon us, as Vesuvius burst in upon the people of Pompeii? What objects would they discover in greatest number wherewith to keep up the standard of civilisation? Cigars, choice wines, dresses in which it is impossible to do any single useful thing, expensive food, and soft furniture! And engaged in what elevating occupations would they discover those keepers-up of standards?"

"You are not really answering, Maria," broke in Lady Althea, "because you must know that she doesn't mean that sort of thing when she talks of keeping up the standard of civilisation."

"I suppose Maria doesn't, so I beg her forgiveness," answered Boris doggedly; "but Maria was listening as well as I when one of her friends propounded, in her drawing-room, the theory that it was all right to have strawberries in January, because it contributed to raise the standard of refined and exquisite living."

They rode on a long while in painful silence, the zigzags of fences alone forming an incident in the endless green undulations which stretched to the mountains and clouds. Suddenly, in an unforeseen hollow, there appeared one of those gaunt buildings, towered farms, fortified villas, you know not which; places whose walls are eaten up with damp and lichen, mud and refuse invading them on all sides, and which yet, with their big buttressed windows and stuccoed chapels, their lamentable attempt at luxury, tell of some destination beyond the housing of horses, chickens, and fever-stricken peasants; and make one marvel, every now and again, in one's wanderings about Rome, When and why? What manner of creature could it be that once upon a time tried to trespass on the solitude and malaria of the great, bleak, green plain?

"Let us go towards Rome," said Donna Maria, turning her horse's head, after gazing long and wistfully at the dreary building, which seemed to bring to a focus, with its grim and dreary senselessness, all the grim and dreary problems which were overpowering her cheerful helpfulness of nature. "Oh, why is the world like this, and what are we to do?"

"My dear cousin," said Boris, after they had ridden some time in silence—with only the horizon altered, the clouds and mountains exchanged for the low hills of the Tiber valley and the cupola of St. Peter's under the slowly sinking sun—"do not think me brutal if I tell you that when you have been made thoroughly miserable by such thoughts, you will have, like me, to give up thinking them;

like me as I am beginning to become, for I have still but partially recovered my self-possession, as I am afraid I proved by some very violent and rude speeches at the beginning of our ride. It is difficult to become stoical even to the sufferings of other people, but one has to become so. Just before I met you at the city gates I had come across a stone-breaker working along the roadside, and evidently very far gone in consumption; his wife was in the hospital; of his five children, two were ill; he was gaining a franc and a half a day, and could not afford to stop work on bad days. It isn't a particularly bad case. A franc and a half a day; why, it is very high pay for this country; there are places in the Neapolitan provinces where a whole day's hard digging and trenching, including a long walk there and back, owing to the desolation of those parts, is paid only forty centimes. . . . Still, we never feel much unless we see, and the road-mender, with his sixteen pence, affected me no more than the Neapolitan peasant with his fourpence. But it is absurd to let oneself be made wretched by such cases. Progress, supposing there is such a thing, must be incalculably slow. Hitherto, in a great many things, there has been next to none. We don't make ourselves miserable, after all, about the millions of creatures who died like beasts while building the pyramids, nor about the millions of slaves lashed and starved throughout antiquity; of serfs starved and beaten throughout the Middle Ages; the myriads of wretches trampled and tortured before history ever was."

"Yes, but all that is in the past," exclaimed Donna Maria impetuously, "it is gone, done with. But that such misery should endure while we live, our pulsations of pleasure keeping time with other folk's pulsations of pain, this seems outrageous to our feelings; worst of all, that misery should survive, and survive God knows how long. We cannot, must not, bear that!"

"That is what I once thought"—and Boris's tone was curiously sad in its coldness—"but that is mere selfish sentimentality in ourselves. Why, forsooth, should misery be more unbearable because it happens to coincide with our valuable stay on earth? That evil in the past was quite as terrible, quite as outrageous, as any in the present; and if it is over so far as individuals are concerned, why, so will this be, thanks to the saving grace of death. Outrageous to our feelings! But what right have we to such feelings? What right have we to be shocked at the inevitable? Look at the faces we meet in the street—ask yourself what are the thoughts, emotions, and habits of their owners, and wonder, if you can, that there is so much misery and filth in the world; nay, wonder, rather, that there is so little. For these people in the street are our friends, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, and children—they are ourselves! No; it bores me to be told that the upper classes are enjoying themselves out of

obligingness to the lower, and that everything is for the best. But at the same time I lose all patience when I see people trying to relieve their uncomfortable feeling at the thought of misery, just as they would relieve any other uncomfortable feeling, merely because it happens to be uncomfortable and in them——”

“Ah!” cried Donna Maria in one of those fits of self-accusation which were one of the lovable varieties in her lovable and variable nature, “I know something about that sort of thing! In my very small experience I see two cases which look rather like crimes—miserable children born of fathers in the last stage of consumption, and who distinctly owe their existence to the fostering care of myself and my friends—and we all know nowadays that physical degeneracy may ramify into every sort of moral imbecility and perverseness! And yet I cannot help thinking that whatever mischief it may occasionally lead to, there is safety and usefulness in the feeling which makes us miserable at others’ sufferings; it is an instinct of moral self-preservation for ourselves and others.”

Lady Althea nodded.

“I think,” she said, “that it is an excellent thing that we should not be able to enjoy ourselves thoroughly in the presence of other people’s sufferings; a great amount of the world’s suffering is due to the vast majority of us being able, on the contrary, or having been, to enjoy themselves quite equally whether others suffered or not. It is one thing to guard against rash action springing from such feelings, and another to guard, as your cousin pretends one had better guard (only he doesn’t really think so), against the feelings themselves; the harm is in the rashness, and rashness is harmful in totally different matters—don’t you think? Doing good—or, rather, *doing the right thing* (I don’t see why the expression should always be applied to doing what is really doing the wrong thing)—doing the right thing, then, not in the worldly sense, should not be the mere relieving of a want in ourselves—which, of course, may be selfishly relieved like any other; it ought to become the fulfilling of one of the principal functions of life, with only that amount of satisfaction to ourselves which attaches, negatively almost, to the fulfilment of any other function. We ought to want to save other people from pain, as we want to save ourselves, and therefore try not to bungle them into worse pain, as we should try not to bungle ourselves into it. We ought to cultivate our aversion to other folk’s pain (not neglecting our own, by any means); but, at the same time, to train ourselves to see and feel in the future and the distant, minding as much what happens there as what happens nearer ourselves and the present, and sacrifice meanwhile the acutely felt present to a future which we can foretell although we may not as yet acutely perceive. We must train ourselves to disliking injustice and suffering irrespective of

where and when, and to dislike it worst only where it really exists in largest amount or acutest degree, closing our ears and eyes to the fallacious appearance, the mere hallucination of our egoism, that things are worse because they happen to be under our eyes: they are not, any more than objects are bigger because they are near. Or rather, I should have said, let us use the present, the near at hand, to learn from it what must be the future and distant, getting to know the larger by our knowledge of the smaller, instead of letting the smaller make us forgetful of the larger. Our business, as rational beings, is to try and understand—is it not? and to try not to act, if possible, without understanding at least this much, that in the particular case any action may be preferable to none. The case to which Maria alludes, and in which her good sense was really overridden by the sentimentality of her friends, was an instance of what may result from trying to cut short an individual evil without calculating what new evils may result from the operation.

"Of course I've been repeating a lot of truisms," said Lady Althea, setting her horse gradually to a trot, "but one is apt to forget even truisms in the course of an argument, and after your cousin's plea in favour of hard-heartedness I thought it useful to point out the necessity also of the reverse, more particularly as I am rather a hard-hearted woman myself."

They hurried along the grassy slopes till, suddenly, they met the main road which runs north from Rome, and a great brown bend of the Tiber, the poplars along its banks just barely tipped with delicate yellowish new leaves, the willows in its swirl covered with soft catkins. It had rained here, and everything had that warm, blonde quality which lends the Roman landscape a spring-like air almost in winter. The grass here by the riverside was lush-green already, and full of long-stemmed daisies and star anemones, but frosted over with delicate grey withered thistles. Some wild olive trees formed a dark-green tuft upon the slope, and beneath it lay a big sheep-dog, while a man, with goatskin leggings like a satyr, sat milking a sheep; all round about the little new-born lambs were bleating and sucking, snow-white in their newness upon that greenness of new grass. And below, with the wide bend of river, its eddies faintly reddened by the afternoon sun, stretched the green, yellow, and brown boggy valley, its faint undulations marked with hay-ricks and long snaking fences.

"The fact is," continued Lady Althea, rather to herself than to her companions, "that we are utterly unreasonable. We wish, we sensitive people, to see all round us a certain amount of comfort. That is to say, to enjoy in ourselves a degree of moral peacefulness, for which the moral expenditure of the world—what we are willing to pay in thought, in abstinence and effort—is utterly insufficient. As

with material wealth, so with spiritual, we do nothing but waste; yet we expect to have the means of sending every beggar from our door metamorphosed into a prosperous citizen. We are trying, with our toy pails, to empty out a sea of ignorance and selfishness."

"I don't understand in the least what you are alluding to," answered Donna Maria, briskly.

"And yet we have talked it all over very often with Baldwin," replied Lady Althea sadly; "and you must have met it often enough in books—you who have always read such a lot."

"Baldwin always irritates me with his cocksureness; however, I'll try and be less irritated next time," rejoined Donna Maria.

Boris laughed his bitter, miserable laugh.

"That is it! Let us read all about it in books; better still, in reviews, which are less boring. Let us talk it over with Baldwin, with Tom, Dick, or Harry—I beg your pardon, with the eminent economist A., the celebrated philanthropist B., and the great idealist philosopher C.—during an interval at dinner, or while we are waiting for the carriage on coming out from the ball, or in one of those charming chats before the lamp is brought in—it, I presume, being the way of diminishing inequality and increasing human welfare without any loss to the great civilisation of which we are a part, and our houses and carriages and bibelots also a part. Meanwhile, the Huns and Vandals are also thinking how they may diminish inequality and increase human welfare. But, being hampered by no houses, carriages, bibelots, philosophy, philanthropy, or economics, they will manage the business in a less cautious manner. And there will not remain much of our civilisation, of our economists, philanthropists, and philosophers—nay, perhaps not much of Hun and Vandaldom, to record what the Huns' and Vandals' method was. And now, good evening; I see your brougham and the groom waiting for your horses. I think my best way home is by the next city gate."

A few gas-lamps made twilight apparent in the wretched muddy suburb of jerry-built houses, from whose windows floated unseemly rags. Some carters were yelling over their horses, and from inside Rome there came a melancholy jangle of bells.

VERNON LEE

# THE POLICY OF LEO XIII.

## A REJOINDER FROM ROME.

### I.

**W**HEN there appeared in the October issue of this REVIEW the now celebrated article, which professed to weigh with impartiality, for the benefit of the English-speaking public, the policy of Leo XIII., I lost no time in publishing, in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, a criticism of it, which afterwards appeared in pamphlet form in Italian,\* French, English, German, and Spanish. After calling attention to the false and misleading judgments passed by the anonymous writer upon the policy of Leo XIII., I examined all his so-called facts, and taking one by one all the evidences which he gave and all the documents which he quoted, proved, as clearly as I could, that his contentions as to the final aim and immediate results of the policy of our Holy Father were as fallacious in their principles as they were unconvincing in their proofs.

I am not aware of ever having intentionally in the course of my criticism said anything to hurt the susceptibilities of the censor of Leo XIII., and should be very sorry to have done so. And if, seeing "a venerable and beloved superior" shamefully misrepresented and publicly insulted by one who professes to be his dutiful son, "my speech was not always with grace," I find sufficient consolation in the thought that on those few occasions my speech, like that of St. Paul to the sinful Corinthians and of Christ our Lord to the Pharisees, was not uttered in order simply to make my adversary sorrowful, but to make him sorrowful to repentance (2 Cor. vii. 9).

Be this as it may, I do not wonder at the fact, made clear by his latest article on "The Pope and the Bible,"† that my criticism was

\* "La Politica di Leone XIII. e la CONTEMPORARY REVIEW." *Esame Critico di S. M. Brandi, S.J.* Roma: Tipografia Pefani. 1893. All the following references are to the pages of this pamphlet.

† The CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for April, pp. 457-479.

not very agreeable to him, and is held, like his former production, "answerable for much wrath, bitterness, and, I fear, less venial sin." But I do wonder that he should have attempted to refute it, even when, as he with peculiar grace tells his readers (p. 464), "disquieting doubts flitted across his mind whether 'my criticism' was indeed the work of a serious apologist, and not a marked attack levelled by a *cynical satirist*\* against his Holiness the Pope." Still more do I wonder when I see that to refute it *effectually* he found it necessary to fill fourteen of the twenty-four pages of his article with a second-hand German dissertation on the value and necessity of Biblical Criticism, a subject, I submit, totally foreign to "the policy of the Pope," and consequently to the only point at issue.

However, as the author has thought fit to attempt a reply, I too consider it my duty to make, by way of a rejoinder, some remarks on the few pages of his paper which refer to my criticism. As to the remainder, I shall not say one word—first, because Biblical Criticism has nothing to do with the present controversy; and, secondly, because I have no desire of affording the author an opportunity of treating the readers of the CONTEMPORARY, by way of a reply to my censures upon his numerous critico-biblical errors, to another production akin to those which he has already achieved, as interesting and pertinent to the point in question as would be a dissertation upon the transcendental constitution of the Republic of Utopia, or an elaborate sketch of the mediæval customs of the descendants of Cain in the regions of the moon.

## II.

The author's whole reply to my pamphlet may be reduced to the simple formula: *Quod scripsi, scripsi*. He declares, in fact, that notwithstanding my criticism, "each and every one of his contentions as to the final aim and immediate results of the policy of our Holy Father remains absolutely unweakened and untouched."†

It is, moreover, only fair to note that the author, having read my pamphlet and those of others, feels himself in duty bound towards his readers "frankly to acknowledge and sincerely to deplore the circumstance that when dealing with the political events of many years and many countries, the records of which were not at hand at the time of writing, *certain inaccuracies* unavoidably crept into his article."‡

Although, as we presume, our author has examined the documents which at the time of writing were not in his possession, he nevertheless takes very good care not to correct—nay, not even to specify—those *inaccuracies* or slips. Had he done so, his readers would easily have recognised that the so-called *inaccuracies* were indeed enormous historical blunders, which did not concern a mere date, a simple name,

\* The italics in the quotations are mine.

† P. 457.

‡ *Ibid.*

or any other accidental circumstance, but the very substance itself, the existence of the facts and documents quoted by him as proofs of the accusations brought against the Pope; in other words, his readers would have seen the evident contradiction into which the author falls when he frankly owns to those errors, and yet at the same time persists that the whole work founded upon them "remains absolutely unweakened and untouched."

In further confirmation, then, of my defence of the public policy of the Holy Father towards the different nations, and in order to give our author an opportunity of making a full and sincere retraction, I may be allowed to call the attention of the readers of the CONTEMPORARY to the main points contained in my pamphlet, and to the remarks made on them by the author in his reply, illustrating at the same time the truth of my former criticism with new facts and by means of documents as yet unpublished.

### III.

In support of the thesis that by his policy Leo XIII. sacrifices the credit, honour, and welfare of Church and country to the vulgar interests of ambition, the author quoted in his article (p. 462) the example of the conduct of the Holy See towards Germany in the question of the Septennate which was agitated in the Reichstag at the beginning of the year 1887, and met with the opposition of the Catholic party.

According to the author, the Holy See, from a political motive, gave in the first place a counsel to the members of the Centre which "was but a courteous form for a Papal command," to vote for the Septennate, and afterwards a peremptory command, conveyed to them in "a famous letter from Rome," which summarily disposed of the various pleas brought forward by the members of the Catholic party, and "affirmed that the Pope being admittedly the supreme judge of all questions of morals, and politics being at bottom morals applied to the public life of nations, he is therefore the supreme judge of the rights and wrongs of politics."

"On this," continues the author, "Herr Windthorst made what he called *the worse than useless sacrifice*, admitted the principle of Papal interference in politics, and allowed the Septennate Bill to pass." Now the *inaccuracies* of this proof are such as to totally destroy it.

It is, first of all, not only inexact but false that the letters written by Cardinal Jacobini contained an order, either courteous or otherwise. I have read the two letters in question in their original manuscript-text, and have found nothing in them beyond the expression: "That the Holy Father wished it to be given as *a counsel* to the Catholic party of the Centre to vote in favour of the proposed Bill for the



*welfare of the Church, for the religious liberty of their country, and for the peace of Europe."*

These are the very words used by the Cardinal Secretary of State. It is consequently clearly evident that the author's assertion that the Pope, for a *political motive*, morally forced the Catholic party to act against its own conviction, is not an *inaccuracy*, but sheer calumny.

As I fully demonstrated in pages 9-13 of my criticism, the object of Leo XIII. has ever been constantly to strive to repair the damages done to the Church by revolutionary impiety, and at the same time to make known to all men the great comfort of the divine virtue of the Church of which they are in such extreme need.

This and no other was the sole motive of the Pontiff in regard to the case under discussion. He advised the members of the Catholic party to vote in favour of the Séptennate, because he had good grounds for hoping that upon this concession on the part of German Catholics the religious welfare of their Fatherland largely depended. To this effect he had received a formal assurance from the Chancellor of the Empire.

In order therefore that no further doubt may be felt concerning this highly important fact, I publish here for the first time the full text of Bismarck's famous telegram, sent on the 2nd of January 1887 to the Minister of Prussia at Rome, and by that gentleman communicated to the Vatican. Faithfully translated, it reads as follows: "The revision of the Ecclesiastical Legislation in the next Landtag is absolutely certain. This has been our intention from the beginning, and corresponds with the declarations which we have made before."

Concerning this subject, I wish to call again special attention to a highly significant circumstance—namely, that the letter in which Cardinal Jacobini manifested the Holy Father's desire to the Nuncio of Bavaria bore the date of January 3rd, 1887, that is to say, of the *day following* the receipt of the above-named telegram, which, as we saw, bears that of January 2nd of the same year. This fact speaks for itself, and calls for no further comment.

I also accused the author in my criticism (page 39) of having quoted in support of his thesis a spurious document—"the famous letter," which, according to him, put an end to the disobedience of the Catholic party and obliged Windthorst to submit. This letter has never existed. This I stated in my criticism, and repeat again on the best of authorities. The author in his reply keeps the most profound silence concerning this damaging charge. Alas, he has looked everywhere for "the famous letter," but in vain!

Now, if even the forging of a document for the purpose of proving a falsehood is called by the author in his confession an *inaccuracy*, I must confess that I am ignorant of the meaning of that word. Nor can I, in the feebleness of my intellect, understand how a proposition,

the strength of which depends, at least in part, upon that spurious document, may in spite of that "remain absolutely unweakened and untouched."

IV.

This is not the only *inaccuracy* of this kind with which I reproached the censor of Leo XIII. Here is another example. Speaking of the conduct of the Holy See towards Austro-Hungary, "the *Eldorado* of Catholicism," the author (pp. 471, 472) accused the Pope of, treating that Catholic Power with "petty affronts" and with "an unfriendly attitude which is uncharitable and vexatious," and that "in order that the Pope's condemnation of the Triple Alliance might be duly emphasised."

The principal proof of this accusation was the following, which I give in the author's own words: "But none of the devices of this *doubtful diplomacy* is calculated to give a more adequate idea of the utter lack of that tact which is such a universal characteristic of the Ogniben type of Italian diplomatists than the action taken by the Pope's advisers on the death of Monsignore Agostini, the Patriarch of Venice."

It will be noticed that this fact is cited by the author as typical and illustrating better than any other "the doubtful diplomacy of the Pope."

The object of this action would seem to have been to induce Austria to wound the sensibilities of the Italian Government and embroil the two countries in a dispute. "This, in fact," says the author (p. 472), "was the only object that could possibly be attained had the Austrian Government made a formal declaration—as it was requested to do—to the effect that the Emperor's right to present a candidate for the Patriarchal See was an exceptional and purely personal privilege."

Now as I had obtained my information upon this point from a most reliable source, I was in a position to give a full and solemn denial to the gratuitous assertions of the author. The fact is that no such formal request was ever made by the Vatican to the Austrian Government.

The same must be said concerning the "injudicious attempts," which he assures us (p. 471) were made by the Holy See, "to get rid of Count Revertera." They, like "the famous letter" and "the request," never had any existence outside the fertile brain of the anonymous author, and that perhaps of some of his "eminent colleagues."

In answer to the author's assertion that "Austria is so uncompromisingly Catholic that Freemasonry of every rite is rigorously forbidden there," I remarked, not "jeeringly," as he thinks, but earnestly, that notwithstanding the legal prohibition the Freemasons

of every rite possessed numerous lodges in Vienna and in Buda-Pest and in other parts of the united monarchies. Thereupon, the author in his answer (p. 463) writes : " Respect for the priestly office of my opponent forbids me to characterise that statement by any harder name than that of the *truth in masquerade* ; but I do publicly call upon him to retract it, or else to prove it by naming any *one* of the numerous lodges of any rite in any one portion of Austria proper, whether in Vienna, Galicia, Bukovina, Dalmatia, &c."

I am happy to be able to comply with the author's request ; and, to give him another proof of my generosity, shall name not merely *one* lodge existing in any one portion of Austria proper, but four which have existed in Vienna, the very capital of the Eldorado of Catholicism, ever since 1875. They are known to " the initiated " under the names of *Zukunft*, *Socrates*, *Humanitas*, and *Lessing*. But to the profane world, to which I hope my opponent belongs, they are only " benevolent societies " (*Wohlthätige Vereine*). These four are not the only Masonic conventicles (*Künzchen*) or lodges existing in Austria proper. There are others, and, should the author again publicly call upon me to prove the truth of my statement, I am ready to publish them, and explain also " the working " of the Austrian Masons to evade the effects of the aforesaid law.

Now, even supposing that the public denial of a fact generally known both in and out of Austria, together with all the historical blunders which I have already exposed, could escape being stigmatised as " the truth in masquerade," and be qualified as mere *inaccuracies*, still no impartial reader would ever grant that they " unavoidably " crept into his article, unless the author wants us to suppose that it was his *unavoidable* business to outrage the Holy Father, even though he had not at hand at the time of writing the necessary records where-with not only to colour but to substantiate his vile accusations against the Holy See.

## V.

This excuse, however, could not be made when treating of facts, the truth of which the author pretends to demonstrate from well-known, recent, and easily procurable documents. Because when treating of such documents as, for instance, the Encyclical of Leo XIII. on the French question, we must needs suppose that the writer had then before his eyes and in his hands at least those documents from which he quotes.

How, then, is it possible to call *inaccuracy* the fact of attributing to the Pope propositions which he expressly condemns, and designs that are entirely opposed to those upon which the Holy Father, in the very document quoted by the author, repeatedly insists ?

I refer the reader to the clear evidence of this singular fact which

I have exposed in pp. 41-45 of my pamphlet. It will suffice here to recall, for example, that whilst in his Encyclical Leo XIII. bids us remember the important distinction there is between *the constituted Powers* and *legislation*, and expressly forbids French Catholics to accept the Republic *as it is at present* in the sense that that acceptance should also entail the duty of accepting its anti-religious laws, or the antichristian and Masonic sentiments by which it is inspired; whilst Leo XIII. insists upon the necessity of energetic and legal action on the part of French Catholics in order to preserve their religion to their country; whilst Leo XIII. condemns the godless and Masonic Republic which as such strives utterly to destroy in France the religious, domestic, and social order there established by Christianity; the author on his part has "the ethical hardihood" to accuse the Pontiff, first, of having obliged French Catholics "to accept and *profess* the Republican principles which they abhor";\* secondly, of treating them like political Mamelukes by forcing them to remain inactive, and "folding their arms look on with bleeding hearts while the most sacred and holy influences of religion are being turned into a political machinery to support that Government";† thirdly, of "petting and caressing the godless Government of France, whose every act breathes diabolical hatred against our holy religion," and "of systematically pressing into its service the holiest instincts fostered by Catholicism that it may continue to flourish and insult our religion"!‡

This is not all: the author accused Leo XIII. also "*of having abjured in France a principle which he perseveringly labours to uphold in Italy—the principle of divine right.*"§ Now in the very document quoted by him, Leo XIII. expressly teaches that, "under any and every hypothesis, when considered as such, *civil power comes from God, and always from God, since there is no power except from the Almighty.*"

It was in vain that I sought in the author's defence for an explanation of such a monstrous *inaccuracy*. "The blunt outspoken Catholic," as he styles himself (p. 463), does not so much as mention France in his reply. And, indeed, how could he do it, pretending as he does "that each and every one of his contentions"—even that which regards the policy of Leo XIII. towards France—is "left absolutely unweakened and untouched"?

Is this blind, if not deliberate, trampling under foot of authoritative documents to be considered worthy of a scholar and of a fair-minded controversialist, "who scorns to use the poisoned daggers of disingenuous controversy"?

\* P. 463.

† P. 464.

‡ P. 477.

§ P. 465.

## VI.

The author complains (pp. 462-464) of my want of charity in qualifying his assertions as they merit. He thinks it strange that "a venerable priest of our common Church" and "of the respected Order of the Jesuits" should venture to take up the defence of the common Father "against a Catholic and a brother," when he and his eminent colleagues "are moving heaven and earth in Germany to induce the Government to rescind the unjust law which forbids Jesuits to reside in that empire." What ingratitude!

The following words especially seem to have displeased him: "The conduct of the anonymous writer\* *in this* as in other cases is deserving of the profoundest contempt of every reader, whether Catholic or Protestant."

His displeasure must have been all the more grave owing to the fact that in the case mentioned no possible defence could be made by him to save his honour. The specified case concerned a grievous *inaccuracy* which under no circumstances could be said to be *unavoidable*. To avoid it, it would have sufficed for the author to read the document which he quoted, and which his readers had a right to suppose he had at hand and had carefully pondered before venturing to make use of it in his censures upon the probity and wisdom of the Head of the Church.

To show the intolerance of Leo XIII. in opposing the Hungarian law regarding the baptism of infants born of mixed marriages, and to prove the Pontiff's want of wisdom in contradicting the decisions of his predecessors, our author in his article (p. 474) wrote as follows:

"The result of these interesting negotiations [between Canon Lonovitch, sent by Prince Metternich to Rome, and Pope Gregory XIV.] was the Pope's acquiescence in the principle [repudiated by Leo XIII.] that *sex should follow sex*. This agreement was embodied shortly afterwards in a law (passed in 1844) on the one hand, and a Papal brief accompanied by instructions to the clergy (1843) on the other."

Now, as I fully demonstrated in my pamphlet (pp. 60-62), it is beyond doubt that Gregory XVI. (not XIV., as quoted twice by the author, pp. 466, 475), in his brief of April 30th, 1841 (not 1843 as given by the same author), so far from *acquiescing* in that principle, explicitly and absolutely condemns it.

Having in this brief declared what has always been the doctrine of the Church concerning mixed marriages—that is to say, "she has always considered them as being illicit and pernicious"—Pope Gregory adds that if, in some cases, the Church has tolerated them, "it should be attributed to a certain equanimity which is by no means appro-

\* I did not mean any disrespect in calling him *the anonymous writer*. It is the name we give to authors who write anonymously. Is he ashamed to reveal to the public his name and his title?

bation or consent," and, "it should be understood, under the express condition that the children of *both sexes* born of these marriages should absolutely be brought up in the sanctity of the Catholic religion." \*

There is therefore no opposition between the teaching of Pope Gregory and that of Pope Leo. The former repudiates what the latter condemns, and, what is more, uses in his condemnation the very words of his predecessor in the See of Peter. Since the publication of my pamphlet, I have been able to secure the authoritative condemnation of the aforesaid principle, sent by Pope Leo XIII. through his Secretary of State to the Primate of Hungary. The letter containing the decree, unknown so far outside of Hungary, bears the date of September 26, 1890, and is here published for the first time :

"Whilst the Holy See for weighty causes grants a dispensation from the impediment of mixed religion, she requires certain necessary conditions whereby it is provided *above all that all the children of both sexes, born of mixed marriages, be brought up in the sanctity of the Catholic religion.* . . . . Hence it clearly follows that the same Holy See cannot accept or tolerate any solution of the question concerning mixed marriages which does not sufficiently provide for the education in the Catholic religion of *all the children* born of them, and that those who put any impediment to this education violate the freedom of parents and the rights of the Church."

The writer who in support of a grave accusation against his Father cites a document with a false name and false date, and, what is worse, falsifies that document by making it affirm what it expressly denies, is not, most certainly, a writer worthy of respect. He is, moreover, worthy of contempt if, having the documents under his eyes, he acknowledges, as our author does (p. 464), "the printer's error" as to name or date of the document, but entirely neglects to acknowledge his most grievous fault, and omits to retract publicly the false accusation publicly brought against the Pope, his "venerable and beloved superior."

#### VII.

Again, desirous of convincing "impartial readers" of the accuracy of his judgments upon the policy of the Pope, he finds it not only opportune and prudent to abstain from noticing in his reply the preceding points, but even considers it to be useful and necessary to misrepresent some of my arguments, giving them a meaning quite contrary to the text from whence they were taken.

Thus, for instance, in p. 458 of his reply, after declaring me "to have proclaimed the existence in the Church of a hitherto unknown agency warranted to discover and empowered to impose new articles of belief upon the crowd of the faithful," he represents

\* See the document in the work of Roskovany, "De Matrimonii Mixtis," tom. II., doc. 404, p. 811.

me to his impartial readers as the supporter of this new article of faith: "Every Catholic is bound to believe that it is *absolutely* indispensable to the weal of Catholicism that his Holiness should be the kinglet of a few thousands of discontented Italians, as well as the supreme head of the whole Catholic Church."

It is, however, an incontrovertible fact, of which every reader will acknowledge the truth on referring to my pamphlet, that not only did I *not* assert the *absolute* necessity of the temporal power, but (p. 17) clearly denied it in the following words: "Temporal sovereignty is not *absolutely* necessary to the existence of the Papacy, since for many centuries the Pope was deprived of it, but it is required in order that his independence in the exercise of the apostolate confided to him by Christ might *in the present times* be freely exercised and made clearly evident to all."

In other words, if something is not *absolutely* indispensable to the existence of something else, it does not follow that it is not under any circumstances indispensable to its wellbeing. It is not *absolutely* necessary to his existence that a man should not live in exile or prison, since many men have lived in slavery and prison for long years. Yet who can dare to say that under no circumstance and in no case it is indispensable to the welfare of man to live in liberty?

The well-known *inaccuracies* committed by the author were not *absolutely* unavoidable, for other writers less expert than he, although perhaps more serious and *accurate*, have avoided them. Nevertheless, he declares that under his peculiar circumstances "they unavoidably crept into his article."

Hence, for greater clearness and precision, I added in my criticism (p. 17) that "the temporal sovereignty was necessary to the independence of the Supreme Head of the Church, not *quoad esse*, but *quoad bene esse*"—*i.e.* not to its being, but to its *wellbeing*, not *absolutely*, but in the present times.

Taking it in this sense, I said and repeat, that the question, whether, in order to secure such independence, under present circumstances the temporal power be necessary to the Pope, is a question concerning which Catholics are not free to entertain different opinions.

This necessity is not a revealed truth and cannot be defined as a dogma of faith, nevertheless, inasmuch as it regards "the general welfare of the Church and her rights," it has been solemnly affirmed by three sovereign Pontiffs—Pius VII., Pius IX., and Leo XIII.—as well as by the whole episcopate.\* Let the author listen to the words of Leo XIII.:

\* The author (p. 461) seems to think that Pius VII. and Pius IX. are not Popes of *our times*, or that their peculiar circumstances, with regard to the exercise of their freedom in governing the Church, were quite different from those of Leo XIII. For he gravely deems me guilty "of perpetrating an Irish bull" when I stated in my pamphlet (p. 18, note) that those two Popes had like Leo XIII. decided that in the *present times* and in the *present circumstances* the temporal power was necessary.

"It is not a vain desire for dominion and power that moves us to demand the restoration of the civil power. We demand it because our duty and the solemn promises made by us render it imperative, and because it is not only necessary for the protection and maintenance of the entire liberty of the spiritual power, but also because it is evident that when the temporal government of the Apostolic See is at stake, the security and wellbeing of the entire human family is also in jeopardy." \*

## VIII.

Such is the decision of the Church, to which no true Catholic can *in conscience* refuse assent and obedience without detriment to his profession of Catholicism.

There can be no doubt upon this head. Pius IX., in his Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, "by virtue of the Apostolic authority received from Christ," speaks as follows :

"We cannot pass in silence the audacity of those who, intolerant of sacred doctrine, maintain that without sin and without any sacrifice of the Catholic profession, they may refuse assent and obedience to those decrees and judgments of the Holy See the object of which is declared to concern the general welfare of the Church, her rights and discipline, and this because they do not touch the dogmas of faith and morals. How much this is opposed to the Catholic dogma of the full power of the Roman Pontiff divinely bestowed upon him by Jesus Christ Himself, in order that he should feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church, there is no one who does not clearly see and understand."

The same obligation has also been defined by the reigning Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII., in his Encyclicals, *Sapientia Christiana* and *Immortale Dei*.

Notwithstanding this, the author protests and insists (p. 458) that he will never admit the necessity of the temporal power unless "it were embodied in a dogma obligatory upon all Catholics. This, however," he continues, with a solemnity that borders upon the ridiculous, "is out of question, because the apostolic tradition, which is the indispensable basis of all such dogmas, never existed."

The Church, moreover, that would have to make this definition in order to obtain his assent, should be not the *teaching Church*, the agency "the existence of which," he says, "the Rev. Father Brandi, S.J., proclaims," but either "an Ecumenical Council or a Papal declaration *ex cathedra*!" †

In reading this and other theories of our amateur theologian, the famous saying—*Sutor ne ultra crepidam!* came to my lips. But as I do not desire to fail in respect towards him, I will only call attention to the lamentable confusion he makes between a dogma of Catholic faith and an obligatory dogma. The word dogma, which is principally employed in a religious sense, signifies nothing more or less than an approved teaching which serves as rule. Such a teaching is *obligatory* from the very fact that it is the authoritative

\* Encyclical *Inscrutabili*, April 21, 1878.

† P. 459.



teaching of the Church. This, however, although necessary, does not suffice to constitute a dogma of Catholic faith, it being also required that this authoritative teaching should concern a truth revealed by God, and *as such* proposed by the Church to the faithful. Hence, although every dogma of Catholic faith is an obligatory dogma, it is altogether false that every obligatory dogma is a dogma of Catholic faith.\*

The necessity of the temporal power, if it be called a dogma, is not a dogma of Catholic faith, but an obligatory dogma. Our Catholic author, in denying the obligation of Catholics to accept every doctrine authoritatively proposed by the Church, unless it be a dogma of Catholic faith defined by an Ecumenical Council, or by an *ex cathedra* declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff, clearly reveals himself as an adept of that so-called "learned Catholic" German school founded by the late Dr. Döllinger and condemned by Pope Pius IX. in his apostolic letter to the Archbishop of Munich, dated December 21, 1868.

It will not be out of place to state here that this error has been formally condemned in the 22nd Proposition of the Syllabus of Pius IX.: "The obligation which is imposed upon all Catholic teachers and writers is reduced only to those things which are proposed to all the faithful by the infallible judgment of the Church as dogmas of faith."

#### IX.

Among the accusations made by the author against Leo XIII., those are deserving of special attention which concern the conduct of the Sovereign Pontiff towards Russia and Ireland.

With regard to Russia, he accused the Pope of sacrificing the religious interests of the Poles, persecuted by the schismatic Czar, in order to keep friendly relations with that Power.

"The *silence* of the shepherd," said he (p. 465), "while a portion of his flock is being stolen by thieves and devoured by wolves, may spring from the best of motives, but the flock, if endowed with reason, would need a good deal of argument to bring it to view the *inaction* in any such favourable light. And this difficulty would be all the greater if the authors of the depredations happened to be comrades of the shepherd's dearest friend and latest ally." Now, as I had in hand the most authoritative documents that could be desired, I was enabled to expose the absolute falsity of the two accusations of *silence* and *inaction*.

I refuted that of *silence* by quoting the authentic acts of Leo XIII. in his relations with Russia in favour of Poland.

The *safeguard of the religious interests of the faithful in Poland* is the subject of numerous letters addressed to the Emperor, to his Ministers, and to the Polish bishops. At the same time, I pointed out

the repeated complaints made by the Holy See, the many representations sent to the Government of St. Petersburg by the Pontiff, and the extensive diplomatic correspondence intended, not for a political scope, but only to improve the sad condition of the faithful of Poland and to remove all prejudices against the Church.

The Pastor, therefore, did not remain silent "while a portion of his flock was being stolen by thieves and devoured by wolves."

I likewise proved the accusation of *inaction* to be equally contrary to truth, by enumerating some of the facts accomplished by the Pope for the good of Poland; as, for instance, the renewing of relations with St. Petersburg, failing which it was, and is, almost impossible even to hope for any amelioration; the filling of vacant sees; the special stipulations made at Vienna in 1880 between his Eminence Cardinal Jacobini and the Russian Ambassador, M. Oubril, concerning the Catholics of the Caucasus, the seminaries, the Ecclesiastical Academy, and the Catholic College of St. Petersburg; the celebrated formal declaration, obtained in 1882 by the Holy See from the Russian Government, to revoke or modify the exceptional measures until then in force against the Catholic clergy; the decrees of May 12, 1883, and of October 5, 1884, which abolished the eighteenth paragraph of the ukase of 1865, and the ordinance of 1866, &c.

These and many other facts are undeniable, and are founded upon official documents, the authenticity of which is beyond all possible doubt. The author himself does not dare to deny them, and therefore, leaving them "unweakened and untouched," he presents me to his readers (p. 464) as a *cynical satirist*, guilty of having put the Holy Father in the pillory, defending "the unnatural union of religion and diplomacy" which Leo XIII. advocates in his conduct towards Russia, by merely stating in my pamphlet that "the anonymous diplomatist would be beside himself with astonishment were it vouchsafed him to behold the five bulky volumes containing, in the handwriting of Leo XIII. himself, the records of his negotiations with Russia during the fifteen years of his Pontificate." Then, with an air of triumph, as though he had refuted all my arguments upon this, as upon all other points, he exclaims: 'Behold the amazing plea!' and adds (p. 9)—"Can any more conclusive evidence be needed to bring home to the mind of every unbiassed reader the accuracy of my views on the policy of the Pope?"

It is not necessary for me to call the attention of the reader to the disloyalty or inaccuracy of which the author is here guilty. My demonstration related solely and entirely to the two accusations of *silence* and *inaction* which he made against the Holy Father, and therefore, with the original acts in hand, I proved—first, the falsity of the accusation of silence by pointing out what Leo XIII. had said and written in favour of Poland; secondly, I proved the falsity of the accusation of inaction, by naming the facts accomplished by the Pope

towards bettering, in some manner, the sad condition of the Poles. Thus I conclusively proved that *Leo XIII. had both spoken and acted.*

Such was my plain and evident argument. The author must indeed think very little of the common-sense of the impartial readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW when he presents it to them as "an amazing plea."

Before quitting this subject, I wish to declare once more that I do not deny the persecution of the Catholic Church under the Russian domination; on the contrary, I recognise it in all its reality and deeply deplore it. It was, indeed, the existence of this persecution that was given by me (p. 47) as the principal reason that induced Leo XIII. to occupy himself in a *particular manner* so as to make the good and salutary influences of the Church penetrate into the regions of Russia, in the interest of order, peace, and public welfare.

If, however, in spite of the warm and constant cares of the Pope, the persecution still continues in Poland, the reason of this sorrowful fact is certainly not to be found in the benevolent and conciliatory *action* of Leo XIII., but rather in the want of good faith and good will of those who should give the Pope their devoted aid and co-operation.

If, moreover, persecution goes on in Russian-Poland, notwithstanding the friendly relations which the Holy Father has sought to renew and entertain with the St. Petersburg Government, do the detractors of the policy of Leo XIII. seriously think that the persecution would cease or diminish were the Pope to break those friendly relations, publicly ill-treat the Russian Government, and, according to the desire of our diplomatist, "send M. Iswolski out of his presence like a lashed hound"?

Finally, I would observe that, for the validity of my argument, it sufficed to suppose the well-known fact of the persecution of the Church in Poland, and there was consequently no need to bring forward new facts to prove its uncontested existence. All the instances of the unjust vexations (which I do not deny) endured by the Poles, and described by the author in his article and in his reply, were they even all of gold without alloy, would in nowise lessen the force of my argument.

# X.

The author thought he had discovered in the conduct of the Holy See towards Ireland another proof of the doubtful nature of the Papal diplomacy: which "*courts the strong, despises the weak, makes tools of the complaisant, and abandons the unlucky.*"

In it he evidently saw those two defects, which, in his opinion, render the policy of Leo XIII. pernicious to the interests of the Church—that is to say, first, "the development of the Catholic at the expense of the *man and citizen*"; and secondly, the subordination of the welfare of the Church in Ireland and that of Irish Catholics to a

political interest, such as the friendship of powerful England would undoubtedly be.

In support of his accusation he cited in his article the Circular Letter, *De Parnellio*, of May 11th, 1883, addressed by the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda to the Irish Bishops, in which his Eminence Cardinal Simeoni declared that he could not approve "The Testimonial Fund" for Mr. Parnell, and the decree of the Holy Office dated April 23rd, 1883, which declared illicit "The Plan of Campaign" and "Boycotting."\*

In p. 33 of my criticism I called attention, in the first place, to the fact that these documents derived all their force from an unchangeable principle accepted by all Catholics--namely, that to the Sovereign Pontiff belongs, by divine right, not only the office of judging what are the things contained in the Word of God, which doctrine is, or is not, consonant with it, but also "to show that which is right or wrong, and what is to be done or to be avoided in order to obtain eternal salvation."

Besides this, I explained that the questions of the Testimonial Fund for Parnell, as well as those of the Plan of Campaign and Boycotting, were not *political* questions, but *strictly moral* ones, and I confirmed this with the very words of the Irish Bishops in the *Declaration* published by them at Dublin on May 30th, 1888.

Here are their words: "In obedience to the commands of the Holy See, and in willing discharge of the duty thus placed upon us, we desire to put on public record that the recent decree of the Holy Office, addressed to the Irish hierarchy was intended to affect the domain of morals alone, and in no way to interfere with the *politics as such* in this country."

The author's proofs were not therefore to the point, for they concerned, not the Papal diplomacy, but the exercise of the Apostolic authority to "instruct all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever Christ has commanded."

Although he found nothing to say in answer to this, he does not, however, retract the accusation against the Pope, probably thinking that he had done quite enough in merely acknowledging that "some inaccuracies had unavoidably crept into his article."

Instead, then, of answering my criticism, he labours hard (p. 460) to misrepresent another highly important point of doctrine, by attributing to me an assertion, in opposition to the teaching of Archbishop Murray and in contradiction to the oath taken in 1825 by some of the Irish Bishops.†

Now what I asserted as being a point of Catholic doctrine, fully

\* In writing this portion of his article he pressed into his service, without any acknowledgment, Mr. Stcad's letters from Rome, published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* 1889.

† From the documents I have examined it appears that these were the Bishops of Kildare and Leighlin, who, after a long interrogatory upon matters of ecclesiastical discipline, took the oath before the members of the House of Commons on March 16, 1825.

accepted by the episcopacy and publicly taught in all the Catholic schools of Catholic Ireland, was "the Holy Father's right to interfere in political matters whenever they encroached upon the religious interests of Catholics, or were related to faith or morals." Moreover, the only thing denied by me was the statement made by the author in his article (p. 464), and repeated in his reply (p. 460)—viz., that Archbishop Murray or the Irish episcopate had, either in the said oath or elsewhere, authoritatively declared that "neither bishops nor priests were obliged to obey the Pope in any but *PURELY* spiritual matters."

My adversary cannot excuse himself by saying that I did not express myself with sufficient clearness, because, precisely in order to avoid any kind of equivocation, I added in my criticism (p. 22) the following declaration: "I do not think it unfair to suppose that that adverb *purely*, which excludes from the teaching and from the jurisdiction of the Pontiff subjects that are called mixed (because partaking of both, they are neither *purely* spiritual nor *purely* political) was not used by the holy and learned Archbishop, but is a pure invention of the author's imagination."

To convict me of falsehood, there was but one thing to be done, and that was to quote any one of the authentic writings of the above-named Archbishop, or, better still, the very words of the famous oath, and show that the highly important adverb was therein plainly read.

Probably the author did not think of this, or, if the obvious confutation of my assertion came into his mind, he must have abandoned it, for the simple reason that having *now* sought the documents which were not in his possession when he wrote his first article, he did not find them, or, having found them, he did not discover in them the much desired and exceedingly unlucky adverb. His having failed in this is a fresh proof of the accuracy of my criticism that "his accusation was a *purely* fictitious one."

Then again, after long and diligent research, I have succeeded in securing three precious documents which, while confirming all that I have said on this point, vindicate with every possible evidence the honour of the Irish episcopate, always so worthy of the Catholic Church for its inviolable and heroic devotion to the See of Peter, against the gratuitous slander of the author.

The documents are, first, the *original* of the oath taken by Archbishop Murray, and signed by his own hand, at Dublin on the 18th day of October 1824; secondly, the formula of the oath usually taken by Irish Catholics in 1825; thirdly, the authentic declaration sent to Rome by the Irish Bishops, dated January 25th, 1826.

The following is the oath sworn by Archbishop Murray:

"I, Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, will be, from this hour forward, *true* and *obedient* to the Blessed Apostle Peter and to the Holy Roman Church and to Our Lord the Pope Leo XII., and to his successors canonically

appointed. . . . This I shall keep the more inviolably as I know for certain that it in no wise interferes with the fidelity I owe to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and to his successors to the throne. So help me God and these His Holy Gospels. *Ita promitto et spondeo: Ego DANIEL MURRAY, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis.*"

The customary formula of the oath taken by Catholics in 1825 was as follows:

"I, N. N., swear that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome or *any other* Prince, Prelate, State, or foreign Power has, or should have, any *temporal* or *civil* jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, either directly or indirectly, in this kingdom. And I moreover solemnly, and in the presence of God, profess, attest and declare to make this declaration and every part of it, in the full and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, &c."

In Article XII. of the Declaration of 1826, sent to Rome by the Irish Bishops, the following highly important clause can be read:

"The enemies of the Catholic cause in Ireland never cease to insist upon the circumstance that Catholics, by their religion, are subject both in their civil as well as spiritual interests to a foreign power, and that therefore it is essential, for the safety and welfare of the State, that they should be kept in slavery, deprived of all power, privileges, or influence, especially as they live under a Protestant Government.

"Hence it has become urgently imperative for the prelates of that nation to publicly declare that, whilst they and their flock are by their religion obliged to be subject and obedient to the visible Head of the Church in all spiritual matters, they are at the same time in duty bound to be faithful to the civil Government of their own country, and to faithfully fulfil all the duties of true citizens."

It is not necessary to say that the *limitation* added by the author to "*spiritual interests*" does not exist in any of the preceding documents. The only thing refused by the Irish Catholics to the Pope of Rome, as temporal ruler of the Pontifical States, and to *any other* prince or foreign power, is interference or superiority in the *temporal* or *civil* affairs of their kingdom. As for the rest, they declare themselves obliged by their religion to be faithful, subject, and obedient to the visible Head of the Church in all things that he, in virtue of his Apostolic authority, declares, defines, or commands.

In this manner the Irish, sons of the great St. Patrick, have always proved themselves to be his worthy children. As they did for the past so will they for the future observe, with scrupulous exactness and to the edification of the whole Church, the rule received from him: *Ut Christiani ita et Romani silis.* "As you are the children of Christ, so be ye the children of Rome."

# XI.

In the introduction to his reply, the author assures us that he read my pamphlet; but not in the original text, for which alone I declare

myself responsible, but in the *German* translation of it, which, for obvious reasons, he preferred to all others, even to the two English translations published in England and in the United States.

What wonder, then, if he accuses me (p. 462) of disloyalty in quoting his words in Italian which he *re-translates* into English, not from my original text, but from the German translation thereof!

If he desired to give me a lesson of loyalty, before accusing me of ignorance or of bad faith he should have carefully examined for himself, or have employed others qualified to do so, whether or not the German phrases or words upon which he founded his accusation, faithfully corresponded with my original text. Had he done so, he would have been easily convinced that his charge was devoid of any foundation whatsoever.

Thus, for instance, it is false that on p. 5 of my criticism I said he had called the Holy Father "a silly diplomatist." The word "silly" (Ital. *sciocco*) does not once occur, either in that or any other page of my pamphlet. The word used by him was "a MERE diplomatist," and this was faithfully translated in my pamphlet "*un semplice diplomatico*."

It is equally false that in pp. 21 and 36 of the same work I "referred twice to Ireland as to a Protestant and persecuting nation." The misprint which substitutes the word *Ireland* for *England* in the phrase censured by the author is precisely in the German translation, but does not occur in the original text, nor in the French, Spanish, or English versions.

Before concluding this reply, my illustrious opponent will allow me to candidly express my surprise and sorrow at not finding one word in his answer that could in any way throw light upon a very grave doubt expressed by me, one which more than any other involves his reputation as an honest writer, for it places him before the impartial readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW under the unfavourable light of a plagiarist.

In the second part of my criticism (pp. 28, 29) I called attention to the fact, as simple as it was evident, of not only the similarity but the *identity* of the propositions asserted, of the facts narrated, and of the judgments given by him in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, and by his "eminent colleague," H. Geffcken, in the French pamphlet, "*Léon XIII. Devant l'Allemagne*."

This identity is to be found even in the wording, one repeating *au pied de la lettre* in English for five, ten, and even fifteen consecutive lines, what the other says in French, and this without ever quoting each other.

Several examples of this literary curiosity were given by me in pp. 28, 31, 45, 47, 51, 52, and 59 of my pamphlet. For the sake of the readers who have not seen my pamphlet, I shall quote here two specimens:

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Page 464: "The measure of their (the bishops') doubt, hesitation and pain is the desperate attempt which they made to explain it away, and which called forth the further Papal declaration that it was to be taken *au pied de la lettre*."

Page 466: "The Church (in Poland) is degraded to the level of a mere department of State.

"Their Bishops are deposed and exiled without the right of appeal or complaint to Tsar or Pope.

"Dioceses are abolished and are mentioned no more.

"Catholics are excluded from universities, gymnasia, &c.

"Their churches are closed, and if they presume to enter them, they are beaten with whips and transported to Siberia."

Such identity of thoughts, of facts, and of words cannot be explained, as suggested recently by C. Benoist, in *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, by the supposition that Herr H. Geffcken and the anonymous writer of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW are one and the same person.

In any case, I absolutely reject such an hypothesis as being highly injurious to the veracity of my distinguished adversary. He, in fact, both in his article and reply, repeatedly and, I may say, almost *usque ad nauseam*, declares himself to be a Catholic, whereas Herr Geffcken is, and openly professes himself, a Protestant.

Consequently, the only inference that remains is, that either one has copied the other or that both have copied a third *incognito*, and from him have drawn the information and the thoughts so indecorously and indiscreetly appropriated by them.

In the beginning of this article I declared it to be my intention not to say one word concerning the strange theory upon Biblical Criticism laid before the readers of the CONTEMPORARY by our author in his reply to my defence of the Holy Father's policy. Were it otherwise, I could justify the preceding inference and illustrate with more examples of parallelism the easy method adopted by the writer in order to fill any number of pages upon that or any other subject. He must have thought that the works and opinions of Wellhausen and of other German and English critics were familiar only to the few adepts of "the new school," and, of course, entirely unknown to Roman writers who constitute what he irreverently calls "the opaque theological body."

## II. GEFFCKEN.

Page 65: "Ils (les Evêques) avaient tant essayé d'atténuer l'Encyclique par leurs interprétations, qu'il a fallu une nouvelle déclaration papale pour dire que l'Encyclique devait être prise *au pied de la lettre*."

Page 68: L'Eglise est réduite (en Pologne) à un département de l'Etat.

"Ses Evêques sont déposés et exilés sans qu'il leur soit permis d'en appeler ni au Pape ni au Tsar.

"Des diocèses entiers sont supprimés.

"Les catholiques sont exclus de tout emploi public.

"On ferme leurs églises et s'ils essayent d'y rentrer, ils sont fouettés et envoyés en Sibérie."



## CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY.\*

“THE most distinctive and determinative element in modern theology is what we may term a new feeling for Christ.” With these words opens Principal Fairbairn’s new work on “The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.” The statement is strictly correct. The chief occupation of theology for the last half-century has been the quest of a lost Christ, and its present joy and ground of hope for the future is the re-discovery of Him. Christ had been lost in the creeds, lost in the cloister, lost in sacramentarian theories, lost even in the Bible. He had become once more, as at the beginning of His earthly career, “One among you whom ye know not.” Within the memory of men now living there were not a few professional theologians who could not say for themselves as much as the evil spirit of which we read in the Book of Acts. “Jesus I know, and Paul I know,” said the demon. Not so very long ago there were theologians who, speaking according to the fact, would have been obliged to confess, “Paul I know, but Jesus I do not know.” What but such a confession are these words of the late Dr. Duncan (fondly remembered by his pupils as the “Rabbi”) taken from Professor Knight’s “Colloquia Peripatetica”: “I feel that I, with many others, have been disproportionately Pauline . . . were I a younger man, and to begin my studies again, the four Gospels would bulk more prominently in my attention than they have done.” Dr. Duncan was not worse than others who, like himself, followed the Protestant tradition; he differed from most of his contemporaries in this, that with the insight of genius he had a glimmering perception that some-

\* “The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.” By A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London; Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

thing was wrong, while they were so completely under the influence of the *Zeitgeist* as to be totally unconscious of the situation. The ideal description of a clerical library in the 'thirties in the introductory chapter of the volume before us, is not one whit exaggerated. Plenty of works on apologetics of the old type, abundance of ponderous folios on systematic theology, of Harmonies of the Gospels having for their aim to reconcile all discrepancies and make the text square with *a priori* theories of verbal inspiration more than enough, but "hardly a book attempting to conceive and represent Jesus just as He appeared in history." But since then the Christ of history has been restored to the knowledge of the Church. The angelic message has been spoken: "He is not here, He is risen; behold, He goeth before you into *Galilee*, there shall ye seek Him." Multitudes of devout souls have seen Him there, and been satisfied; the beatific vision has been the great event of their lives.

It is natural that all who have had this experience should regard with jealousy all influences which have co-operated to take away the Lord from His disciples. We need not be surprised if they should exhibit a temper at once anti-theological, anti-ecclesiastical, and even anti-Biblical, in the sense of revolting against the authority of the Bible as indiscriminately asserted by scholastic Protestant orthodoxy. Anti-theological they are especially tempted to be, all round the circle of doctrine, and very particularly in reference to any attempt to define anew the Person of Christ, to express in dogmatic formula the divine significance of Jesus for faith. "The incomparable human personality of Jesus of Nazareth we have recovered with much effort and at great cost. But Church histories show us how in the controversies of the Patristic period the manhood of Jesus was sacrificed on the altar of His Divinity, and how for long centuries after the Council of Nice the orthodox attitude was: the Deity of Christ at all hazards, and as much of His humanity as can be retained compatibly therewith. Instructed by the past, we greatly fear lest new efforts at reconstruction of the doctrine of His Person should rob us once more of the man. Therefore we determine to abide by the intuition we have got from the Gospels, gladly confessing and worshipping Jesus as Lord, but stubbornly refusing to be entangled again in a network of metaphysics." Such is the mood quietly cherished by many private Christians, and not without representative advocates among modern theologians of name and fame. All things considered, the mood is not to be wondered at, or unsympathetically censured; nevertheless it may be morbid, and therefore transient.

Whether the author of "Christ in Modern Theology" has ever been in this mood does not appear; what is certain is that he has surmounted it, while thoroughly comprehending its source, and

cherishing kindly thoughts of those who are under its sway. The following sentences show how accurate is his diagnosis of the situation :

"We all feel the distance placed by fifty years of the most radical and penetrating critical discussions between us and the older theology, and as the distance widens the theology that then reigned grows less credible, because less relevant to living mind. Does this mean that the days of definite theological beliefs are over, or not rather that the attempt ought to be made to re-state them in more living and relevant terms? One thing is clear: If a Christian theology means a theology of Christ, at once concerning Him and derived from Him, then to construct one ought, because of our greater knowledge of Him and His history, to be more possible to-day than at any previous moment. And if this is clear, then the most provisional attempt at performing the possible is more dutiful than the selfish and idle acquiescence that would simply leave the old theology and the new criticism standing side by side unrelated and unreconciled" (p. 297).

Nothing could be more reasonable or seasonable than such an attempt at a Christianised theology, for that is the desideratum, and no one has a better right to make it, or is more likely to undertake the task with all the success that is attainable by a pioneer, than Dr. Fairbairn. He brings to the enterprise a very unusual combination of the indispensable qualifications—adequate knowledge, metaphysical acumen, moral fervour, intense though restrained religious feeling, and a brilliant literary style. No fear of so well instructed a writer ignorantly reviving long exploded theological crudities. No fear of a dry-as-dust scholastic treatise, dull and unreadable, coming from his pen. No fear of his forgetting the lessons of the past, and again sacrificing religion for theology, the intuition for the dogma, the ethical for the metaphysical. The prophetic spirit breathes through his pages, and, as in the case of all epoch-making men, behind his theology lies an emphatic religious history. That history is well hidden; only at one point in a book of above five hundred pages does it come to light, but there in so significant a manner as to guarantee that throughout the entire work we have to do with a theology which has its source not merely in a highly speculative intellect, though of that there is ample evidence, but in a devout heart and a deep spiritual experience.

It is not simply an outline of a new theology that is offered to us in this volume. The reconstructive effort is preceded by a rapid survey of the past history of Christian dogma, and by a condensed but luminous and instructive account of the modern critical movement which has made us much better acquainted with the New Testament, and so demonstrated the defects of the old theology and the necessity for reconstruction. Some may think that this long historical introduction, occupying the larger half of the work, might have been dispensed with. "Why keep us so long waiting; why

not tell us at once your views on the leading topics of theology?" But there is no reasonable ground for complaint. One who proposes to reconstruct the theological edifice holds, of course, that there is need for it; and if he is to carry his readers along with him he must justify the assumption by pointing out where the makers of the traditional dogmas have gone astray. Dr. Fairbairn's conviction is that theology should be based on Christ's Person and Christ's idea of God, and steadily built up with materials in perfect harmony with the foundation; and he thinks that the theological development of the past has come short of this ideal in ways which can be specified. Being of this mind, he is not only entitled, but bound to vindicate his estimate of the dogmatic evolution lying behind us, as a necessary condition for the clear understanding and cordial acceptance of his own contribution. This all the more that the presumption, at least in the popular judgment, is against him. It is a very plausible suggestion that at the end of eighteen centuries there can be very little new to be said on the subject of Christianity. Surely, argues the man of average prosaic common-sense, the meaning of the New Testament or of the Gospels has by this time been pretty well explored, and its theological import finally determined! This Philistine attitude of finality is one of the most depressing elements with which the man of fresh insight has to reckon. For as wise as it looks, it is utterly unsupported by the facts of history. If there is anything which the story of the past makes clear, it is the slowness with which thought advances, especially in the religious sphere. One step in a millennium is a fairly good pace for the theological wayfarer. Think of the Church being content for a thousand years with the grotesque idea of Christ's death being a price paid *to the devil* for man's redemption, till at length Anselm came and proposed another solution considerably more rational if not final! Think again what a dreary time elapsed before the Church found out that the Christian ideal of life was not ascetic! Not till the sixteenth century was it discovered that the typical Christian was not the monk, but the man who lived a true, godly, beneficent life in the family, in the State, and in connection with his secular calling; and even yet this is not a universally accepted truth. Consider once more how radical the cleavage which still exists on the subject of sacraments! Nothing less than two totally incompatible conceptions of Christianity is involved. And yet we live in the nineteenth century of the Christian era! With these facts before us, it cannot be presumptuous to think it possible that the Church has not yet fully realised the import of Christ's doctrine concerning *the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of men*, and that there is room for a new improved statement on these cardinal themes and other correlated topics. But the fairest, most convincing way of dealing with the finality attitude in con-

nection with these matters is to summon the records of the past as witnesses, and this is what Principal Fairbairn has done in his historical survey. His purpose in this part of his work is not to give his readers, in short compass and in racy language, a deal of interesting information about men and opinions, though that he certainly has done, but it is to make out a case for a revised statement of Christian doctrine on leading topics, more in consonance with the fundamental beliefs of the Catholic Church which he loyally accepts. This aim he never for a moment leaves out of sight. He has it in view even when giving biographical sketches of epoch-making men—Tertullian, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Strauss, Baur—which, like well-executed woodcuts, illuminate his pages. He portrays men that we may the better understand systems, and get a psychological clue to theological errors.

It is impossible here to summarise the historical evidence in favour of the new theological endeavour; I must content myself with illustrating the method of the argument by one or two samples. Of course all want to know what the author has to say on the theology of the ancient Church. Theological radicals will get a disappointment here. Dr. Fairbairn criticises, but he does not condemn, the ancient creeds which defined the connected doctrines of the Divinity of Christ and the Trinity. He earnestly believes in the Incarnation and in the Triune Godhead. He does not call in question the legitimacy of the development which, starting from the elements of truth in the New Testament, issued in the Creeds of Nicaea and Chalcedon. He does not quarrel with the introduction of the idea of development into theology in which Dr. Newman set the example. He only insists that the idea shall be applied scientifically, not sophistically as a "hypothesis to account for a difficulty"; and that the development shall be conceived of "biologically," as starting from the Person of Christ, and as affecting the whole of Christendom, and not merely a section of the vast society created by faith in Jesus. He regards the evolution of thought concerning Christ and God in the Patristic period as at once legitimate, inevitable, and essentially right in result, yet by no means free from defect. To explain where the defect lay, we must revert to the *biological* aspect of the development. The term points to the fact that, as in the case of all vital developments, there was in the evolution of thought concerning Christ a developing organism and an external environment acting on and modifying the course of development. The organism was the creative Personality of Christ, and the environment in the Eastern Church was Greek philosophy. And our author maintains that the environment exercised more than its due share of influence, and that evidence of this is to be found, not only in the terminology of doctrinal formulations, but, what is more serious, even in the character of the conceptions. It

may be best to give his critical estimate of the Nicene theology in his own words :

"It did most inadequate justice to the theistic contents of the Christian history. Metaphysics had triumphed over ethics, scholastic terms over moral realities. It is hard to say whether the Nicene theology did more eminent service or disservice to the Christian conception of God. In contending for the Deity of the Son, it too much forgot to conceive the Deity through the Son, and as the Son conceived Him. In its hands, and in consequence of its definitions and authority, the metaphysical Trinity tended to supersede the ethical Godhead. The Church, when it thought of the Father, thought more of the First Person in relation to the Second, than of God in relation to man ; when it thought of the Son, it thought more of the Second Person in relation to the First, than of humanity in relation to God. The immanent relations may be the essential and real, but they are not interpreted unless made the basis of the outward and actual. The Fatherhood in the Godhead loses its moral and religious meaning, unless it be translated into the Fatherhood of God ; the Sonship within the Trinity is without its most majestic and gracious sense till it finds its consequent and correlate in the sonship of man. The Nicene theology failed here, because it interpreted God and articulated its doctrine in the terms of the schools, rather than in the terms of the consciousness of Christ. It would have better served the Church and the truth if it had done the first not less, but the second much more" (p. 91).

This criticism must be admitted to be valid if even the preliminary sketch of the religious ideal of Christ with which the author prefaces his historical review be accepted as correct. According to this, what was most distinctive in Jesus was His consciousness of God, the kind of God He was conscious of, and the relation He sustained to Him. God was His Father, He was God's Son. What God was to Him, He desired Him to be to all men ; what He was to God, all men ought to be. Men are God's sons ; filial love is their primary duty, fraternal love their common and equal obligation. But the justice of the indictment against the Greek theology, with its scientific conception of God, "metaphysically rich but ethically poor," will become more apparent when the implications of Christ's religious ideal, as unfolded in the reconstructive part, have been taken into account.

When we pass from East to West we enter a different world, in which Christianity assumes a new guise under the influence of a complex environment consisting of Roman polity, Roman religion, and the powerful personality of representative theologians who have been men of affairs—jurists, magistrates, courtiers, orators—before they became Churchmen. It is not so easy to form a distinct picture of the resulting transformation ; perhaps the statement, necessarily brief on a very large and many-sided subject, suffers from excessive condensation. But enough is said to make it clear that here also the environment has been too strong for the organism, and has given us a Christianity hardly recognisable as that of the Lord Jesus. A prominent place is assigned to the rugged, passionate, one-sided

Tertullian, who was a Stoic in philosophy and a jurist by profession. In the former capacity he taught a materialist doctrine of spirit, turning souls into bodies, so preparing the way for magical theories of ordination and sacraments, and for a dismal doctrine of human depravity whereby all mankind outside the Church, in which alone is salvation, becomes one solid mass of perdition, propagated soul and body by the first sinner—the common father of the race. In the latter capacity he taught a doctrine of Godhead, juristic in conception and expression, and of God's relation to man as purely legal, losing sight entirely of God's Fatherhood, and regarding sinners simply as criminals, not as lost sons over whom a Father's heart still yearns. Then came Augustine with his Manichean dualism and the moroseness which was the natural reaction from youthful sensuality, and developed the germs of Tertullian into a full-blown system of salvation by sacraments, in a Church which was a transformed Roman State, with "the Pope for emperor, bishops for procurators, and the priesthood for the magistrates." Truly an ungenial phenomenon, and a strange outgrowth of the simple spiritual Christianity of Christ, who recognised no official priesthood, whose kingdom was not of this world, and who saw, even in the worst men, indelible traces of the Divine image!

With a swift glance at Western scholasticism, the eye resting especially on Anselm, whose theory of atonement is sharply criticised as a piece of forensic speculation in which the relations of God and man are interpreted in terms of Roman, modified by Teutonic, law, the author passes on to the sixteenth century. It goes without saying that a man of Principal Fairbairn's quality has a hearty appreciation of the Reformation, with its appeal from the Pope to the New Testament, its revolt against an oppressive, dreary legalism, and its reversion to the grand old doctrine of salvation by grace, taught alike by Paul and by his Master. He has a genuine admiration for the Reformers, especially for Calvin, with his imperial intellect and stoic temper, joint factors in producing a system of thought which has been the congenial food of many religious heroes. But the originators of Protestantism took over unsifted too much from Patristic and mediæval theology to be above criticism. Of this, however, space will not allow us to speak, and we must hasten on to conclude our notice of the historical part of the work before us by a brief reference to what relates to the modern critical movement.

The philosophers from Kant to Hegel come within the sweep of the survey; most legitimately, for philosophers, at least in Germany, are nothing if not theologians. Philosophy in their hands is theology translated into metaphysics, or a theory of the universe teaching how to conceive God, man, the world and their relations. The interest centres in Hegel. He is the greatest of the modern philosophers, and

the most recent: his philosophy is still in vogue, if not in the *Vaterland*, at least in certain British seats of learning. Many among us believe in Hegelianism as a system capable of doing important service to the Christian faith. They even think that apologists would do well to state their defence of Christianity in terms of that philosophy. Let them only translate their argument into Hegelian terminology, and as surely as in an algebraical calculation the result will come out all right. In any case Hegel is entitled to the consideration due to one who has greatly influenced the course of modern thought on the subject of the Christian religion. He produced Strauss and Baur, and what have they not in turn produced, the one by his mythical "*Leben Jesu*," the other by his Tübingen theory as to the origin of Christianity and of the New Testament literature? What innumerable volumes on the evangelic history and its great theme, and on the apostolic writings, we owe to these two men: Lives of Christ, criticisms of the Gospels, treatises on the contemporary history of the period in which the Christian religion took its rise, New Testament theologies making it their business to exhibit the various types of doctrine contained in the different groups of writings. And these two men we owe to Hegel. Strauss carried away from the school of the great master the principle that the rational is the real, and applied it to the Gospel history in this way. The Church sees in the historical Christ God incarnate. But we know little or nothing about Christ; His history, on close examination, resolves itself into a series of myths, the product of faith. But it does not matter; the grand idea of the Incarnation remains, and finds its realisation in the human race at large, though not in the individual man. Baur brought to his task another Hegelian principle—viz., that all historical development is but an unceasing embodiment of the dialectic of the idea, and proceeds by the conflict of thesis with antithesis issuing in a higher synthesis, and undertook to show that Christianity was but an example of this law, and the natural product of a collision between the universalistic spirit of Christ's teaching and the particularistic form it assumed in connection with the Messianic idea.

What then does Dr. Fairbairn think of Hegel? He admires him greatly. He is deeply sensible (who is not?) of the grandeur and majesty of his thought. He clearly perceives and frankly acknowledges the immense influence he has exercised, directly and indirectly, on modern theology. He even finds in his system, especially as it bears on God's relation to the universe, "elements of the profoundest truth and insight." But he is not a disciple. He does not use Hegelian phraseology, nor does he accept, though he may be perhaps a little fascinated by, Hegelian doctrines. He makes a profoundly respectful salutation to the great philosopher and passes on his own way as a



believing man. He could not do otherwise. For the Hegelian doctrine concerning God, man, and the world is a very different one from that which he believes in. Hegel taught a doctrine of Incarnation and of the Trinity; he had, indeed, a philosophical doctrine answering to every doctrine in the Christian creed—a *Begriff* for every *Vorstellung*. But the Incarnation of the Hegelian philosophy takes place in the human race, and in the Hegelian Trinity the Absolute Subject, the *Urgest*, is the Father; the universe posited by the Absolute Spirit, by a necessary action of thought, is the Son; and the return of the Great Spirit that objectifies itself in the universe to itself is the Holy Ghost. There have, indeed, been disputes as to what Hegel really meant to teach on these high topics. His disciples have divided into parties on the question, and I have neither the right nor the wish to pronounce dogmatically on the matter. I simply follow the interpretation to which Dr. Fairbairn himself seems inclined. In any case there can be no doubt that Hegel was so understood by the two distinguished men through whom he communicated such a powerful impulse to the modern critical movement.

Of that movement not even the briefest account can here be given. It must suffice to state the final result of the long and laborious inquiry into the Christian origins. We now know that the Gospels are in the main history, not fiction. We have an intimate acquaintance with the man Jesus Christ, as He walked and worked in this world. We know approximately the very words He spoke, and what He taught concerning God, man, Himself, the kingdom of God and its righteousness. We are able to estimate the meaning and value of that teaching by comparison both with contemporary Judaism and with the subsequent doctrine of the apostles. We perceive that He is the one true Master in religion, and the ultimate authority; that in spirit He is the antipode of Rabbinism, and that in comprehensiveness and many-sidedness He far excels even His own chosen apostles. This last point it may seem invidious to state, but Dr. Fairbairn, while expressing himself throughout his work with rare prudence and considerateness, is very explicit here. Of the apostles he says:

“ Their conception of God is, if not lower, more outward, less intimate, or as it were from within; nor does it, with all its significance as to the absolute paternity, penetrate, like a subtle yet genial spirit, their whole mind, all their thought, and all their being. They have lost also in some measure what is its earthly counterpart—the social form under which it can be realised in time, the idea of the kingdom, with all it implies as to the human brotherhood which expresses the Divine Sonship. Their ethics have lost the wonderful searching inwardness yet fine sanity of the Sermon on the Mount; their conduct is more mixed, their tempers are more troubled and troublesome; they so live as to show more of the infirmities of man and less of the calm which comes of the complete possession of God.”

In view of this statement it becomes evident that the great duty of the Christian theologian must be to give heed, first of all, to what Christ teaches in the Gospels, then to carry that teaching, in its letter, and above all in its spirit, into all departments of theology, so that the system of divinity may be thoroughly Christianised, and not remain a heterogeneous compound of notions partly Christian and partly Pagan.

The ground is now clear for reconstruction. The first task of the builder must be to determine what the New Testament says about Christ, and especially what Christ says about Himself. The testimony of Jesus and that of His apostles are found to be coincident, and the result may be summed up thus. The constitutive idea in the consciousness of Jesus was filial. He felt Himself to be the Son of God. But while His Sonship is in some respects unique, it is not exclusive. For He was also, and often called Himself, the Son of Man, brother of men; therefore God is not only His Father, but the Father of all men, whom therefore He called upon to realise their sonship. These spontaneous utterances of Jesus the apostles construed as meaning that Christ was a Divine Being, the Eternal Son of God.

"The idea of 'the Son of God' penetrated the apostolic thought, stamped it with its specific character, created its distinctive theology. Fatherhood became essential to God, sonship to man. Jesus Christ is to all the Son of God, and God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Father is conceived, studied, interpreted through the Son. The men who entered into His consciousness looked at God with His eyes, thought of God in His way, learned to speak of God in His terms, and bequeathed to us as an abiding legacy an interpretation of Christ which was an interpretation of God."

That interpretation of God is the Christian doctrine of the *Godhead*. It is a doctrine of revelation, and can be accepted only by those who believe in a revelation. It is, in origin and essence, an attempt to represent to thought the determinative element in the consciousness of Christ. It exhibits the way in which the Apostolic Church came to think of God in consequence of their believing in Christ. It was connected with a new order of ideas which helped men trained in Jewish monotheism to rise to a higher conception of Deity than that of abstract unity: God is love; but love is social, therefore God must be not only one, but a plurality, a Divine community, within which is an eternal play of reciprocal affection. This Christian doctrine of Godhead, Dr. Fairbairn insists, must be taken in earnest, and made the foundation of theology. In so doing, he may seem to some to rest the superstructure of dogma on the least certain and most mysterious of all the dogmas. Is it certain, such may ask, that the dogma in question can be deduced from the New Testament

by strict exegesis; and as for the *a priori* construction, the notion of love may give us duality, but is it easy to get out of it a Trinity? But there are many who have no such doubts, and who sincerely accept the doctrine of the Godhead as at least scriptural, if not speculatively demonstrable. And to such Dr. Fairbairn says in effect: carry your belief in the Trinity and its implications through your whole system. The doctrine is ethically acceptable if metaphysically abstruse. It makes love the very essence of God, and Fatherhood a necessary attribute. Therefore do not allow this doctrine to remain an excrescence and otiose tenet in your creed. Left in this position, it will be in danger of falling out of your creed as something alien or superfluous. You must make it everything, or it will be apt to become nothing.

In pursuance of this policy we must, in the first place, bring our idea of God into line with the Christian idea of Godhead. That the two ideas should harmonise is obviously desirable, but by no means a matter of course. As Dr. Fairbairn points out, they have to a great extent remained unrelated "in a state of juxtaposition rather than of mutual permeation." "The Latin God has been too forensic, the Greek Godhead too metaphysical, to be incorporated in a single homogeneous notion." "In the Greek theology, Father and Son are so used to denote immanent relations in the Godhead that their significance for man as a whole is, though not lost, yet weakened and impoverished; and in the Latin theology the ideas of Sovereign and Lawgiver are so emphasised that those of Father and Son almost disappear." This is no matter of little consequence. It signifies that man's filial relation to God becomes an unreality, at the best sonship by adoption which, as our author points out, is an empty form, unless man be God's son by nature and indefeasibly. "Before a child can be the adopted son of any man, he must be the real son of some man; and so if it was only by adoption that God became our Father and we His sons, then we could never in any true sense be His sons, nor He in any true sense our Father."

Dr. Fairbairn believes that the Christian doctrine of the Godhead not only enables us to see in their true light specifically revealed truths, but gives important aid in grappling with some of the hardest problems of Theism—*c.g.*, that of creation. First, it compels us to conceive God as in His eternal being *conditioned*, never out of relation; therefore capable of entering into new relations to a created world. Next, it helps us to conceive the creation as a moral necessity for God, and to surmount the serious difficulty involved in the idea of the world as an accident. God as love must have a moral universe (the only universe which has reality for God, the physical being a mere instrument) to exercise His love upon. These speculations are not without their value, but as to their conclusiveness one may

pardonably stand in doubt. Why should creation be even a moral necessity to God, if independently of it "the Son was to the Father the universe"?

We feel surer of our ground when, following our trusty guide, we enter on the domain of theology proper. If anywhere, the Christian idea of God as Father should be of use in connection with the correlated doctrines of *sin* and *redemption*. The problems connected with the former are dark enough, and it is probably due to this that men have been so half-hearted in their acceptance of Christ's idea of God, and have treated the Divine Fatherhood as the product of poetic religious sentiment, and in that aspect beautiful, but not available for theological purposes, and have fallen back on other and sterner categories, such as that of sovereign will. Jesus did not apply His doctrine of the Fatherhood to such abstruse questions as those relating to the origin of sin, and the moral solidarity of mankind; but it is plain from some parts of His teaching that He was well aware of the existence of facts in human experience that make it hard to believe in the doctrine, and there cannot be a doubt that He taught it as an absolute truth to be firmly held in all conceivable circumstances, as He himself clung to it even in the bitter hour of death. Therefore we shall only be acting in the spirit of His teaching, if we dare to think that the Fatherhood of God can stand the strain of even the deepest mysteries connected with the existence of moral evil. Is it asked, how, if the ultimate truth concerning God be His Fatherhood, did sin ever find its way into the world? We must have the courage to think that sin came in in connection with a beneficent purpose which made it worth risking. The Divine Father desired to have a family of sons, and that aim could not be realised without creating beings for whom sinning was a possibility. "Only through the possibility of sin could God have sons, and it may be that only through the actuality of sin could the sons know God." With reference to the moral solidarity of mankind, whereby no man liveth to himself, and all men are mutually involved in the effects of each other's misconduct, the believer in the Divine Fatherhood must hold that that constitution of the moral universe exists in the interest of the law of love. The principle of solidarity has a twofold operation, on one side very dark, on the other correspondingly bright; and the dark side must be interpreted by the bright, not *vice versa*. If in Adam all die, we must remember that in Christ shall all be made alive. And we must remember further that the Christ influence did not begin to be eighteen centuries ago, but was in operation from the first, underworking and counter-working moral evil, so that the "fall" became to a considerable extent an unrealised ideal; was indeed not a complete and separate whole in human experience, but only an aspect or element in a composite economy

ordained for a beneficent 'end. This view, of course, could not be entertained if what is called the "common sin" of the race involved, apart from personal transgression, eternal consequences. That would mean that children dying in infancy must finally perish, unless baptised or "elect." Such an inhuman dogma cannot be combined with earnest faith in the Divine Fatherhood. In the name of that Fatherhood, therefore, it must be discarded as a figment of theologians, and for that one service rendered by the creed of Christ as revived in modern thought we cannot be too grateful.

On these two questions as to the origin and transmission of sin, Dr. Fairbairn has written wisely and helpfully. On a third dark problem connected with moral evil, its future consequences, his utterances are not less weighty. God, he holds, whether we regard His love or His righteousness, can never be reconciled to the existence of sin. He must eternally work for its expulsion from the universe. But how? Two ways our author regards as not open: annihilation of the sinner, and his compulsory salvation. The Divine Father annihilate His prodigal sons! That were a greater punishment for Him than for them. The annihilated sinner would be gone for ever, but it would not be so with God: "out of His memory the name of the man could never perish, and it would be, as it were, the eternal symbol of a soul He had made only to find that with it He could do nothing better than destroy it." Compulsory restoration is equally inadmissible, simply because it is annihilation in another form, destruction of the saved one's being as a free responsible personality, treatment of him as a thing rather than as a person. The traditional theory of eternal retributive penalty is also pronounced unsatisfactory, because, while penalty must be, the Divine Fatherhood not consisting in "infinite good-nature," the penalties of a Father can never be merely retributive or retaliatory. These solutions being negatived, there is only one alternative open: "an eternal will of good, and, as a consequence, eternal possibilities of salvation. God will never be reluctant, though man may for ever refuse."

There is no subject within the range of Christian theology on which devout minds will more gladly welcome a fresh helpful word than that of Redemption. For while the fact of redemption through Christ is earnestly and thankfully believed in by all who hold the Catholic faith, there are many who are far from finding perfect intellectual rest in traditional theories as to the precise theological significance of Christ's death. Nor is this to be wondered at. It is with redemption as with music; music is beautiful to hear, but the theory of music is a very abstruse matter. Even so to be redeemed by the blood of Jesus is a very blessed experience; but to understand wherein lies the redeeming virtue of Christ's self-sacrifice is a problem which has tasked to the uttermost the minds of the

deepest thinkers. It is happily not necessary to salvation to possess a perfect insight into this many-coloured mystery of Divine wisdom, otherwise it would have fared hardly with the Church of the first Christian millennium, which was content with a theory of atonement scarcely deserving the name. Anselm's theory by comparison was scientific, and in one form or another it has been found a sufficiently good working hypothesis from his time till now. Yet it too has failed to give perfect contentment to many minds, especially since men began to take in earnest the teaching of Christ concerning God. Two things in the traditional theory have appeared unsatisfactory—the legal, forensic aspect given to the process of redemption, and the disruption of the moral unity of the Godhead by the imputation, in effect if not in intention, to the different Persons in the Trinity of discrepant dispositions. Christ dies to satisfy Divine *justice*, and God the Father *demand*s the satisfaction, which God the Son, in love to men, is ready to *give*. Would it not considerably improve matters if one could say on Scripture warrant: Christ died to satisfy, or, to use a Scripture expression, to *manifest* Divine righteousness, *and* Divine *love*, and in that manifestation the whole Godhead took part? It would likewise be a movement in the right direction if we could contrive in our theological formulations to take into account the ethical aspect of Christ's death, as due to fidelity to the Divine interest in an evil world, on which Christ Himself insisted in His first lesson to His disciples on the significance of His death. This view brings Christ's experience into line with the suffering experience of the righteous generally, which not less than His needs a theory and a theodicy. The Apostle Paul did not take that aspect into account, but that is no reason why we should not, seeing Christ Himself did. A full scientific theory of the cross might demand a comprehensive answer to two questions: Why does righteousness suffer, not by accident, but with the regularity of a law, in this world? and in what relation does that feature in the moral order of the world stand to the whole character of God? Euripides said that a son of God was never known to be happy, and it is the simple fact that the men who have been emphatically the heroic sons of God have ever been men of sorrow and acquainted with grief. How is this? Is it not because the Spirit of God is in them, and is not their sorrow the sorrow of God; and are they not in all they endure, though apparently accursed, the well-beloved of the Father? It does not follow from this view that Christ's death is not in some respects unique, but the wider survey might tend to prevent some misapprehensions into which we are apt to fall when we regard our Lord's suffering as in all respects isolated.

Dr. Fairbairn has not made the general topic of the sufferings of righteousness a subject of remark, but he has made some helpful

suggestions as to the way in which Christ's atonement is to be contemplated so as to bring it into harmony with the Divine Fatherhood. Among the important points in his statement are these : the idea of law in the New Testament has very little in common with the idea of law in our juridical theologies. The Roman *lex* was not the synonym of the Greek νόμος,

"Hence if a man reads the Pauline νόμος as if it were Roman and magisterial *lex*, he will radically misread it, especially in all that concerns its relation to the death of Christ. 'Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law'; but this was the law which the Jew loved, and which was thus for ever abolished, not the universal law of God. . . . His death was not the vindication, but the condemnation of the law."

Yet Christ's death is a Divine judgment of sin. "It works in the universe as the manifest and embodied judgment of God against sin, but this judgment as chastening and regenerative rather than juridical and penal." In the suffering of Christ the Son, the Father in a real sense shared. "The being of evil in the universe was to His moral nature an offence and a pain, and through His pity the misery of man became His sorrow." Christ's atoning work is "substitutionary" in the sense that it "so does the work of the penal yet corrective judgments of God as to create the very sense of sin and attitude to it that they aim at." "The atonement has satisfied both the love and the righteousness of God." The obedience of Christ is "the cause of a collective righteousness which cancels for the irresponsible and guiltless the evil of collective sin."

In the closing chapters of his work Dr. Fairbairn speaks of the Holy Spirit's activity in Revelation and in the Church. The chapter on Revelation and Inspiration is a closely-packed piece of thinking, of great value, though expansion, if there had been room for it, would have made the statement more easily comprehensible, and therefore more generally useful. It is not at once apparent how the Divine Fatherhood comes in here, but the author holds it to be the theological basis for a constructive theory of the Christian revelation; and it is obvious that the possibility of revelation is involved in the affinity of nature implied in the relation of Fatherhood and Sonship.

The bearing of the Christian idea of God on the doctrine of the Church is more apparent. Dr. Fairbairn's statement on this subject, though brief, is very significant. In no part of his work is he more thoroughly in earnest. He has a deep dislike to sacerdotalism and the idea of the Church which goes along with it. And on good grounds; for nothing can be more utterly opposed to Christ's doctrine of God, and the whole religious ideal embodied in His teaching. Nothing can more fatally compromise the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of men. Nothing is more hostile to the unity and peace of

the Church, or more fitted to separate those who ought to form one fold under the one Shepherd; nothing save perhaps the dogmatic spirit which makes acceptance with God depend on holding right opinions. Dogmatic legalism and sacramentarian legalism are the two great enemies of the Christianity of Christ, the true Antichrists which men should greatly fear. The idea of the Church which goes along with the Christian idea of God is that of a society of redeemed men who are sons of God, and have the spirit of sonship—who are therefore free men, and have direct access to their Father without the intermediation of priestly officials. Christianity as contrasted with Leviticalism is the religion of unrestricted fellowship with God: its symbol a rent veil, and a High Priest who is also a *πρόδρομος*, going as forerunner into the holy of holies, where all believers may follow, instead of standing afar off trembling while their sacerdotal representative enters the mysterious *adytum* in their stead. "Draw near" is the watchword of the religion of the better hope, and all abettors of sacerdotalism are simply substituting for it the counter-watchword "Stand off," and doing their best to cancel dearly bought Christian liberties, and conduct God's people back from Mount Zion to Mount Sinai. Obviously, to the holy brotherhood of the sons of God organisation is a secondary matter, a thing which may be left to look after itself, and can never have any higher importance than that of order and convenience. The people of God are before organisation, create their own polity and officials, which have for their sole *raison d'être* the edification of the body of Christ. Catholicism, so called, reverses all this: makes the secondary primary, reduces God's children to a state of abject dependence on certain exclusively authorised ministers of grace, and ruthlessly unchurches all who decline to occupy this ignoble position. The result is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory. No wonder advocates of the "Catholic" hypothesis, endowed with some measure of humanity and common sense, gladly avail themselves of any feasible way of escape from the absurdity, such as that of Dr. Schanz, who in his excellent work, "A Christian Apology" (vol. iii.), decides that "what are called *bona fide* heretics must, in all fairness and justice, be morally considered members of the one true visible Catholic Church, though they are not visibly in her communion. Thus it remains true that there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church." This is very comforting for poor Protestants. Dr. Fairbairn likens the polity that shuts outside the Church as immense a body of holy men as are to be found within it to that which would "constitute a State by disfranchising its free-born citizens, and degrading them into serfs and helots." Truly a violent usurpation and tyranny! But there are mitigations of the evils under which afflicted mankind suffers. A witty statesman described the Russian Government as despotism tempered by apoplexy. Catholicism, as construed by its most



kindly advocates, is a spiritual despotism tempered by "uncovenanted mercies" and benevolent fictions.

The work of which an inadequate account has been given in the foregoing pages is in every respect weighty and important. It imposes an obligation on the religious community. When a man of Principal Fairbairn's standing, ability, learning, earnestness, and undoubted loyalty to the faith makes an appeal to his fellow-Christians to the effect that theology requires revision and reconstruction on the basis of Christ's idea of God, it cannot reasonably or safely be put aside. Its claim to attention is strengthened by the perfect courtesy and good temper with which the writer's views are stated even when, as in the case of the Church question, his attitude is most uncompromising. Dr. Fairbairn's theological position, is by no means revolutionary. He discards no recognised theological categories, and he adds no new ones. He aims only at revision and correction, and above all, at the breathing of Christ's spirit into theology. The fault of his book in the eyes of many will be that it alters so little. It will much help all who accept the Catholic faith, but it will disappoint those who wish for ever to be rid of the miraculous and the transcendental in religion, and to have a creed based on thorough-going naturalism. Such will have to take up with the "new Christianity" offered to them in the name of philosophy, or find for themselves a new religion not bearing Christ's name, or get on as well as they can without religion. Whether the party of malcontents is to increase amongst us may depend on the response given to "Christ in Modern Theology."

A. B. BRUCE

## THE ANTI-SEMITIC MOVEMENT.

THE first Napoleon prophesied that in fifty years Europe would be either Republican or Cossack. He reckoned without the Jew.

It is now about fifteen years since the first tidings of organised agitation on the Continent against the Jews reached us in England through the daily press. It was only natural that the occasion should have afforded us ample opportunities for contemplating the vagaries of others with that mixture of pity and didactic advice which we have fortunately ever been able to tender gratis. But, however that may be, it is sad to note that our well-meant exhortations have hitherto had no effect.

Professor Heinrich von Treitschke, the Prussian historian, was the first man of acknowledged position to take a serious view of what many then believed to be only a passing craze. It required courage to give public expression thereto. In a series of articles in the renowned *Preussische Jahrbücher*\* he pointed out the growing power of the Jews, their solidarity as a separate caste of foreign race in Germany, their arrogance in the press, their resentment at the slightest reference to themselves as *l'esc-majesté*, whilst daily indulging in unlimited criticism of everything and everybody—these he stigmatised as the causes of the Anti-Semitic agitation. Treitschke foretold an enormous increase of the movement; and his prophecy has been more than fulfilled. That which appeared to be, at most, a temporary agitation has enlarged its area, and to-day the so-called Anti-Semitic movement bids fair to assume international dimensions only second to those of Social Democracy itself.

Already Russia is engaged in ridding herself mercilessly of a Jewish population about equal to that of England in the time of Elizabeth. And it is difficult to see what Europe will do if the Russians persist in their policy of expulsion. Will cruelty restrain them? Cruelty

\* See *Preussische Jahrbücher* numbers November 15, 1879, and following. Berlin.

has never restrained one race in conflict with another, and it is not likely that it ever will. In Russia hardly a day passes but instances occur of unprovoked violence offered to Jews. We have ourselves seen a Russian sentinel striking an inoffensive Jew with the butt end of his musket.

Even on the sunny shores of the Mediterranean lawless passions survive, which many of us fondly imagined died with the Middle Ages. The following telegram from Trieste appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of the 16th of February last:

"The Jewish merchant Balleli, of Corfu, who was formerly established here, was walking in the streets of Corfu when he met two Greeks. One of them carried a revolver, which he fired into the air in order to frighten Balleli. His comrade called out to him, 'Why fire in the air? Lay that Jew low!' Thereupon the other fired again, and Balleli fell dead with a bullet through the heart."

In Roumania the French Anti-Semite, Jacques de Biez, is received with open arms at large meetings, and fêted as a herald of liberation from Jewish thralldom.\* In Austria a Prince Liechtenstein is the avowed chief of an influential party bent on the boycott of the Jews—nay, on their extermination. Parliament and town council are charged with Anti-Semitic electricity, which produces periodical explosive shocks. As we write the Viennese Municipal Elections have resulted in the return of forty-six Anti-Semites, which gives this party one-third of the Council. In former years the Anti-Semites were returned by the lower classes, but at these elections they received a large number of votes from the well-to-do class (*Daily Chronicle*, April 18). A Vienna newspaper winds up its daily matter in the sense of *Ceterum censeo, Judæum esse delendum*. The hatred and vilification of the Jew in Austria are only limited by the capacity to lend them public expression. But it is in Germany that the agitation is most significant. There the Anti-Semitic movement has called forth a complete literature of its own. Thousands of books and pamphlets, accusing the Jew of every imaginable crime, crowd the bookstalls and swell the booksellers' shelves. So-called philosophical treatises from the pens of professors in the North find an eager public, as also do the fanatical denunciations of the Catholic Dr. Sigl in the South. He it is who exclaims, "Never mind, the Jew shall be burnt." Herr Stoecker, the Prussian ex-Court Chaplain, in open Parliament calls the Jews the "scum of the earth" (February 18, 1893). Against this we have—as if to illustrate the traditional diversity of German opinion—Professor Mommsen, who tells us that Anti-Semitism has already thrown back German civilisation a century, and that it represents the sentiments of the "canaille" (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 12, 1893).

Only the other day a member (Herr Ahlwardt) was elected to the

According to the *Almanach de Gotha* (1892) there are 400,000 Jews in Roumania, total population of 5,000,000 souls.

Reichstag whose personal record was such that, but for his fanatical Jew-hatred, he might in vain have sought a dozen votes from one end of the country to the other. At a more recent election still (Liegnitz, February 1893) the Anti-Semitic candidate received 6,586 votes, against 129 recorded at the election three years ago. In short, the bulk of the Conservative party has openly declared itself in sympathy with the aims of the Anti-Semitic movement. The Catholic party are clamouring for the admission of the Jesuits, in order to unleash them upon the Liberals in general and the Jews in particular.

Even the hard-gritted Swiss are beginning to feel the Jew. In response to a petition signed by 84,000 names the Federal Chambers are deliberating whether the slaughter of beasts in the Jewish fashion shall be tolerated any longer.

In France, the one country in which the emancipation of the Hebrew\* constituted one of the first humanitarian triumphs of the Revolution—in France, the one country the Jews themselves have never ceased to land gratefully as their Zion, as the “light” and intelligence of the world—Jew-hatred is spreading by leaps and bounds. The voluminous works of the furious Anti-Semite, Edouard Drumont,† are eagerly read by hundreds of thousands of readers. In Italy, too, the movement seems to take root, as lately evidenced by violent Anti-Semitic articles in the clerical *Italia Reale* of Turin.

In the United States—the refuge and home of the heavily laden, the weary, and the oppressed—significant instances of so-called intolerance are to be witnessed. Hotels advertise that no Jews are admitted. A Jewish lady was summarily ejected from one hotel, although she was suffering from illness. Her husband, a millionaire, started a rival establishment, and sold up the offending hotel-keeper.

On our own hospitable shores the unheard-of, the undreamt-of, has come to pass. The Gothic arches of Parliament have re-echoed with appeals to stop the immigration of the outcast Hebrew. Even a newspaper noted for its humanitarian enthusiasm has joined in the cry, and emphasises its views by articles from the pen of the very man whom the munificent Baron Hirsch engaged to go to Russia and see what could be done for the persecuted of his race.

That the Anti-Semitic movement, as we witness it on the Continent, harbours dangers for the State there can be no doubt. It was to these that Count Caprivi recently drew attention. He pointed out that an agitation which was at present only directed against the Jews might

\* The Jews in France date their emancipation from the decree of the National Assembly of September 27, 1791. But complaints of Jewish usury in Alsace had become so general by the year 1806, that Napoleon imposed fresh restrictions upon them, which finally lapsed in 1816. See *Preussische Jahrbücher*; “Napoleon und die Juden” (Ernst Barre, February 1891).

† “La France Juive,” “La France Juive devant l’Opinion,” “La France Juive et la Critique,” “La Conquête Juive,” “Le Système Juif et la Question Sociale,” “L’Escrime Sémitique,” “La Fin d’un Monde,” &c. Paris: C. Marpon and E. Flammarion.

end in a common crusade of the proletariat against all forms of property. A more immediate danger would appear to lie in the likelihood of the Jews devoting their influence, regardless of higher motives, to whatever party will go with them against their foes. It is a well-known fact that the crusade against Russia which is constantly being preached in Austria is largely the work of Jewish journalists. The periodical writings of Professor Vambéry are a striking instance of this. In home politics the same tendency of the Jews may be traced from day to day, waging unrelenting war against those elements which will not frankly mix with them. This is distinctly traceable in the bitter tone of the Jewish press towards the Conservative party in Germany, which for the moment represents the interests of close upon four hundred thousand freehold farmers in Prussia alone. It is further shown by the curious spectacle presented by the Jews, who at all times were opposed to military taxation, supporting to-day the Government in its demands for an increase of the army. Under the present *régime* the Jewish Liberal newspapers have developed into all but official organs.

It is probable that a Jewish policy of *do ut des* may be witnessed on a large scale in the future. We have noticed something of the kind recently in the United States. The Jews of New York "went solid" for the Democratic party, in grateful memory of certain Jewish diplomatic appointments during President Grover Cleveland's last tenure of office. Not that we would wish it to be inferred that such appointments were undeserved. We merely mention the instance as that of the straw which shows the way the wind blows. The next diplomatic appointments will show whether this assistance has been appreciated at Washington.

Such is a very bare outline of a mass of facts which form a curious comment on our boasted civilisation and its humanitarian progress. Let us endeavour to contribute something towards explaining their source and tendency.

It is only natural that the Jews themselves should attribute this hostility of which they are the object solely to the remnants of prejudice, bigotry, and religious intolerance, lingering on from past ages. And in this they are somewhat encouraged by the Liberal Party in Germany. It is said that the Jews, not being in possession of true equality,\* cannot be expected to show to the full those qualities and virtues which are the outcome of true liberty. And in proof of this these partisans are never tired of pointing to England, where the Jew is not only prosperous, but respectably Conservative, exceedingly

\* In Germany the Jews are still boycotted in some sections of society, and rigorously excluded from the post of active officers in the army, though not from the reserve. In theory many Jews attain the qualification of officership, notably by means of their high standard of education. But the officers of a Prussian regiment retain the privilege of declining to accept any individual they may object to; and this veto is almost always exercised when a Jew, having passed his military examination, comes up for election.

charitable, popular and honoured, inasmuch as he adorns our civic offices, our legislative bodies, even our peerage, and has come to figure conspicuously among the leaders of society.

France, too, has been cited as an example of what freedom and true equality have done for the Jew. France until recently was supposed to furnish the most striking exemplification of the truth of the trite saying, "Each country possesses the Jews it deserves." To-day this reference is apt to prove a two-edged sword, having regard to the prominence of sundry German Jews among the many people implicated in the Panama collapse. Thus has even an enterprise, intended to link worlds together, resulted in creating additional antagonism towards a race.

## II.

It is perhaps from the year 1848 that we may date the starting-point of the latest development of commerce and enterprise on the Continent. It has resulted in the gradual social and material emancipation of whole classes which had hitherto led a life of simplicity and frugality. It heralded the expansion of the "public" as we see it to-day. Cupidity and the love of luxury have increased among all classes out of all proportion to the means of gratifying them, particularly during the last twenty years.

The gradual removal of frontier restrictions, the improvements in means of communication—notably, the universal use of the electric telegraph—have practically brought the whole world into an undreamt-of propinquity and closeness of competition. The strong rise and the weak fall by the roadside as never before in the history of man. The "sweater" and the "sweated" begin to occupy the attention of legislators. "The wars of the future will be wars of tariffs," Lord Salisbury tells us. And this means, wars for bread.

To-day money is no longer earned, as of yore, but largely—*won*. Application and industry have become of secondary importance, as means to success, compared with the instinct which enables men to "corner" an article or "rig" a market, and win or lose a fortune in a week. The mental requirements of such a struggle become more and more severe; its conditions infuse a feverish fire and unrest into the blood, against which only the strongest can bear up. We note the evolution of a new type of fighting man: "the Manipulator!" that is to say, the *Exploiter*,\* the Promoter, the Amalgamator, the Floater, the Inflator, the Expander, the Puffer, the Wire-puller, the Rigger, the "Worker" (in the sense of the mover, the winder-up of a clock)—a kingly type of our time. And what is more, he is met with successfully at work in nearly every walk of life; in politics, literature, learning, science, art, and, above, all, in journalism and in commerce.

\* The English language does not possess the exact counterparts to the French words—*exploiter*, *exploiteur*, *exploitation*.

Of this type, the Jews furnish in proportion to their number, by far the highest percentage, at least, among Continental nations. They are not only the most eager combatants, but they are the most seaworthy in the storms of our latter-day life.\*

Where the arts of advertisement are yet in their infancy the Jew is the principal advertiser and almost the only advertising agent. None understand the public as the Jew does, for he stands apart from it—yes, at times soberly above it—and surveys it pathologically. He dominates the Press on the Seine, the Spree, and the Danube. For he possesses the self-assurance, the suppleness and alertness of mind needful for success in journalism in an extraordinary degree. The great international telegraphic news companies, Reuter and Wolff, &c., are the property of the Jew. He rules the money and the produce markets. It is only as a landowner and a manufacturer that he is still comparatively in the background; for, with all his natural gifts, he seems deficient in the qualities necessary to success in these fields, notably in the bent and capacity to control labour. It may be that these callings are uncongenial to him, because they set irksome limits to his speculative temperament. On the other hand, the purveying of popular amusements, notably of the drama, is almost entirely in his hands. He supplies the capital, the impresario, the performers, the critics, and the wealthy audience as well. His *flair* for that which will “take” with the public is unrivalled in every department of national life. Moreover, although living to some extent under a social ban, individually he manages to secure a large amount of social recognition, titles, and decorations. The consulship of the great and lesser Powers is almost entirely in the hands of Jews. The Consuls-General of Great Britain in Frankfort and Vienna are Jews, and the recently deceased Consul-General at Berlin was also a Jew. The learned professions are filled with Jews, as is, in fact, every profession that leads to “getting on.” A large percentage of the lawyers and judges of the different courts are Jews throughout North Germany. At a recent examination in one of the Prussian classical schools (*Gymnasien*) the item of religion fell into abeyance, because all those who came up for examination were Jews. Thus they supply an abnormal and daily increasing proportion of the intellectual fighting material of the country.

Jewish families crowd the best hotels in the summer watering-places. They supply the greater number of the first-class passengers who travel to and from the Continent and America. They are always travelling on business or for pleasure. The rival steamship companies

\* The large proportion of the Jews engaged in occupations involving exceptional tension of the nervous system may be inferred from the high proportion of Hebrew lunatics. Thus, although the Jews on an average are the longest lived of any race, yet, according to Lombroso, they furnish six times as many lunatics to Continental asylums as any other people (*vide* “Men of Genius,” C. Lombroso. London: Scott. 1892).

of Bremen and Hamburg fit up their steamers with ever-increasing luxury, mainly with an eye to Jewish patronage. What the Jewish element means in Germany may be judged from a few facts. In Berlin their number has increased from 45,464 to close upon 100,000 in eighteen years. Most of the palatial private houses in the Thiergarten are the property of Jews. In the Bellevue Strasse—one of the finest streets in Berlin—there are said to be only three houses left which do not belong to Jews. In short, it would only need the Press to possess the power\* it has in England, the entry to society and to Parliament to be easily open to the blandishments of wealth,† and the army to be as freely open to Jewish energy as other professions already are, for Imperial Germany to be completely under Jewish dominion. Thus there are at the present only three exceptional features of German life which militate against a Hebrew predominance of Germany, not only in a financial sense, but in every other sense. And what makes this state of things the more surprising is that whereas Freemasonry is a large element in the success of the social and financial manipulator in America, on the Continent it is far less so. The Jews are the most zealous Freemasons in the world‡; but in Austria (not in Hungary) Freemasonry is prohibited, and thus this enormous leverage is entirely wanting to account for their success, for instance, in Vienna. The Jew is possessed of an instinct of solidarity which can even dispense with the cement of Freemasonry. Community of persecution supplied it in the past with a fellowship which is now one of the sources of Jewish power in every walk of life. This is seen most strikingly in the Press, though it is scarcely less evident in commerce, where the extent to which the Jews assist one another financially is unique. The disclosures of Jewish bankruptcies often show how ruin has been the consequence of an incredible amount of misplaced confidence among the bankrupt's own relations.

In the Press the Jews in many places form an iron "ring." Every production of a Jew, be it literary, dramatic, or artistic, is noticed at once and if possible puffed into fame—practical Freemasonry on a liberal scale. Manipulation is rampant all along the line. And success here is rendered all the more easy by the notorious want of enthusiasm which has ever characterised the Germans towards talent of their own. See Goethe and Schiller's opinion on this subject.

\* We hold it on the authority of H. von Treitschke that the Press in Germany does not possess the power it wielded a generation ago, and that its want of influence is directly owing to the general knowledge that it is so largely in the hands of the Jews.

† Strange to say, neither the possession of wealth, nor the disbursement of charity, has as yet any influence in securing election to the Reichstag. The majority of the members are essentially poor men.

‡ Freemasonry offers some explanation of the extraordinary commercial success of the Jews among the keen Americans of the Eastern States. The Jews own forty-nine synagogues in New York City and several hundred millions of dollars in landed property.



The Jews are often far fairer towards them than they towards themselves.

In the more commonplace walk of commerce, as distinct from that of the high regions of "manipulation," the latter half of the nineteenth century found the Jew also armed with superior weapons. Leaving entirely out of consideration his all-round ability and toughness of fibre, our time found him with centuries of commerce in his blood—like the English and the Dutch\*—an aristocrat in this point—calm, self-possessed, and above all free from weakening vice. Our time found the populations of Central Europe engrossed in bureaucracy, the career of arms, handicraft, and the tillage of the soil. They were *parvenus* in commerce, in the same sense as the Jews are still largely *parvenus* in society. Consequently they were awkward, even when cunning, and full of narrow ideas. They had little notion of the ethics of commerce -- for there are such, and the Jews practise them far more than they receive credit for. It is admittedly dangerous to generalise, but we cannot help reviewing our own impressions on this subject after an acquaintance of many years with commerce and its votaries on the Continent. If we were inclined to take the word of a man as his bond in a business matter we should, as a general rule, after that of one of our own countrymen, be tempted to take that of a Jew before that of a man of any other nationality. In the words of one who, like ourselves, had had ample opportunities for knowing: "They will all endeavour to get the better of you, but if you have a Jew's word to a bargain you are comparatively safe." To quote a German author: "The German is short-sighted, whereas the Jew is far-seeing in his selfishness." And that there is something to be said for this view we may instance the large amount of public confidence enjoyed by the Jewish banker on the Continent. What lends significance to this is, that small investors are in the habit of blindly following the advice of their bankers in matters of investment. And whilst on this subject, it may be observed that for many years now the speculative securities of the Berlin money-market, in the floating of which the Jews are largely instrumental, have compared favourably in stability with those floated by the Aryans in sundry other places. In that wide domain also in which the principle of *manus manum lavat* is the guiding one—the *Leitmotif* of conduct—the Jew is eminently reliable, it might even be added, at times unscrupulous, if only we possessed a sure standard of our own scrupulosity.

It stands to reason that if such were not the case, with all his other qualities, the Jew could not hold the strong position he maintains. Nor must we overlook the fact that by his enterprise he

\* It may be cited as a remarkable proof of the commercial hardness of the Dutch that, whereas the Jews and the Chinese are successful as merchants at Hong Kong, Shanghai, Rangoon, &c., they, neither the one nor the other, can gain a foothold in the Asiatic Dutch colonies.

has largely assisted the growth of commercial prosperity which, but for Jewish business aptitude, might never have attained such dimensions—notably in Berlin.

All this points to the Jew as the successful commercial man *par excellence* on the Continent. And, therefore, he is the object of the envy of the unsuccessful, where all are equally eager for success. Let him who doubts consult the records of the "crash" in Berlin and Vienna at the beginning of the Seventies. He will find that the highest nobility in Prussia, and some of the purest Aryans in Austria, were implicated in as shady transactions as those which are now occupying the attention of our law courts—in which, be it noted, hardly a single Jew is concerned. And if there be some Christians who disdain to ply the manipulative arts that lead to wealth, so there are such among the Jews. There are those who strike out an independent course and seek the gratification of a high aspiration above mere wealth and the applause of their fellow-men. Have we not seen that most gentle and unselfish of men, Emin Pasha, decline the honours of publicity, and waive the welcome of a hundred cities, only to tramp back into the Dark Continent to—die? Nor can we lose sight of the strong current of spiritual idealism which has ever characterised the choicer minds of the Jewish race from Isaiah to Spinoza. "I sell the work of my hands," cried the poor glass-cutter of Amsterdam. "But the work of my brain I hold for myself," added the proud Pantheist—the shunned of the Synagogue.

In the villages of Eastern Prussia, Silesia, &c., the Jew is the universal provider of the place. He supplies everything, from a smoked herring, or a ball of thread, to a barrel of petroleum. The very name of Jew is synonymous with dealer. Race prejudice notwithstanding, the villagers deal with him in all confidence. Of a summer evening, when the dissolute Polack labourer or artisan sits at the bar, consuming fiery potato spirit, you can see the little Jew trader tilling his back garden as the sun goes down. His son is standing by his side; he is home from the University where he has studied medicine: he has taken his degree *summa cum laude*. He spends his holidays roaming about the village, and is said to have cured many cases which have baffled the village practitioner. He is highly spoken of. Next year, they say, he will be appointed to an extraordinary professorship. Ah, then the reward will come, when he stands proudly erect in the *aula* of the University. His old father and mother will come to the capital, to be present at his installation and witness his triumph.

### III.

Thus exceptional fitness, in the face of tremendous odds, in the battle of life—as it is waged to-day—is the secret of the wealth and the power of the Jews on the Continent. They are somewhat the

counterpart of the clean-shaven, taciturn Auvergnat of France, of the sallow Yankee of the Eastern States, of our North-countrymen who culminate in the canny Aberdonian, supplying our legal luminaries, our merchant princes, our banker magnates, our successful newspaper proprietors, and our patent-medicine men—these the sharpest blades in the fighting of our latter-day battles.

But still they are unlike, for the Jews stand by themselves: a separate group in constant full view: of different type and customs: a distinct race: a pushing, wealthy minority unable or unwilling to amalgamate with and lose itself in the majority. Thus all their marked characteristics stand out in bold relief as those of no other part of a community except the Negroes and Chinese in America. Well might we in connection with this speak of the "fierce light that beats upon a Jew."

The success of the Jew is not only the main cause, but generally speaking, to some extent the exact measure, of the hatred he inspires. On the Continent he is to the upper classes and a part of the middle classes what these in their turn are to the Social Democrats and the Anarchists: the most successful development of the conditions under which we live, and against which the future is unfurling the flag of rebellion.

This isolation of the wealthy influential Jew, and the peculiar instincts of his race, are the sources of the social side of the Anti-Semitic movement. They form the great barrier against the one solution of the difficulty suggested, viz., absorption of the Jews by the majority. This applies particularly to countries such as Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, where the Jew is present in such numbers\* that absorption is hardly conceivable without a perceptible change in the whole character and civilisation of the race. Though it is only fair to state that the German nobility has already largely intermarried with Jewish elements. The difference of character, based on difference of race, and emphasised by an antagonism of centuries, cannot be got over by mere enactment of laws—however Liberal. It breaks out ever afresh. As the Jew grows more powerful, his innate instinct for dominion becomes stronger, and his efforts to subdue those who are aware of his instincts and afraid of them, are met by ever-recurrent hatred. The Russians are keenly alive to the aggressive character of the Jews as a race—all tough races are aggressive—and, being accustomed to treat *la haute politique* in sections of centuries at a stretch, they have come to envisage the possibility of the Jews becoming their masters in time, and, to nip this prospect in the bud, they are going to get rid of them. The Russians are apparently afraid of the possible

\* There are about 600,000 Jews in Germany, and 1,650,000 in Austria-Hungary; and there are said to be between four and five millions in Russia.

result of the undisturbed survival of the fittest with its Submerged Tenth, Fifth, &c. Some people think they have good cause to be so.

The solution of the Jewish question by absorption has already occupied the attention of thinkers on the Continent. In a recent number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Feb. 15) M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu states his opinion that the Jews will amalgamate with any nation which gives them a chance of doing so. But he omits to cite instances from the past to prove his contention. Herr von Treitschke suggests that the Jews should cease to feel themselves a separate caste, and should lose themselves in the German nation, as they are said to have done more or less in France and England. But he also points to the difference in the two cases, and the difficulties resulting therefrom. In the first place, the number of English and French Jews is comparatively very small. England and France possess, besides, a far older and tougher national homogeneous civilisation than Germany and Austria. Besides the English, the Americans, and also the French, produce types perfectly well able to take care of themselves in the struggle for existence with the Semite. For it is not Liberal conditions of toleration that set a limit to the competition of the Jew, but hardness of grit—where this fails Jews soon appear in victorious numbers, if there is anything to conquer. On the other hand, the very weaknesses of the German character have, according to Herr von Treitschke, brought on the intellectual domination of the Jews. The passage in question from this source is well worth quoting :

“ Our indolence and dulness might learn much from the economic virtues of the Jewish race. Instead of this we have been only too susceptible to the foibles and diseases of the Jewish element. Our cosmopolitanism met that of the Jews halfway, our love of criticism enjoyed the inciting style of the Jewish scandal-mongering press. A people of firm national pride would never have allowed the coarse vituperation (*Schmähungen*) of the successors of Börne to take effect; a people with firmly constituted manners would have known better how to guard its language from the inroads of Jewish witty coarseness.”

And this testimony from the militant national historian of Prussia ! \*

Something of this characteristic weakness is strongly evident in the conduct of many of the Anti-Semitic agitators. They flounder about in their statements of fact, and are regularly worsted in the law courts. They lack intellectual accuracy and reliability—the morality of exactitude—and become only too often the weak-kneed practisers of slander without any of the mental or moral resources which enable the Jew to practise successfully.

Moreover, the Jews are now so powerful in the centre of Europe

\* Herr von Treitschke further states that young Jews enter Germany from Poland selling old clothes, and in a few years come to influence public opinion as journalists. But he omits to draw the inevitable conclusions from such startling facts.

that a fresh increase in their number will tend to still further accentuate the qualities of aggression and pride which have characterised them for two thousand years or more. They would then be no longer content to lie down in lamb-like humility, as the tolerated, or even as equals. Their spokesman and historian, Professor Graetz, exclaims exultingly: "The Jews are recognised; it only remains for the spirit of Judaism to be recognised as well."

Judaism as a religious community having been recognised long ago, this demand can only mean a demand for the recognition of Judaism as a separate community within a nation, and to this Professor von Treitschke laconically replies: "Never."

Whether the Jews will persist in the pursuit of such an ideal, the future alone can tell; in the meantime, it is ominous that the number of Jews who embrace Christianity has decreased since their emancipation. It is practically certain that this unforgetting and unforgiving race will never cease its veiled hostility against the existing order of things anywhere so long as an atom of social ostracism attaches to it—such as, for instance, in Germany the exclusion from active officership in the army. In the words of another writer (Robert Hessen, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Nov. 1889), "As long as the Jews do not find it to their advantage to become national in their feelings, so long every exhortation and every measure will be in vain." It is equally certain that, as long as the Jews inspire envy and fear combined, this enmity will not die out. For the fear is that with increased advantage their power would increase all the more. Thus the outlook is anything but cheerful.

There lies a strange retribution of history in the fact of so much mutual vilification and falsehood marking the antagonism to which the Jews are subject. The Old Testament, in so far as it deals with historical matter, is one continuous vilification of the Gentile and exaltation of the Chosen People. The latter are the "good," the "favoured," the "chosen"; the former are the "unclean," the irreclaimable worshippers of Baal.

To-day the Jews seem more intent on the blackening of the character of the Anti-Semitic leaders than on any more practical method of dealing with the sentiment of the hour. It does not occur to them that the more that can be said against the integrity of some few of their opponents, the more cause there is to fear what may take place in the advent of leaders of unblemished character. And that these are already to be met with, even if they be fanatics, none but the blindest would deny. The redoubtable Herr Stoecker may be a fanatic, he may lack the high attributes of a reformer, but to assail the honour of such a man, of one who has forfeited a coveted Court sinecure in order to plunge into a strife in which he can gain nothing but contumely, is to do that which will inevitably recoil on

his assailants. Who would decry the personal character of the "mild" Reformer, Melancthon? And yet we are informed that he adjudged a man worthy of the stake who would deny the Holy Trinity! It must be a consolation to the persecuted to know that the zeal of fanaticism is bound to die of inanition unless there are persons to translate its seed into Altruism. The Jews would be better advised if they took their stand boldly on the real issues. They might even take the trouble to realise that there is such a thing as an antagonism towards the excrescences of Judaism as perfectly consistent with the highest respect for the individual Jew, and that this respect can be justly claimed in return—in fact, that it will not pay in the long run for the Jews to withhold this tribute from an honest opponent. The annoyance to which they are individually subject is but one of the inevitable consequences which, in all great upheavals, strike "good" and "bad" alike. War is never "nice," although we distinguish between "wicked" and "righteous" wars, according to the side we happen to represent. The Anti-Semitic movement looks suspiciously like war of some kind.

Our average reading of history is apt to be defective, even where it repeats itself. Thus past centuries, viewed from a distance, slide into each other like the "cylinders" of a telescope. Time fore-shortens our perspective. We fix our minds on sporadic outbreaks of violence in the past, and are apt to forget the periods of peace that lie between them. Every manifestation of force is curtly condemned as barbarism. We pin our faith to words such as "Tolerance," "Enlightenment," "Humanity," and the Jews are never tired of repeating them after us. Our ancestors were not, except in rare instances, learned in hypocrisy wherewith to veil their motives. Nor did they expound broad theories respecting the natural instinct of races to expansion and self-assertion; they merely followed blind impulses of self-interest which have not died out of humanity yet.

Who knows, but perhaps our descendants may cite the boycott of the Chinese coolie in Australia, the extermination of the North American Indian, the Australian aborigines, the ruthless massacre of the Pampas Indians in Argentine, as instances somewhat analogous to their forefathers' repeated but unsuccessful persecutions of the Jews.

#### IV.

But there are deeper causes still to account fully for the antagonism felt towards the Jews—at least as far as Central Europe is concerned. Where this sentiment is shared by the more intellectual sections of society it is not Jewish success alone, nor even the ostentation which often accompanies it, but its outcome; the uses to which

the Jews are accused of putting their power—notably in the Press—the consequent fear of what it will all lead to. Thus, among the causes which have tended to increase German Jew-hatred must be reckoned the number of Jews prominent among the subversive Socialists. People say: “We have emancipated this race, only to find it ridiculing our institutions and furnishing apostles who preach the downfall of the Germanic State—Marx, Lassalle, and to-day Singer, the Berlin Socialist.” It is a significant fact that, whereas a Scotchman is the founder of our modern political economy, two Jews should be the prophets of that which is aimed at its subversion. Karl Marx is the father of the delusive theory of “values.”

Yes, the noisy manifestations of Anti-Semitism are but the coarse outer shell of a deeper inner revolt of many against the materialistic tendencies of our age and their results: the gospel of “getting on” at any price and its accompaniments—arrogance, ostentation, vulgarity, heartlessness, and neglect of every moral principle. The haughtiness of the victorious *soldatesca* of old is reproduced by the victors of to-day, Christian or Hebrew, in the ostentation of the *parvenu*—the dragging through the mud of every ideal and of every hallowed name, the lowering of every art down to the standard of grocery, that must yield its commission.

Fifty years ago Karl Marx, with the discernment of genius, exclaimed: “When society succeeds in eliminating manipulation (*Schacher*) and all that is connected therewith—then the Jew will become impossible. . . . The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism.”

In a similar sense to-day high-minded men express themselves, even from among the Jews. For there have at all times been no greater enemies of Judaism than the idealists among the Jews themselves. It was a learned Jew\* who lately struck the keynote by declaring that the Jewish question is above all an ethical question. “Yes,” he says, “there is such a thing as race-hatred existing which needs no artificial stirring, but which springs up spontaneously without political reasons to excuse it.” And he instances the American jealousy of the Chinese coolies of San Francisco. But the Jewish question is neither entirely a question of race-rivalry nor of “bread-envy” (*Brodneid*). Men of this stamp are far too clear-headed not to see, and too fearlessly honest not to admit, that the appeal to prejudice and selfish passion *alone* could never have produced the state of Anti-Semitic feeling which prevails on the Continent. The mob might howl, but it would lack leaders.

That which lends its higher character to Anti-Semitism—not to be culled from a cursory perusal of the daily press—is that it has come

\* “Die Judenfrage: Eine Ethische Frage.” Dr. Leopold Caro. Leipzig: Grunow. 1892.

to be partly identified with a powerful intellectual and moral upheaval. There is a spirit of restlessness abroad—a feeling that something is wrong and must be put right; a sentiment of dissatisfaction by no means confined to Germany alone. Again it is a Jew, the same authority quoted above,\* who expresses himself in the following words:

“Like Ibsen’s ‘Enemy of the People,’ I, too, have spoken of our *bourgeois* society as living on the mephitic soil of falsehood; I, too, have pointed out that a source of our spiritual life is being systematically poisoned; I, too, have been obliged to expose myself to the anger of the mob, because I held it to be my duty not to conceal the truth when once recognised—but to speak out openly. And if, like Dr. Stockmann,† I should be deserted by all in consequence, I would still stand by the banner of Stockmann and repeat his proud words: ‘The strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone.’”

This feeling has its forcing-ground in the Universities, beneath the vulgar passion which exists there too. And this supplies the best argument for believing that we have not to do with an evanescent manifestation, but rather with a far-reaching movement, the influence of which is likely to reach beyond the limits of time and place. It may be even said to be Anti-Semitic only, because it is directed against the Jews as the most successful representatives of *that* which many are inclined to believe foreshadows the decadence of character in the nation. There are men who aver to day that the defeat of Jena was morally a greater benefit to Germany than the Battle of Sedan! It is significant to note that the countrymen of Goethe have lately taken to reading popular editions of Professor Drummond’s writings among others of similar tendency.

This ethical phase of the Anti-Semitic movement was perhaps most powerfully set forth by the appearance of an extraordinary book some three years ago. It is entitled “Rembrandt ‡ as an Educator,” and it has passed through more than forty editions in this short space of time. The anonymous author, writing in the peculiar style typical of German didactic writers, is undoubtedly a man of ideas, of lofty spirit, and noble aims. Stripped of a certain unconscious arrogance, the main gist of his exhortation lies in the recognition of the necessity for a re-birth of individual character. He commends the culture of “art” and of modest simplicity of mind as needful in order to struggle successfully with the materialism of the present day. All nations of Teutonic, Scandinavian, Dutch, and English race are exhorted to stand together against the influence of the

\* “Die Judenfrage: Eine Ethische Frage.” Dr. Leopold Caro. Leipzig: Grunow. 1892.

† Dr. Stockmann: the character in Ibsen’s play, the “Enemy of the People,” which embodies the revolt against conventionality.

‡ “Rembrandt als Erzieher.” Von einem Deutschen. Leipzig: E. L. Hirschfeld. 1890.



pernicious Celto-Roman and of the Jew in literature, thought, and conduct.

That there is ample room for ethical reform in Germany is further illustrated by a pregnant passage from the work of a rabid German Jew-hater : \*

"The Jews are only a transitory pest and cholera to us : the true evil lies deeper ; it spoils pettiness, envy, narrowness of heart, pedantry, arrogance, scholasticism, self-seeking, want of sense and want of grace : in one word, Philistinism and Pharisaism of every kind."

And, if we are not mistaken, this touches the very nerve of the whole Anti-Jewish movement : the enormous distance between the ideal standard of precept and the mean average of practice.

"You call the Jews a pest, and yet, according to your own showing, you are anything but a 'disinfectant' yourselves. Thus it is very unlikely that, being such as you describe yourselves, you will induce the 'pest' to be content with a temporary residence in your midst."

Fortunately a great nation is composed of something more than the spirit of negation of agitators and cavillers. Great peoples have other missions than merely those of individual "getting-on-ship"—nobler work to do even than that of dispensing charity !

Germany was a wretchedly poor country when Prussia rose up against the first Napoleon in 1813 and placed 6 per cent. of her entire population in battle array. And even yesterday—it was in the thick of the battle of Woerth—a Prussian colonel, advancing at the head of his regiment, received a fatal bullet in the heart. As his eyes closed in death, he murmured : "So stirbt sichs schön !" How soon may another fighting day dawn for some of us ! And when the word of command is given to go forward against squalor, misery, drunkenness, prostitution, starvation, hypocrisy, and "a' that"—then the aims of the future will be shown by those who, falling in such a fight, are ready to cry out : "It is beautiful to die thus."

SIDNEY WHITMAN.

\* "Der Rembrandtdeutsche." Dresden : Glöss. 1892. P. 184.

## A GARDEN IN STONE.

GEOLOGISTS have revealed a most fascinating collection of plants, pressed and dried for us by Nature herself, and preserved by her for our inspection in the presses of strata which compose earth's crust; this prehistoric flora, which burgeoned, flowered, seeded and fell, waved by breezes in the solemn silence of a nascent world, and which has never been beheld by human eyes save in this fossil state, has been largely collected, depicted, catalogued, and named during this century, and we may study it quietly in our homes in any of the elaborate works which it has called forth.

There is another flora to be found in stone, however, of which we here wish to speak, one that has received no such attention as that bestowed upon the above mentioned, owing its origin to other hands than those of Nature, for it is the outcome of man's desire to embody in enduring material the beauty that great mistress and teacher strews at his feet; instances of it are to be found scattered throughout this land of ours and elsewhere, in almost every cathedral and church where the Gothic artist has been, who thus exemplified the prophecy of Esaias in bringing the "glory of Libanus, the fir tree, and the box, and the pine together, to adorn the place of the sanctuary." By a study of this flora we may trace the growth of thought among western peoples in Europe, and follow their progress in civilisation as markedly as we may gauge their advance in manual art; in the soft leafage of the South we may remark the character of its inhabitants contrasted with the stern thorny foliage of the North; in the periods which show the struggle of the artists after fidelity to nature we may tell the growing appreciation of truth in their time, just as in those when it becomes faithless and artificial we may read the general lack of earnestness and sympathy. And still another lesson

of a different kind is to be learnt, for which we quote Mr. Ruskin, who says: "The power of treating vegetation in sculpture is absolutely commensurate with nobleness of figure design. The quantity, richness, or deceptive finish may be greater in third-rate work, but in true understanding and force of arrangement the leaf and the human figure show always parallel skill. The leaf mouldings of Lorenzo Ghiberti are unrivalled, as his bas-reliefs are, and the severe foliage of the cathedral of Chartres is as grand as its queen statues." (Mod. Paint. vol. v. p. 36.)

It would be of much interest to occupy ourselves in tracing out this connection between the character of the various times and its expression in foliage, and incidentally we shall have to refer thereto; but our immediate purpose is to endeavour to discover whether the Gothic artists were not influenced by another motive in the choice of such vegetation as they employed than simply that of its being ready to hand and sharing in the universal beauty of all natural forms; whether, considering the habit of thought of the period when it arose, there was not a reason for the selection they made, influenced possibly by the traditional customs of those who had employed it previously.

In dealing with any subject bearing upon symbolism we are fully conscious of the delicacy of our task; no question in archæology is more avoided, for it usually is made but the playground of fancy; we do not offer our remarks in any doctrinaire spirit, but as suggestive for thought; we have not sufficient facts in hand to prove them true or false, but we all know how detail enriches and often interprets a whole, and it may be that we shall find a depth of meaning lying beneath the flora which will give a new zest to the study of the work of the twelfth, thirteen and fourteenth centuries. If a meaning exist, by not reading it, we miss realising the force of expression which the artist intended to convey, and which was, most probably, not only understood, but part of the lively thought of his age; in all earnest times men resort to symbolism, employing it largely to enwrap truths they value highly, and the centuries we have to consider were times of intensely vigorous faith, and their use of hieroglyphic language was habitual and natural; our endeavour must be with resolute purpose to remove ourselves away from our present environment and to see with the eyes and, if possible, love and reverence with our hearts, what those men of old time saw and revered; we must attempt to pierce the silence of their meaning engraven on boss or corbel, in wood or stone, if we would not have it to be as dead to us as the truths they cared for most commonly are.

To many persons in their cursory notice of architectural foliage, stray instances of an underlying meaning must occasionally have presented themselves. The Egyptian had used the lotus lily to bear

the beams of his temple, binding its stalks together for the model of his pillar and forming its capital after the flower, probably with definite symbolic intent, for a water-lily scarcely suggests itself as suitable for forming a column; we know, however, that that plant was a sacred emblem to him, constantly placed in the hands of his divinities, and interwoven with traditions of Horus and the Sun, and knowing this its use becomes reasonable and interesting. Although the Greek acanthus would seem to have no such fact to support it, yet the legend of its origin bears something of the same spirit. The architect Callimachus is said to have gone to visit the grave of his daughter, upon whose tomb he had previously placed a basket of flowers; the brankursine meanwhile had sprung up about the tile upon which the basket stood, and encircled its fine lattice with its luxuriant herbage; and this visit the artist immortalised in the Corinthian capital. To the Roman mind, however, this local circumstance does not appear to have been of sufficient moment for such a position of importance, and in their capitals after this order they employed far more (according to Sir Wm. Chambers and Mr. Ralph N. Wornum, who studied the question), the olive, and laurel, and parsley, foliage sacred to Minerva, Apollo and Hercules. And in Christian architecture the same intention may have prevailed. Sir Walter Scott's mind seems apprehensive of something of this kind being the case in the stonework of "St. David's ruined pile," when speaking of the monks' garden he says:

"Spreading herbs, and flowerets bright,  
Glistened with the dew of night;  
Nor herb, nor floweret glistened there,  
But was carved in the cloister-arches as fair";

and to most of us there must appear a special congruity in the "carved work of open lilies" which adorned such abbeys as Kirkstall, Fountains, or Rievaulx, houses belonging to an order which dedicate all their homes to the Virgin Mother. Do we not see, likewise, in those "lily capitals" of St. Mark's great Church at Venice, the flowers of the *Iris Florentina*, the *Fior di San Marco* of northern Italy, that the architect has thus wreathed around the Evangelist's shrine? So, too, with those of us who have noticed the bold crocketings of thorn-leaves which abound in our churches, and who have marked the frequent use of this tree, as in that "Niobe of May" sculptured over the porch of Bourges Cathedral, and who remember the position it bears in the traditional lore of all peoples—such as *L'arbre de Moïse*, *Buisson ardent*, in France, while its young leaves are (Our) Lady's Meat in Scotland, and its bright red fruit *Unser Lieben Frauen Birlein* in Germany—to such as recall these things the thought must come that it was employed with purposeful reference to her whom Chaucer invoked as

"O Mother Maid! O Maid and Mother free,  
O Bush unburnt, burning in Moses' sight!"

The ordinary use of the vine, the fig, the wheat-ear, the rose and the palm, we are all ready to concede as having figurative reference, and of recent years the passion-flower has taken an entirely legitimate and similar position; is it not possible, therefore, that it is but our having lost the familiar thought of the simple folk of past days which prevents our reading a meaning throughout their work? Let us illustrate this briefly from the sister art of painting, and first take an instance in which a want of this acquaintance has weakened the significance which even the great critic of art, Mr. Ruskin, read in the picture of *St. Francis wedding Poverty*, by Giotto. Would it not have been an element of deep interest to know that the roses in the picture are in reference to those of the *Rubus fruticosus inermis* which is known in Italy, France, Spain, and Sicily as the "Thorn of St. Francis"; that it obtained its name from a fact in the young saint's life, who near losing his self-mastery rushed out of his cell one winter night, and rolled his scantily clothed body in a bramble bush near by, when He who makes the flowers of summer to bloom in nature's course brought back to the dry stocks their juices by His power, and they leafed and blossomed into these roses white and purple which Giotto has deliberately retained here? Again, in a picture in the Church of the Madonna del 'Orto at Venice Cima da Conegliano has drawn there the pretty *Antirrhinum Cymbalaria*, or ivy-leaved snapdragon, whose pendant tapestry once clothed the walls of the Botanical Gardens of Oxford, to which it was brought from Italy. This is known in the artist's country as one of the many *Erbi della Madonna*, and about Rome is called her *Scarpetta* or little shoe, and thus it is that it won its place in this picture. And to take one last illustration, out of very many, look at the celebrated engraving by Albert Dürer of St. Jerome in his cell, where a bottle-gourd hangs from the rafters. It is not there as an accessory suitable to the pilgrim-sought Bethlehem where the saint lived and wrote, but it tells of a very lively dispute which arose about the plant which protected Jonas, the Hebrew word for which St. Jerome rendered in the Vulgate as *Helebra*, or ivy. Septuagint and Syriac authorities were summoned to get the gourd down from its hook, and safely instated in the Latin translation, and to the fiery disputants of the East it savoured of heresy to let it stay suspended, but its presence in this engraving is a reminiscence of a historic quarrel.

The wish is so often parent to the thought that it may only be *post hoc propter hoc* which prompts one very often to see a meaning where none was ever intended, and it is most probable that to lay down a rigid rule either way would be erroneous, but it cannot be unworthy of purpose to draw attention to the subject, and the examples we have already given illustrate the gist of our inquiry.

During the long ages which elapsed from the decline of the old Roman

empire, the Byzantine and Romanesque schools—the eastern and western offspring of pagan art—made no resort to nature for their designs, but continued the old conventional types; the only power constant in its effort to cultivate man was the Christian Church, but she had no time for the refinements of life during the tremendous struggle in which she was engaged for the first ten centuries. Amid nations whose only trade was war, and many of whom were too exhausted physically, morally and mentally, to respond to any effort, her task of re-civilising Europe must have seemed a hopeless one until the vigorous blood of the North came down to renew its dying races; and we seldom think what a tremendous struggle that must have been which she had to make against barbarism, and yet not be crushed and obliterated by the encounter, not only in staying the older peoples in their rapid degradation, which was in itself like stemming a glacier's flow, but also in meeting the avalanche of northern paganism in the strength of its onward rush. A Charlemagne here and an Alfred there appear, and the schools of Ireland most of all show that the influence of the Alma Mater of the nations was extended to art and letters as well as morals. It was not, however, until the first Crusade that the universal awakening of the arts took place, and men's minds struggled to emancipate themselves from the conventionality of their inherited paganism. In 1140–1180 there arose in the Isle of France and its neighbouring provinces a body of earnest students who, realising the lifelessness and truthlessness of the old models, set themselves to work at the beginning of all design, and going to the herb of the field found there their teacher. The shoots and buds, and flowers, and fruit of the simplest plant were studied by them, and to their humble hearts and listening ears Nature whispered her secrets one by one, showing them that regularity with her is never monotony; that no two leaves are identical, though entirely symmetrical; that with the severest types there is ever present a grace and a beauty tempering all stiffness, and that balance is not repetition. Many another truth her faithful children then learnt, and have left engraven on rock for our reading; and can we doubt but that to the students of those centuries, when all men's hearts were aglow with enthusiastic devotion to our Lord and His Mother, that there was a constant connection in their minds between all this beauty and its Designer? The choir of Notre Dame at Paris, the sanctuary of St. Remi at Rheims, and many another church of this period in France, show the effect of their study; and to the Norman work in our own country, twenty years later, their influence extends. In the midst of much in the old method we come across instances of a greater approach to naturalism; hitherto we may see in the strong, harsh foliage of the Norman style, the disdain of that tender refinement which a love of flowers betrays, and in its monsters and grotesques the taint of

paganism which still influenced the Northmen's temperament. In 1171 we find the common bracken employed in the crypt of York Minster for a capital, and the unfolding fronds of ferns become early favourites with the masons of that day. A great number of the capitals of the church of St. Peter, Northampton, for example, are composed of them, and we may occasionally come across a frond whose whorls are sufficiently uncurled to enable us to see distinctly the shape of its leaf. The delicate finish and the boldness of the foliage introduced into the east end of Canterbury—completed in 1184—surpasses everything previously attained on so important a scale in England in fidelity to nature, and we read of the campanula, or Canterbury Bell, and the ground-ivy as appearing among the carvings of its Trinity Chapel. Another evidence of this struggle for truth is to be seen in the west doorway of Ledbury Church, Herefordshire, where amid other capitals of the conventional type, the sculptor has introduced the *Arum maculatum*, whose berries, surrounded by a spathe, are overhung by the broad leaves. These are but a few instances out of large numbers which must exist if botanists throughout the country would give us the aid of their knowledge in identifying any examples among the sculpture of our cathedrals and churches. For the present we have to depend upon the work of Mr. J. K. Collings, a gentleman who in himself unites the graceful studies of botany and architecture, and to whom we would wish to be indebted for many more such lovely books as that of his "*Medieval Foliage*."

We have further to consider if there existed any reason for the selection of these plants, anything which especially seems to mark their suitability for the honour that was assigned to them in the House of God. And the only guide that will assist this inquiry is that telling us of the folk names and associations of such plants, so that we may learn what they were called long before any scientific nomenclatures were attempted, and thus we may reach the familiar thought of the people: the antiquity of such names is no doubt very great, for they were reckoned "old world" in the sixteenth century, when men began to print, and our learned societies are now recognising how valuable and how venerable is the peasant lore of Europe.

The common bracken fern which we have spoken of still retains in Germany and Switzerland a very sacred name, that of the Jesus Christ Wort; in Scandinavia it is a *Korsblom*, or Crosswort; and in Ireland the Fern of God—all showing its esteem in ancient days. Then, moreover, there was its all-important use as an antidote to those omnipresent witches, who detested the sight of the waving frond whose heart bore the Holy Name inscribed upon it, and throughout Europe its presence was most needful upon the mysterious eve of St.

John, to keep those troublesome persons at bay ; it was also valued to aid that constant quest of mediæval man after hidden treasure. Even this last year in Provence they covered their Midsummer Eve bonfire, before lighting it, with the bracken fern, and the priest came with holy water to bless their merry-making. In Normandy and Brittany the shepherds may be found to make their pasture-ground crosses, protective to themselves and their flocks, out of this fern's ribs, threading it with the purple flowers of *les Doigtiers de Notre Dame*, or foxglove, to enhance its potency.

There is the curled bracken also, whose beauty and elegance make joyous the rocky crevices of Westmoreland's barren mountains, and whose pea-green plume of feathery flower long made it considered an *Osmunda* ; this may have been often chosen by the Norman mason as St. Olaf's skjæg, or beard, for the martyrdom of "St. Olave of the double beard," the first Christian King of Norway, was fresh in memory (A.D. 1030), and this and other ferns and six or seven flowers were christened by the people in affectionate memory of their hero. It would be exceedingly interesting if these possibilities could be proved to be true, and perhaps, when it is known that such pleasing meanings may lie embedded in these wreaths and bouquets of stone, we may be able to accumulate illustrations sufficient to determine the fact.

The use of the arum described at Ledbury is quite in accord with the spirit which would lead to employing the brackens: we know it still in England as (Our) Lady's Smock, and the children's name of "Lords and Ladies" is a possible corruption of "Our Lord and Our Lady," the dark spadices being the one and the light-coloured ones the other. The familiar appearance of a statue beneath its niche might very readily have been recalled by the upright spike of berries encircled and overshadowed by their spathes, just as in modern years it has prompted the name of "Parson and Clerk," or "Parson in the Pulpit," from the arrangement in English churches common in our childhood. Its French name is *Manteau de la Sainte Vierge*, but the names of this plant and the orchis family are so interwoven that it is almost impossible to separate them. Both in England and abroad its spotted leaves are connected with the Passion of our Lord, and if it be the sweat of blood in Gethsemane which appears to have been allied with these marks in our own land, the Spanish *Sangre de Christo* and the German *Herr Gotts Fleisch und Blut* show the same connection of thought. Indeed some have seen in the long spike the type of the pillar of flagellation, and in the knotted roots the scourge, as well as in the marked leaves the purple drops from the veins of the Redeemer, while many other sacred reminiscences are gathered around these flowers which it would take too long to recount.



The presence of the campanula leaf at Canterbury, whose flower is known as its bell, seems a singularly happy choice. It is usually thought that the name arose from the bells on the necks of the mules of the pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas, whose martyrdom had taken place fourteen years previous to this sculpture; their jangling in the narrow lanes, upon whose banks the bells still blow, is a very prominent feature in old records. There does not seem to be any foundation for the statement sometimes made that these flowers were in any way connected with St. Augustine, but throughout Europe they bear names associating them with the Blessed Virgin, and one of their German titles of *Marienglockchen*—Mary's little bells, makes one think of the Mary chimes which three centuries later were hung in Canterbury's great tower, and which may now add another thought to those who see in the "pilgrim-roads" leading to that city this

"Floral bough that swingeth,  
And tells its perfume to the passing air."

The ground-ivy with its fragrant foliage and heart-shaped, crenate leaf has still through France the name of "St. John the Baptist's Girdle," as gaining its sweetness from his spotless life, and this humble little plant which grows in clustered patches, seems to have had a delightful association in the minds of the men of the *Moyen Age*, for in "Les Heures d'Anne de Bretagne," it is called *leur Dieu Marcha*, as if marking with incense the footprints of our Lord upon earth, in a corresponding manner of thought to that which suggested "Mary's Rest," as a name for the blue patches of creeping veronica. We find the ground-ivy also in the spandrels of a doorway of Rheims Cathedral and painted upon tiles which once paved the choir of Chertsey's Abbey Church, and are now in South Kensington Museum.

Such then are a few instances from Norman work. Even if their interpretation be wrong, nothing can be a better proof of the earnestness of these early pioneers than their humility in their effort to revolutionise the meaningless conventionalities of former sculptured vegetation. They deemed no plant too lowly for their study or for the highest dignity in the republic of art, and indeed that is a state which recognises no aristocracy of condition or kind, whose only credentials are beauty and significance. We fear that the hothouse nursling would be preferred by the architect of to-day if ever he went beyond a few plaster casts for models or his books of "parallels" and "styles," while if the detail were left to the craftsman we may be afraid that the simple ground-ivy would be scornfully cast aside unless perchance its country name of 'alehoof were familiar to him from its qualities to flavour his beer!

It is refreshing to turn from such contrast back to those days of masculine power when men originated instead of plagiarised, and

showed in the vigour of their work some shadow of the divine power of creativeness with which their sex has been endowed by its Creator.

The period of the bursting into life of Gothic art is one of the most wonderful in the history of the world. It was to the Crusades that we owe the glorious uprising of European thought and energy; that enthusiastic expression of the devotion of Christendom quickened and evoked the noblest aspirations in man's nature: without those wars we should probably be the same as eastern Europe is to-day and have left to other peoples the vanguard in the march of the human race. The pointed arch which they introduced into Europe, soaring towards heaven with disciplined beauty and grace, seems suitably to mark this uprising. The sculptured foliage entirely forsakes the old classic influences, and lovely flowing lines of scroll-like stems mark refined, inventive, and progressive thought. It is not yet true to nature, but is instinct with life; the leafage rises upwards from the necking of their slender columns, and you may almost hear the rustling of those firmly moulded leaves which seem so fresh and succulent. This early English work is so bold and free, pure of line and true in balance of light and shade, that one cannot contemplate it and think of the period of its execution without envying its refinement of taste, and feeling something of the pulsations of the strong and healthy young life which it evinces. It sings of hope; you can tell that these men see a future in art, revealing itself to the eye of faith in which nature shall be the nourishing mother of those of her children who shall seek their strength in the joyously gemmed meads of her habitation. Sir Walter Scott felt the presence of the great teacher when he sang:

"The moon on the east oriel shone  
Through slender shafts of shapely stone.  
By foliated tracery combined;  
Thou would'st have thought some fairy's hand  
"Twixt poplars straight the ozier wand,  
In many a freakish knot, had twined;  
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,  
And changed the willow wreaths to stone."

Well may men have thought that Gothic architecture was an inspiration from the trees of the forest glade, for what else can we compare to it in the grace and glory of its loveliness in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the thrill of its joyful realisation rings on in those old buildings still, which remain to this present our amazement and our delight.

Early English foliage was, as we have said, founded upon natural principles but not imitative of nature, and as such is the most perfect type of what conventional or imaginary leafage should be that the world has ever seen. Very few of its parts are direct copies of the truth, there is no attempt to reproduce the bough with its irregular forkings in these stems of theirs which flow out of each other in graceful curves, but the workman seems to have learnt the essence

of vegetation in sculpture, and if the control of the artist be too evident, still there is present the potentialities of a great future. The most prominent detail is what we call the dogtooth ornament, and the French violets, a source of puzzle to all writers, some of whom think that the cyclamen was intended to be copied, while others consider that it was a modification of the fleur-de-lys, which at this time became very popular in France. The great favourite for capital, corbel-table, and wall space was a plant which Mr. Browne in his "History of the Church of St. Peter, York," took great pains to identify, and which he was satisfied in concluding to be the *Geum urbanum* or common Avens. Both he, by his arguments and beautiful illustrations, and Mr. Colling, in his examples in "Mediæval Foliage,"\* seem to prove that this is the true interpretation. The drawings made by the latter (plate 26) of the spandrel from Stone Church, Kent, and of the plant and flower in a string course at West Walton, Norfolk, as well as the undoubted use of this herb at a later period when nature was more accurately copied, are very strong confirmations of Mr. Browne's surmise. If this be so, then it becomes an additional interest to learn that this flower, which was said to bring joy with it wherever it grew, is our herb Bennet, the herb of St. Benedict throughout Europe, and it would be pleasant to know if it were made of any especial employment by the spiritual children of the father of Western monasticism in the buildings with which they have so lavishly strewn our land. Many writers, since Mr. Browne's identification, dwell upon the symbolism conveyed by its triple leaf and its five petalled flower, as referring to the Blessed Trinity and the Five Sacred Wounds of the Redeemer, but we can find no authority in the old associations of this plant for any such meanings.

The advance made in foliage sculpture between 1272 and 1307 is marvellously great. They were the active times of the warrior King Edward the First, and not days when men were content with unrealities. The love of the branches leads on to that of flower and leaf, and with this extending appreciation their earnest delight in their work makes the hand more cunning; we get the exactest transcripts of nature with the utmost finish and delicacy, and we have left to us the most exquisite examples of natural foliage ever carved. We are not here concerned with the contention that in sculpture of this description there must not be a too literal rendering if we wish to arrive at the perfection of architectural fitness; it is the wont of writers of our time to qualify the work of this Transition period on account of its strict fidelity; one who is suited in every way to speak to that charge says that it is not a true one, since notwithstanding its

\* "Examples of English Mediæval Foliage." By James Keilaway Colling, F.R.I.B.A. London (High Holborn): B. T. Batsford.

apparent imitation of natural forms "it will be found to give a conventional rendering of a much more subtle kind than is commonly met with in mediæval work, and, therefore, of a higher class of art workmanship" (Colling). Among the favourite designs we especially find the hawthorn, the oak, the maple, the ivy, the potentilla, arum and mallow. We do not mention the rose, lily, vine, &c., since there is no question as to the reason of their use, nor need we repeat again what we have already said as to the thorn and arum. The oak is continually found, and very suitable it seems in this land, where it is preeminently the tree of England. Its old Druid associations had made it regarded with veneration; the illustrious *savant* Bauhin quotes a tradition from Goropius that it was thought to have been the Tree of Life in Paradise on account of its living to such a great age, while the holm-oak was one among several others to which the legend was attached of having furnished the Saviour's cross, but which since then has never grown a decent log for use. The Gospel oaks of the Rogation processions, beneath which stations were made, and St. Augustine's preaching beneath an oak when he landed in Thanet, may all have made the tree regarded as suitable to the Christian designer.

The maple, Dr. Prior says, was used in the sacred dramas of the Middle Ages to represent the "fig-tree" into which Zacchæus climbed on the first Palm Sunday to see our Lord pass by. The great maple has the name commonly of sycamore, although really quite a different genus to the sycamore-fig of the East. There is an Italian name *Zaccheo*, given to the false sycamore, which shows a similar alliance of thought. The maple or bastard sycamore has a German name *Engelköpfchen baum* and in Denmark of *Korsbæc*, which need some fuller explanation than we possess. The ivy we have already stated to be the Vulgate rendering of the "gourd" of Jonas: it bears also the name in France of *L'herbe de St. Jean*, as connecting it with the Beloved Disciple, a very favourite English saint, and possibly this connection originated the use of its leaf as the badge of friendship.

The potentilla or cinquefoil, which is so beautiful in leaf and blossom, with its dark green foliage and large five-petalled orange flower, abounds in the summer months, and was called St. Martin's hand in Germany according to Ulrich, but in Spain and its neighbouring parts it is known as the *Pié de Cristo* or Foot of Christ, while Irish and Welsh names for it were *Cuig mhear Mhuire* or *Blysiu'r pump*, Mary's five fingers. We are not sure what species of mallow was intended, but they all seem to have been connected with St. Simeon or Simon, while those which grow with upright stems, like the marsh mallow or the vervain mallow, had the name of St. James's pilgrim-stock in all parts of Europe.

There followed upon this wonderful thirteenth century work the

Decorated period, as we usually call it, of the fourteenth, which, lovely as it is, seems to typify all human things in that as it attains to the perfection of beauty it shows signs of decadence. Like the leaves of a noble tree become swollen with the crimson which tells of death when some insect has impregnated them with that which poisons their life, so in the architectural leafage of this time there developed a fashion of making the surfaces excessively undulating, overlading them with protuberances in order that the artist's skill in producing effects of light and shade might be the more striking. The hand of the craftsman was so skilful that it was no longer under stern restraint of thought; the beauty of stems was lost in the importance bestowed upon the leaf, and this latter became so exaggerated in form that the natural type is often scarcely traceable. The lobes of the leaf were drawn out and deeply cut down to the rib, the upper edges were made to range in lines, marking the beginning of that squareness and uniformity which we reach in the next century. This period has left us as great a puzzle as the Early English "dogtooth" ornament in what is known as the "ball-flower." It is a berry or ball, enclosed in a triple-petalled flower, in which some have seen a free rendering of the bursting pomegranate, or the anemone or lily of Scripture, while others conceive it to be but a hawk's bell. It is strangely local, for although abounding in the west of England, it is scarcely ever met with in the eastern counties. The exuberant vegetation they now employed is enriched with every kind of pleasing detail—birds and animals are intermingled to open out and give life to the leafage; the hawthorn will have its blossom and its haws, the rose its buds, the ivy its berries, the oak its galls and acorns. For the angular decoration of pinnacles and spires an ornament very like the *Cypripedium calceolus*, Our Lady's slipper, or the iris, is employed, and the bryony and its berries, and the hazel with its nuts, are frequent amidst the herbage of previous mention.

The bryonies, both black and white, are charmingly employed as a moulding in Rouen Cathedral; beneath a bracket at Hawton Church, Notts; in a capital at Guisborough, York, and in numerous other places; its beautifully cut leaves covering the bushes in tawny festoons in autumn, and its decorative red fruit, make it eminently attractive to the artist's eye. Moreover, throughout Europe it bears the name of Our Lady's vine, or sigil, and it may be seen growing around her home at Nazareth, as well as about Jerusalem.

The hazel, whose catkins are sometimes called "palm"—as about Berwick they term its fruit "palm-nuts"—has many a claim to be among the trees which decorate the sanctuary. Out of its wood were made those divining rods called "Moses'" or "Aaron's Rod," "Ja

staff," &c., used to indicate the presence of minerals, water, and so forth. In Rabbinical lore it was the rod given to Adam when banished from Eden wherewith he was to gain anything he needed. In Christian legend it gained its mysterious virtue from sheltering the Blessed Virgin on her way to visit St. Elizabeth and the Holy Family on their flight into Egypt, and hence was used to bind the Christmas faggot together. It is thought that pilgrims' staves were made of hazel, since several of them have been found in Hereford Cathedral and elsewhere, as if deposited upon the palmer's return. The nuts are called St. Lambert's nuts in German and Scandinavian folklore, although a Norman dedication seems to have originated our word "Filbert," and St. Phillibert's Day comes a month earlier.\*

It was during the Decorated period that we have those lovely "Jesse trees," illustrating the genealogy of our Lord from the "root of Jesse." They are usually vines which spring from the loins of the patriarchs, bearing for blossom certain of the Kings of Judah who showed types of our Lord. Instances in glass and in fresco are very frequent, while at Dorchester, Oxon., there is one which forms in stone a rich and glorious setting for a window, and at Christ Church, Hants, another for the high altar's reredos.

Rose-windows, too, now attained their greatest richness. They are also called Mary-gold windows, the spoke-like rays of one kind resembling the latter flower, while the intricate interlacing of the more elaborate designs often are like the edging of the petals of the double rose. They were developments from the *oculus* or circular hole with which the tympana of the basilicas were pierced and which were employed commonly in Norman eleventh century work, and the meaning they now seem to convey was not their primary intention; but it is quite possible, as is so frequently the case, that when once the symbol was attained and its appropriateness recognised, it became consecrated to all time by the consent of christened hearts. It would seem that, having lighted upon the sweet form and influenced by the mystic meaning which rose and Mary-gold embodied, the Christian sculptor lavished upon this form of window the gold and frankincense and myrrh of his labour, his love, and his genius, making them the *chefs d'œuvre* of all his endeavour, and leaving them to gladden us for all time in such ideal visions as are afforded us by those at Rheims, Chartres, and Amiens.

With the close of the fourteenth century and the advent of Perpendicularity, the canker-worm has done its work, simplicity gives way to pride, and nature and grace to artifice. Science and luxury breathe their hardening breaths upon the artist, technicality is the aim of the

\* In 1321 "Wm. de la Zouche sent for the royal table . . . sixteen nuts of St. Phillibert" to Edward II. when visiting Battle Abbey, which looks as if they were great rarities, although another presents a basket of them ("Nuccs de Sto. Phileberto"—Sussex Archæol. Collect. vi. 46, 49).

architect, masonic excellence and constructive skill absorb all the powers of his mind, self-consciousness banishes freedom, the desire to show how clever they can be deadens the soul, and the joy and freshness of the meadow and the exuberant delight in the woodland, which were the inspiration of their noble predecessors, give way to the hardness which tells of the joylessness of the toiler. Geometrical straightness and squareness set in, liberty goes, restraint and coerced uniformity prevail. We might easily trace the signs in architecture of the decay of Christianity and the restoration of pagan thought which ensued, but such is not the object we have in view; we began with the hope of attracting botanists and those who care for flowers to the symbolic use made of their pleasing study by the masons of the best periods of Gothic work, and we would conclude with the effort to attract true architects to botany and historic symbolism.

There is so much earnest seeking after truth amongst the architects of to-day, that they will not consider it presumption if a layman state considerations which to him appear deductions from a contemplation of the past. It is hard to see why the architecture of our time should be deemed worthy of the rank of an art, for what artists are allowed to copy the work of other brains? Would not poets and painters be dubbed impostors if they did so? Think what a chorus of condemnation greets a work in literature which is sent forth as original, and which is found to be composed of unacknowledged filchings from another's hard toil. And yet we not only tolerate but applaud a work in stone which is made up of piecing together fragments from a notebook. Beyond all the arts architecture ranks when it is true; it is the most divine of all; none other shows such a shadow of the Creator in His creature man. But how few men show forth any sign even of their masculinity? The secret of the perfection and progress in past ages lay, no doubt, in the fact that all were working in one style, not putting up imitations of a past one; if they had been as divided as our modern craftsmen are, we never should have witnessed such results as they have left us. Is there not to us an example for regenerating the art of our day in the lesson read us by those men in the Isle of France in the twelfth century, who retired into the green woods and fields, like the prophets of old into the wilderness, and wooed from nature the secret inspiration which she alone can give? That soft low voice will not come to those who do not wait for it, nor will it be heard amidst the weltering garboil of our cities; but to reverent hearts, in the quiet places of this land where still she dwells, the great mother is waiting for her worshippers, waiting with her hands full of undreamt-of treasure, to lavish in gracious guerdon upon those who seek her. She will lead them by ways of pleasantness to her school of design, and opening to them her volumes on "Parallels" and "Styles," will show what countless

new combinations and motives there are drawn with unerring proportion of figure and unsurpassable beauty in the structure of her forests and in the moulding of her flowers; she will demonstrate her geometrical problems worked out without one sign of stiffness or formality, and from such contemplation, as sure as day follows night, suddenly it may be, the flash will come which will illuminate the mind of some earnest suppliant at her shrine, rewarding all the long groping in dark ways, and once again we shall learn the joyousness of some new revelation in design like that which broke upon the thirteenth century.

But to those who have no such ambition as to be the pioneers in this nobler quest after a new style, there remains the duty of making the development in other respects. We hear men decry the naturalism of the foliage sculpture of one period and the conventionality of another, and Mr. Ruskin has said that the "exact degree in which imitation should be attempted under given circumstances is one of the most subtle and difficult in the whole range of criticism." We have no intention to rush in where that great art-student himself has feared to tread, but it seems to us that our aim to-day, with such magnificent instruction by examples before us, should be to carry on the work from the point before the relapse of the Later Decorated times. All agree that to lose nature in conventional form is destructive of truth in teaching and meaning; natural form, unrestrained and unmodified, is not ornamentation, any more than mere writing is literature, or mere verse poetry, and unless language, like leafage, be brought "under control," it can lay no claim to being artistic. Practical experience probably alone can solve the question whether greater closeness to nature may be possible than in the transition from Early English while obtaining greater architectural fitness.

May we not hope, however, that a school will arise both in architecture and painting in which we may have, at least in sacred art, not only the perfection of execution, but also a historic lesson in tradition, one which will satisfy not only in the superficial aspects of utility, form, and colour, but also in the deeper quality of intellectuality? How we admire, with never-wearying delight, the earnest work of an artist who has carefully thought out and elaborated every detail of his design, one to whom not only the main subject of his task has been a care, but who has gathered from the storehouse of the sister art of literature illustration for the enforcement of the tale he tells. There is an ever-recurrent freshness in the work of such men; the only condition necessary is that in this elaboration imagination be employed to adorn facts not fancies, so that the light of genius may re-set old truths. The highest form of art is "that which conveys the most truths," not only in form, but also in meaning, and Gothic art "aims at making art expressive instead of curious, valuable



for its suggestions and teachings, more than for the mode of its manufacture." One of its canons, Mr. Ruskin adds, is that all decoration should be informative if it convey any statement at all; and surely we should show in these days of universal teaching and reading the mark of our time, and make our work afford food for the mind as well as delight to the eye. It is the very lack of this earnest spirit which makes us so unmoved and uninterested in the sacred art of our time; there appears to be shown only the taste for making things "pretty" and "taking"; whereas in all such art it should be the mind that should be appealed to more than the eye; telling of some holy thing to the soul before it charm our sense; moulding thought into higher forms, and leading fickle fancy into currents deep and lasting. Symbolism is now despised because it usually is without any historic antiquity to support it, and is the private fancy of one man, but where authority can be brought to confirm its use it immediately becomes the poetry of form as verse is of language. It is true that many of the ancient symbols and associations have perished from among us in this and other lands, but we have much remaining, and the new study of folklore is helping us to garner what was in danger of being lost. That science is now registering each echo that comes to the ears from the "long ago," and we may hope it may revive among the simple peasantry of Europe as well as among its cultured classes a love for the Christian associations which their forefathers saw in the works of nature around them. Never before have they been so sought out; in every land we may come across scattered notes of the great hymn which to the men of old was for ever rising from flower and bird and star, although century by century that song has been becoming less clear. As in the legend of the lost Church in the wilderness:

" Oft in the forest far one hears  
A passing sound of distant bells;  
Nor legend old, nor human wit,  
Can tell us whence the music swells,  
From the Lost Church 'tis thought that soft  
Faint ringing cometh on the wind;  
Once many pilgrims trod the path,  
But no one now the way can find."

There is an abundance of plants in our woods and lanes upon which the carver can employ his skill, bearing dedications rendering them suitable after the fashion that, we suggest, may have dictated the choice of the mediæval mason. The columbine, the convolvulus, the Lady's bedstraw, and lady's slipper (*Lolus corniculatus*) are all adapted, and are part of the great flora bearing Mary's name; the tussilago and Lent lily are St. Joseph's worts; the ox-eye daisy, corn marigold, and common mallow are equally useful, and come from the Baptist's great garden, while the corn-flower recalls the father of the Saint. The great celandine of St. Clara, the buttercup, the corn-

cockle (*Lychnis githago*), the groundsel, the holly, the sorrel (*Rumex acetosella*), and the forget-me-not are all ready to hand and pregnant with meaning. Our seaweeds too should be found in the churches around this sea-girt isle, and the Ladywrack (*Fucus vesiculosus*) has pleaded for ages for the attention of the artist.

If it be true that the "nobility of work is in direct proportion to such evidence of inner life," may we venture to hope that this paper shall not have been written in vain in the attempt to deepen the thought of the sacred art of our time? It is incumbent on those who are desirous of making the spirit of Gothic art the principle of modern work that they should show the stamp of its origin not only in the adapting of that style to the requirements of to-day, but also in employing for its decoration those subjects which will satisfy the demand created by the mental activity which has been aroused among all classes; and since fashion has divorced the wonderful mediæval art from domestic employment, it is in accordance with all ecclesiastical practice and tradition that nothing should be used meaninglessly in the work of the sanctuary, but that corbel and boss, window and wall, should have

" Lips to tell the mighty faith of days unknown."

A good building should be like a good picture, not only technically lovely, but a great teacher in its minutest detail; it should be a history book where legends are inscribed in that most attractive form of enigma, creating not only an anxiety and an incentive to read in minds worthy of being taught, but also rivetting its lesson to the memory in a remarkable manner; it would then have the power to become the source of many another elevating taste in the evoking of fresh interests, and be the silent preacher of every good both temporal and eternal, "a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

A. E. P. R. DOWLING.

## INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE CRIME.

**M**ANY people are under the impression that the introduction into England of the School Board system, and the consequent spread of education among the children of the working classes, has exterminated the race of juvenile criminals; and they found their belief upon the fact that our prisons are now almost destitute of youthful offenders, and our reformatories are very much depleted of their former numbers.

Much, indeed has been done by education towards this end, but much remains to be done before it can be said that more than the fringe of this moral purification has been touched.

About the year 1866—*i.e.* four years before the introduction of the School Board system which gave new life to the work of public Elementary Education in England—a great wave of doubt had passed over the minds of our senators, which made them question whether the old plan of committing juvenile offenders to prisons or to reformatories was either a wise or a judicious one; and the result was the introduction into Parliament of a Bill to deal with that question, and the passing of an Act, known as the “Industrial Schools Act,” which made a great change in our method of dealing with youthful criminals. Heretofore many thousands of habitual criminals had been manufactured out of juvenile offenders, who often, for comparatively slight offences, were committed to prison, where they were compelled to associate with older and more vicious companions; and the result too often was that they came out of prison ten times worse than they went in. Thus the corrective process of prison life turned out to be the reverse of what it was intended to be. And how could it have been otherwise, when mere children were removed from all wholesome or elevating influences, and compelled by daily

contact with the vilest and most hardened criminals to learn those further lessons of social and moral evil which contaminated their future lives?

This ought no longer to be tolerated, and under no circumstances should a young child be allowed even to know what prison life is like. That should rather be held up as a bugbear before its eyes, as something very terrible indeed, which might in the future be revealed to it, should its reformation not be brought about by other means. In 1869, the year before the first School Board Act was passed, as many as 10,314 juvenile criminals, under the age of sixteen years, were committed to prisons in England; while the last completed returns—viz., those for 1891—show that in that year only 3855 were so committed. Also in 1869 there were sent on to reformatories 1331 children, of whom 1075 were boys and 256 were girls; while in the year 1891 there were only 1020 children committed to reformatories, of whom 885 were boys and 135 were girls. What had become of the balance of juvenile criminals from 1869 to 1891, so that the number sent to prisons or reformatories had decreased from 10,314 in the former year to 3855 in the latter? Is it true that education, by a curative process, had largely diminished the number of such children, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the population of the country?

It is the object of this article to deal with that question, and to show what education really has done in the past, and even more what can be done in the future towards the gradual reformation, on safe and remunerative lines, of our juvenile criminal and semi-criminal population.

Of late years there has sprung up, under the fostering influence of the Industrial Schools Act of 1866, a large number of schools, differing absolutely from prisons, and very widely from reformatories, known as Certified Industrial Schools. In 1866 there were in this country, not including Scotland, only 57 such schools, containing a total of 2566 children, of whom 1893 were boys and 673 girls. In 1891 there were in Great Britain 153 certified industrial schools, containing 23,688 children, of whom 19,292 were boys and 4396 girls. These numbers include those detained in truant schools under the Elementary Education Act, and also in certified Day Industrial Schools; so that it will be seen that although the number of children committed to prisons and reformatories has decreased, the numbers in Industrial Schools has increased from 2566 in the year 1866 to 23,688 in the year 1891.

From this it will be seen that public elementary education has not yet reformed our juvenile criminals, only that the policy of the country has transferred them from prisons or reformatories to industrial schools. Even this is a great step to have taken, but the

same policy requires to be vigorously followed up by the removal of those blots which still remain as hindrances to the reformation of youthful offenders. And this our Parliament alone can bring about by legislation.

It is not denied that after a certain age has been reached—say, for example, sixteen—there must be the power to commit offenders to prison or to reformatories; but Parliament should enact that henceforth it shall not be lawful to commit any child under that age to a prison even for a single day.

As the law at present stands, when a young offender is brought before a magistrate, and has committed an offence for which, in that magistrate's opinion, he should be sent to a reformatory, he must first be committed to a prison for not less than ten days, and from thence be transferred to the reformatory. This should be altered, as both unnecessary and mischievous; for, apart from any more weighty reasons, the child forms an altogether wrong idea of what prison life really is. In the case of a child of tender age, a prison might seem to be not such a bad sort of place after all, for manifestly the real severities of an ordinary prison life could not be applied to a child; while unfortunately it must be subjected to all the demoralising influences of association with habitual criminals. At the same time, a ten days' sojourn in a prison, under these circumstances, cannot be looked upon as a deterrent to crime, and is therefore unnecessary; while the false estimate of what penal servitude really is takes away from the youthful offender all fear of being sent to gaol, which is a blunder.

At present there is no power in England which can prevent a child sentenced to a reformatory being first sent to prison. A case of the kind, which illustrates this position, was reported in the daily papers, and made some stir, just before last Christmas. A little girl, aged nine, who had previously been convicted, was sentenced by certain justices to be taken to a reformatory; and in order to render this lawful they sent her to prison for *three weeks*. They need only have sent her for *ten days* in order to comply with the law, but as they had already made what most people will call a grave mistake in having convicted her at all, it did not matter so very much for how many days she nominally went to prison. As no one else seemed willing to bring that case under the notice of the Home Secretary, I took upon myself to do so; and to his great credit it must be said that, having already seen the case reported in the newspapers, he had sent the order for the poor child's release from prison without waiting for pressure to be put upon him.

It is true a Home Secretary can always act in this way *after a child has been sent to prison*; he cannot, however, prevent it from going there at all, if a reformatory has been named for it; but few

people will deny that Parliament should repeal so much of the existing law as requires that a child ordered to a reformatory should first of all be sent to prison.

The uninitiated will here say, But why did not those justices send that little girl to an industrial school for girls instead of to a reformatory? Well, they could not help themselves as the case stood, for the child had previously been convicted, and so became ineligible for an industrial school. What the justices should have done in the first instance was to refuse to convict the child; to remand her to the workhouse for a week, and then have asked the local school authority to find an industrial school for her. The London magistrates invariably do this, and then, as a consequence the Industrial Schools Committee of the London School Board (the local authority for the Metropolis) name an industrial school, when the magistrate signs an order for the child's commitment to that school. And here I would give all credit to the Metropolitan magistrates for great humanity in their treatment of youthful offenders of tender age in refusing to send them to prison, or even to a reformatory, provided a milder course can safely be adopted. Yet now and again they desire us to find industrial schools for children whom we feel compelled to recommend for reformatories, both for the sake of the offenders themselves, and for the sake of those with whom they would have to associate in an industrial school.

The fact of the matter is that, short of Utopia, there must of necessity exist for corrective, industrial, and educational purposes a graduated series of establishments suitable for the many varying cases which come under treatment.

At present these comprise, first, the public elementary school; then the truant school; then the day industrial school; then the ordinary certified industrial school; then the reformatory; and last of all, the prison. In this enlightened age I cannot imagine any circumstances which would justify a child of tender age being consigned even for a day to the latter, and there is little doubt that one of the main reasons why magistrates are so chary of sending even hardened young criminals to reformatories is the knowledge that they must first be committed to prison. I suggest, therefore, that our rulers should, as soon as may be, remove by statute that necessity, and then magistrates will be more ready to make use of reformatories than they are at present.

The State has provided for all children from five to fourteen years of age a perfect system of public elementary education, and this most certainly embraces that part of our juvenile population from which youthful criminals usually come. Yet there are many who deny altogether that our Board schools were provided for that class of children we sometimes hear spoken of as "gutter children."

It cannot, however, be denied that the aim of the Education Act of 1870 was originally to provide schools for those for whom no adequate accommodation was otherwise supplied—in other words, for the out-of-school juvenile population. Especially, I claim, was this the case for those children who were neglected by their parents, and allowed to run wild in the streets at all hours of the day, and almost of the night. And here we hit upon the principal cause of at least seven-tenths of our juvenile crimes; for, alas! it is as true now as it was nearly two hundred years ago, when Dr. Watts affirmed it, that “Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do;” and, unfortunately, man’s old adversary does not stop at mischief. The problem of the day, therefore, is to get all idle children out of the streets, and to save them from themselves and their evil surroundings by giving them a good sound secular and religious education.

After nearly thirty years of close acquaintance with the juvenile population of this great Metropolis, I have no hesitation in saying that truancy is to be credited with nearly the whole of our juvenile criminality; and that if much more energetic steps were taken to deal with our young truants, the list of convictions for criminal offences would be very largely reduced, and, in my opinion, it is well worth while seriously to make the attempt.

Some will say this is an extremely odd thing for a man to write who presides over the largest Industrial Schools Committee in the world, and to whom outsiders naturally look to grapple with that very evil of truancy, at least in the Metropolis, and to cure it. And to this I say: My committee and I would willingly accept this grave responsibility if our hands were not tied behind our backs. In the first place, the existing staff of magistrates cannot, I believe, devote anything like sufficient time to deal with the many cases ever waiting to be brought before them. But in this case it will be evident that the claim so often put forward by the London School Board to the Home Office for special magistrates to deal with school attendance cases, and at other places than police courts, should at last be recognised; and I commend this point most earnestly to the favourable consideration of the Home Secretary. At present hundreds of street arabs are throughout the Metropolis successfully defying our utmost endeavours to get them into school and out of the streets, and that entirely for want of time on the part of the magistrates to deal with our cases.

Then there is the case of some of the magistrates who take upon themselves to determine whether we shall proceed before them under our bye-laws, or under one of the sections of the Education Acts, while the law has given to us, as the school authorities, the right to decide that point. And it very often makes all the difference whether a well-to-do but utterly careless parent is fined under the

bye-laws as he should be, or dealt with in a less efficacious manner by a magistrate, who all the time says he is not put there to make the law, but to administer it. We only ask these learned gentlemen to remember that fact all along the line, and to recognise the fact that we, the school authorities, have the right to exercise the option as to procedure, and to ask them to decide on our cases according to law. Without doubt, the unwillingness of some magistrates to convict and fine parents under the bye-laws is the immediate cause of many children becoming truants in the first place, and criminals afterwards; and there are hundreds of cases where a timely fine of half-a-crown, imposed upon a parent for a breach of the bye-laws, would have saved children from ever becoming criminals at all. Some may doubt this, but there is perhaps no man in England at the present moment who is so well able to decide on this point as I, of necessity, must be; for once in every week I have before my eyes a huge pile of papers containing all the cases of juvenile crimes from all the police courts in the whole Metropolis which are of the industrial school class, and I declare that in at least seven cases out of every ten those children who have been charged at a police court, and remanded for an industrial school to be found for them, are those whose school attendance has previously been the worst. In other words, many of these children have been allowed to become truants, and then, as might naturally be expected, they have slowly but surely drifted into crime. I affirm that the key of the whole position is in the prompt and efficient dealing with truancy in its early stages, and the nipping in the bud of this most pregnant cause of juvenile crime.

And now to describe the truant school system, which I venture to say has, under the London School Board, worked miracles. Just as a boy is liable to be kept at his ordinary day school until he has reached the standard of exemption, or has reached fourteen years of age, so truants are committed to the truant schools under the same conditions. But, as a matter of fact, the period of detention rests with the boy himself, for, in the first instance, although nominally committed until the age of fourteen, he is only really detained for from eight to ten weeks, and then he is licensed out to attend his ordinary day school; but if he again ceases to attend that school his license is immediately revoked, and he is taken back for a second dose of about three months, which very seldom fails to cure him altogether. In one of our best truant schools eighty per cent. never come back a second time, and of the remainder only six per cent. come back a third time. The whole success of our truant school system depends, in my estimation, on the boys knowing that the future is in their own hands, and that, as sure as fate, if they do not attend regularly, they are taken back again to the truant school; and, like sensible boys, they decide on turning over a new leaf and staying at home, which



is precisely the result for which the truant schools have been established.

At this point there comes in a different class of institutions—, viz., our industrial schools proper. Of late an attempt has been made, especially in Liverpool and a few other places, to deal with industrial school cases through what are called day industrial schools, to which children are taken early every morning, and discharged at six o'clock in the evening. Here they are supplied with three good meals a day, and spend half their time in school work, and the other half in industrial training of some sort. Although the Home Office inspectors are greatly in favour of these institutions, and wonder that School Boards do not more largely adopt them, I cannot think that, in the slums and alleys of East or of South London, it would in the end benefit children simply to be taken away from the bad home influences during the daytime, and then be returned in the evening to experience the same surroundings which have already corrupted them. That these schools would be popular with children is absolutely certain, and in all probability many parents would like them extremely, and even come to look upon them as very cheap and desirable boarding schools; but if I know anything at all about the matter, the deterrent influence of these establishments, at least in London, would be almost nil.

I am sorry to say I failed to persuade a majority of my colleagues on the London School Board, and so our committee has been ordered by the Board to try as an experiment one day industrial school in the East End of London, which very shortly will be opened. I predict that it will be an extremely popular movement, especially with the children themselves; but I feel certain it cannot exercise the same corrective or reforming influence over them as most certainly is the case with ordinary certified industrial schools. What children dislike most of all, and what therefore is the strongest weapon to use against them for purposes of their own reformation, is the being taken away from their parents for a time, and absolutely removed from the polluted atmosphere of vice and crime which has demoralised them in the past. If left to themselves they would readily go deeper and deeper into the mire, and the only chance of reformation for habitual truants and habitual juvenile criminals is for them to be removed entirely—and for a considerable time too—from the scenes of their temptation.

Only a little while ago, on paying a visit with one of the Metropolitan magistrates to the truant school before mentioned, where such marvellous results are being obtained, I asked a number of boys whether they disliked being there, and the unanimous reply was in the affirmative. Yet all allowed they were better fed, better clothed, and far more comfortably lodged than in their own homes; and further, that their school life was, if anything, preferable to that in

the ordinary day school, since there they only went to school for half time, and the other half was spent in industrial work, which they liked far better than being in school; yet every boy had the same reasons to give for his dislike to the truant school. The first, as might be expected, was the very strict discipline, and the deprivation of his liberty to run about the streets after school hours; but the strongest reason given by every boy, without a single exception, was that he "wanted to see his mother." A day industrial school must therefore play into the hands of such boys in both these respects; but if so, these institutions must manifestly be deprived of all that makes children fear to be sent to them, and with the absence of that fear away goes all hope of reforming them, when each evening they are returned to the streets, the evil influences of which have already brought them within the category of juvenile criminals.

Against this it may be said that (for instance, in Liverpool) day industrial schools are unpopular, and are doing good work; to which I reply that our truant schools for one class of boys and our ordinary certified industrial schools are doing much better work and of a more permanent kind. The percentage of truants cured by a single short visit to a well-managed truant school has already been given as 80 per cent., and to take the latest return of the Home Office, the percentage of industrial school children in 1891, who have passed through these schools, and are now reported as doing well, is, for boys 85·5 per cent., and for girls 84 per cent.; thus incidentally showing, what actually is the fact, that the reformation of a bad boy is just a shade easier than that of a bad girl. .

On the other hand, there are no returns yet obtained which can show an equal percentage of good results arising from day industrial schools. This, however, is contained in the very latest Home Office Blue Book on the remedial work done by the twenty-one day industrial schools in this country—viz., that out of 6835 boys who have passed through them, no less than 1882 have afterwards been sent to either reformatories or industrial schools proper. The lesson which therefore is plainly taught is that the longer detention, and the complete separation from home influences, is the grand secret of the wonderful success which has attended the work of our certified industrial schools. These establishments are worked under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871, the Education Acts, 1870 and 1876, the Industrial Schools Amendment Act, 1880, and the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act, 1891.

<sup>†</sup> By sec. 14 of the first cited Act,

"Any person may bring before two justices or a magistrate any child apparently under the age of fourteen years that comes within any of the following descriptions—viz., that is found begging or receiving alms (whether actual or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale any-

thing), or being in any street or public place for the purpose of so begging or receiving alms; that is found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence; that is found destitute, either being an orphan, or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment; that frequents the company of reputed thieves."

Children who fall under the conditions of this section may be sent to industrial schools, and this is the authority under which most children are so sent. Here no alteration is suggested. But when we come to deal with section 15 we touch the greatest blot in the whole Act, and, it is the one which made it impossible for the little girl before mentioned to be sent to an industrial school. The section needs alteration in this respect; and also the restriction as to age should be removed, and fourteen substituted for twelve years of age.

The section runs thus:

"Where a child, apparently under twelve years of age, is charged before two justices or a magistrate with an offence punishable by imprisonment or a less punishment, but has not in England been convicted of felony, or in Scotland of theft, and the child ought, in the opinion of the justices or magistrate (regard being had to his age and to the circumstances of the case), to be dealt with under this Act, the justices may order him to be sent to a certified industrial school."

I plead, first of all, that children up to fourteen years of age may be included within this section (instead of up to twelve), whereas the alternative of a child even a day over twelve years of age, if charged under section 15, is that he or she must be sent first to prison and then to a reformatory. If this alteration is made, many children between twelve and fourteen years of age will be more mercifully and efficaciously dealt with by being sent at once to a certified industrial school. I plead also that the section may further be amended by striking out all the words which now prevent magistrates from sending even little girls of tender age to industrial schools when they have previously been convicted of felony; which very often simply means that they have been sent out into the street by wicked mothers, and punished if they do not "bring home something."

I feel sure that there is not a single magistrate of experience who will not agree with me that the two alterations suggested in this section would be a great assistance to him, and a great benefit to all youthful offenders who now come under this Act.

Greater care, I think, should be taken as regards section 16, under which parents may charge their children with "being beyond control"; for in the majority of such cases it is either a step-father or a step-mother who charges a child under this section; and in finding industrial schools for such children it is very often evident that our committee is being made the instrument by which a parent, who only wants to get rid of a tiresome child, is enabled to do so at the

expense of the already overburdened ratepayer. It is true that a parent is, under this section, ordered to pay a part of the cost of the child's maintenance; but, as a matter of fact, a great many of them never do pay one single sixpence.

The Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880 is a most useful one, especially as regards girls; and I marvel to find that so very little use is made of it. I can only say that our committee never neglects to deal promptly with any case which comes before it under this Act, which adds to section 14 this further condition under which a child may be sent to an industrial school: "That is lodging, living, or residing with common or reputed prostitutes, or in a house resided in, or frequented by prostitutes for the purpose of prostitution, or that frequents the company of prostitutes."

The provisions of this Act cannot be too widely known, for the knowledge of them on the part of those who visit the homes of the poor may cause many hundreds—nay, thousands—of children to be rescued from a life of misery and sin, who otherwise must go on to the certain ruin both of their bodies and their souls.

Shall I, therefore, plead in vain with English mothers who may happen to read these words, that all such cases, wherever they are discovered, may at once be brought under the notice of the local authority, so that the children may be removed from their vicious surroundings and be taught the better way? Yet another very useful Act is that of 1891. It is entitled "An Act to assist the Managers of Reformatory and Industrial Schools in advantageously launching into useful careers the children under their charge"; and its provisions authorise the managers of all such schools, *with the child's own consent*, and, if necessary, without the parents' consent, "to apprentice him to, or dispose of him in, any trade, calling, or service, or by emigration, notwithstanding that his period of detention has not expired, and such apprenticing or disposition shall be as valid as if the managers were his parents." But in the case of emigration, the consent of the Home Secretary must also be obtained. I am prepared to expect that some will object altogether to an Act of this kind, as being an infringement of the rights of parents. These people, however, would soon come to a different conclusion if they knew the fact that only too often the parents of these children actually incite them to become criminals, and stand in the way of their leading either honest or virtuous lives. This Act was passed because it was brought to the notice of Parliament that a large proportion of the parents of children in industrial schools, immediately they reached sixteen years of age, insisted on their returning to their so-called homes, and to the custody of those whose evil lives and bad example had forced them into those schools in the first instance. It was found by actual experience that in cases of very bad homes these

were the parents who most desired to compel their children to return to those homes, and, thus the whole benefit of a careful and expensive training has been destroyed. I have known many cases where boys and girls have preferred to be placed out in life by the managers of an industrial school rather than return to their parents, and the wise provisions of this Act have enabled them to profit by their industrial training, and to start in life for themselves in an honourable career, instead of drifting back into crime in the streets. But the one great improvement which is most needed in order to complete the beneficent legislation of the Industrial Schools Act is to extend the age of control over both boys and girls from sixteen to eighteen years of age, so that after leaving industrial schools at the former age the managers may retain control over them until they reach the latter.

The strongest proof of the necessity of giving this power to managers will perhaps be supplied by adducing the typical case of a girl of say thirteen years of age, who has just in time been removed from a house of ill-fame, under the Act of 1880, and sent to an industrial school until she is sixteen. As the law now stands, the very instant she reaches that age, she can be forced by an immoral parent to return to that evil home; and then what chance is there for her in her future life? The power should be given to managers of these schools to place such a girl out in domestic or other service, and to retain power over her actions until she reaches eighteen years of age, when she will have attained something like years of discretion, and at all events have been placed in a position to maintain herself, and to live an honest and a virtuous life.

Let our rulers turn their attention to the points which have been raised in this article, and strengthen the hands of managers of industrial schools in these directions; and then, but not till then, we may hope to arrive at the solution of that most difficult problem—how to bring about the reformation of our juvenile criminals.

ANDREW A. W. DREW.

## PROFESSOR WEISMANN'S THEORIES.\*

**A** PART from those more special theories of Professor Weismann I lately dealt with, the wide acceptance of which by the biological world greatly surprises me, there are certain more general theories of his—fundamental theories—the acceptance of which surprises me still more. Of the two on which rests the vast superstructure of his speculation, the first concerns the distinction between the reproductive elements of each organism and the non-reproductive elements. He says:—

“Let us now consider how it happened that the multicellular animals and plants, which arose from unicellular forms of life, came to lose this power of living for ever.

“The answer to this question is closely bound up with the principle of division of labour which appeared among multicellular organisms at a very early stage. . . .

“The first multicellular organism was probably a cluster of similar cells, but these units soon lost their original homogeneity. As the result of mere relative position, some of the cells were especially fitted to provide for the nutrition of the colony, while others undertook the work of reproduction” (“*Essays upon Heredity*,” p. 27).

Here, then, we have the great principle of the division of labour, which is the principle of all organisation, taken as primarily illustrated in the division between the reproductive cells and the non-reproductive or somatic cells—the cells devoted to the continuance of the species, and the cells which subserve the life of the individual. And the early separation of reproductive cells from somatic cells, is alleged on the ground that this primary division of labour is that which arises between elements devoted to species-life and elements devoted to individual life. Let us not be content with words but look at the facts.

When Milne-Edwards first used the phrase “physiological division

\* A postscript to the essay on “The Inadequacy of ‘Natural Selection.’”

of labour," he was obviously led to do so by perceiving the analogy between the division of labour in a society, as described, by political economists, and the division of labour in an organism. Every one who reads has been familiarised with the first as illustrated in the early stages, when men were warriors while the cultivation and drudgery were done by slaves and women; and as illustrated in the later stages, when not only are agriculture and manufactures carried on by separate classes, but agriculture is carried on by landlords, farmers, and labourers, while manufactures, multitudinous in their kinds, severally involve the actions of capitalists, overseers, workers, &c., and while the great function of distribution is carried on by wholesale and retail dealers in different commodities. Meanwhile students of biology, led by Milne-Edwards's phrase, have come to recognise a parallel arrangement in a living creature; shown, primarily, in the devoting of the outer parts to the general business of obtaining food and escaping from enemies, while the inner parts are devoted to the utilisation of food and supporting themselves and the outer parts; and shown, secondarily, by the subdivision of these great functions into those of various limbs and senses in the one case, and in the other case into those of organs for digestion, respiration, circulation, excretion, &c. But now let us ask what is the essential nature of this division of labour. In both cases it is an *exchange of services*—an arrangement under which, while one part devotes itself to one kind of action and yields benefit to all the rest, all the rest, jointly and severally performing their special actions, yield benefits to it in exchange. Otherwise described, it is a system of *mutual dependence*: A depends for its welfare upon B, C, and D; B upon A, C, and D, and so with the rest: all depend upon each and each upon all. Now let us apply this true conception of the division of labour to that which Professor Weismann calls a division of labour. Where is the *exchange of services* between somatic cells and reproductive cells? There is none. The somatic cells render great services to the reproductive cells, by furnishing them with materials for growth and multiplication; but the reproductive cells render no services at all to the somatic cells. If we look for the *mutual dependence* we look in vain. We find entire dependence on the one side and none on the other. Between the parts devoted to individual life and the part devoted to species-life, there is no division of labour whatever. The individual works for the species; but the species works not for the individual. Whether at the stage when the species is represented by reproductive cells, or at the stage when it is represented by eggs, or at the stage when it is represented by young, the parent does everything for it, and it does nothing for the parent. The essential part of the conception is gone: there is no giving and receiving, no exchange, no mutuality.

But now suppose we pass over this fallacious interpretation, and grant Professor Weismann his fundamental assumption and his fundamental corollary. Suppose we grant that because the primary division of labour is that between somatic cells and reproductive cells, these two groups are the first to be differentiated. Having granted this corollary, let us compare it with the facts. As the alleged primary division of labour is universal, so the alleged primary differentiation should be universal too. Let us see whether it is so. Already, in the paragraph from which I have quoted above, a crack in the doctrine is admitted: it is said that "this differentiation was not at first absolute, and indeed it is not always so to-day." And then, on turning to page 74, we find that the crack has become a chasm. Of the reproductive cells it is stated that—"In Vertebrata they do not become distinct from the other cells of the body until the embryo is completely formed." That is to say, in this large and most important division of the animal kingdom, the implied universal law does not hold. Much more than this is confessed. Lower down the page we read—"There may be in fact cases in which such separation does not take place until after the animal is completely formed, and others, as I believe that I have shown, in which it first arises one or more generations later, viz. in the buds produced by the parent."

So that in other great divisions of the animal kingdom the alleged law is broken; as among the *Celenterata* by the Hydrozoa, as among the *Mollusca* by the Ascidians, and as among the *Annuloida* by the Trematode worms.

Even in ordinary life, a man whose supposition proves to be flatly contradicted by observation, is expected to hesitate; though, unhappily, he very often does not. But in the world of science, one who finds his hypothesis at variance with large parts of the evidence, forthwith abandons it. Not so Professor Weismann. If he does not say with the speculative Frenchman, "*tant pis pour les faits*," he practically says something equivalent:—"Propound your hypothesis; compare it with the facts; and if the facts do not agree with it, then assume potential fulfilment where you see no actual fulfilment. For this is what he does. Following his admission above quoted, concerning the Vertebrata, come certain sentences which I partially italicise:—

"Thus, as their development shows, a marked antithesis exists between the substance of the undying reproductive cells and that of the perishable body-cells. We cannot explain this fact except *by the supposition* that each reproductive cell potentially contains two kinds of substance, which at a variable time after the commencement of embryonic development, separate from one another, and finally produce two sharply contrasted groups of cells" (p. 74).

And a little lower down the page we meet with the lines:—



"It is therefore quite conceivable that the reproductive cells might separate from the somatic cells much later than in the examples mentioned above, without changing the hereditary tendencies of which they are the bearers."

That is to say, it is "quite conceivable" that after sexless *Cercariae* have gone on multiplying by internal gemmation for generations, the "two kinds of substance" have, notwithstanding innumerable cell-divisions, preserved their respective natures, and finally separate in such ways as to produce reproductive cells. Here Professor Weismann does not, as in a case before noted, assume something which it is "easy to imagine," but he assumes something which it is difficult to imagine; and apparently thinks that a scientific conclusion may be thereupon safely based.

But now to what end are we asked to make a gratuitous "supposition," to accept as true something strange which is "quite conceivable," and to strain our imaginations without the slightest aid from the evidence? Simply to save Professor Weismann's hypothesis—to shelter it against a great body of adverse facts. When we have recognised the truth that what he regards as a primary division of labour is no division of labour at all—when we see that the corollary he draws respecting the implied primary differentiation of reproductive cells from somatic cells is consequently without warrant; we have no occasion to feel troubled that his deductive conclusion is inductively disproved. We are not dismayed on finding that throughout vast groups of organisms there is shown no such antithesis as his theory requires. And we need not do violence to our thoughts in explaining away the contradictions.

Associated with the assertion that the primary division of labour is between the somatic cells and the reproductive cells, and associated with the corollary that the primary differentiation is that which arises between them, there goes another corollary. It is alleged that there exists a fundamental distinction of nature between these two classes of cells. They are described as respectively mortal and immortal, in the sense that those of the one class are limited in their powers of multiplication, while those of the other class are unlimited. And it is contended that this is due to inherent unlikeness of nature.

Before inquiring into the truth of this proposition, I may fitly remark upon a preliminary proposition set down by Professor Weismann. Referring to the hypothesis that death depends "upon causes which lie in the nature of life itself," he says:—

"I do not however believe in the validity of this explanation; I consider that death is not a primary necessity, but that it has been secondarily acquired as an adaptation. I believe that life is endowed with a fixed duration, not because it is contrary to its nature to be unlimited, but because

the unlimited existence of individuals would be a luxury without any corresponding advantage" (p. 24).

This last sentence has a teleological sound which would be appropriate did it come from a theologian, but which seems strange as coming from a man of science. Assuming, however, that the implication was not intended, I go on to remark that Professor Weismann has apparently overlooked a universal law of evolution—not organic only, but inorganic and super-organic—which implies the necessity of death. The changes of every aggregate, no matter of what kind, inevitably end in a state of equilibrium. Suns and planets die, as well as organisms. The process of integration, which constitutes the fundamental trait of all evolution, continues until it has brought about a state which negatives further alterations, molar or molecular—a state of balance among the forces of the aggregate and the forces which oppose them.\* In so far, therefore, as Professor Weismann's conclusions imply the non-necessity of death, they cannot be sustained.

But now let us consider the above-described antithesis between the immortal *Protozoa* and the mortal *Metazoa*. An essential part of the theory is that the *Protozoa* can go on dividing and subdividing without limit, so long as the fit external conditions are maintained. But what is the evidence for this? Even by Professor Weismann's own admission there is no proof. On p. 285 he says:—

"I could only consent to adopt the hypothesis of rejuvenescence [achieved by conjugation] if it were rendered absolutely certain that reproduction by division could never under any circumstances persist indefinitely. But this cannot be proved with any greater certainty than the converse proposition, and hence, as far as direct proof is concerned, the facts are equally uncertain on both sides."

But this is an admission which seems to be entirely ignored when there is alleged the contrast between the immortal *Protozoa* and the mortal *Metazoa*. Following Professor Weismann's method, it would be "easy to imagine" that occasional conjugation is in all cases essential; and this easily imagined conclusion might fitly be used to bar out his own. Indeed, considering how commonly conjugation is observed, it may be held difficult to imagine that it can in any cases be dispensed with. Apart from imaginations of either kind, however, here is an acknowledgment that the immortality of *Protozoa* is not proved; that the allegation has no better basis than the failure to observe cessation of fission; and that thus one term of the above antithesis is not a fact, it is only an assumption.

But now what about the other term of the antithesis—the alleged inherent mortality of the somatic cells? This we shall, I think, find

\* See "First Principles," part ii. chap. xxii. "Equilibration."

is no more defensible than the other. Such plausibility as it possesses disappears when, instead of contemplating the vast assemblage of familiar cases which animals present, we contemplate certain less familiar and unfamiliar cases. By these we are shown that the usual ending of multiplication among somatic cells is due not to an intrinsic cause, but to extrinsic causes. Let us, however, first look at Professor Weismann's own statements :—

"I have endeavoured to explain death as the result of restriction in the powers of reproduction possessed by the somatic cells, and I have suggested that such restriction may conceivably follow from a limitation in the number of cell-generations possible for the cells of each organ and tissue" (p. 28).

"The above-mentioned considerations show us that the degree of reproductive activity present in the tissues is regulated by internal causes while the natural death of an organism is the termination—the hereditary limitation—of the process of cell-division, which began in the segmentation of the ovum" (p. 30).

Now though in the above extracts there is mention of "internal causes" determining "the degree of reproductive activity" of tissue cells, and though, on page 28, the "causes of the loss" of the power of unlimited cell-production "must be sought outside the organism, that is to say, in the external conditions of life;" yet the doctrine is that somatic cells have become constitutionally unfitted for continued cell-multiplication.

"The somatic cells have lost this power to a gradually increasing extent, so that at length they became restricted to a fixed, though perhaps very large, number of cell-generations" (p. 28).

Examination will soon disclose good reasons for denying this inherent restriction. We will look at the various causes which affect their multiplication and usually put a stop to increase after a certain point is reached.

There is first the amount of vital capital given by the parent; partly in the shape of a more or less developed structure, and partly in the shape of bequeathed nutriment. Where this vital capital is small, and the young creature, forthwith obliged to carry on physiological business for itself, has to expend effort in obtaining materials for daily consumption as well as for growth, a rigid restraint is put on that cell-multiplication required for a large size. Clearly the young elephant, starting with a big and well-organised body, and supplied *gratis* with milk during early stages of growth, can begin physiological business on his own account on a great scale; and by its large transactions his system is enabled to supply nutriment to its multiplying somatic cells until they have formed a vast aggregate—an aggregate such as it is impossible for a young mouse to reach, obliged as it is to begin physiological business in a small way. Then there is the character of the food in respect of its digestibility and its

nutritiveness. Here, that which the creature takes in requires much grinding-up, or, when duly prepared, contains but a small amount of available matter in comparison with the matter that has to be thrown away; while there, the prey seized is almost pure nutriment, and requires but little trituration. Hence, in some cases, an unprofitable physiological business, and in other cases a profitable one; resulting in small or large supplies to the multiplying somatic cells. Further, there has to be noted the grade of visceral development, which, if low, yields only crude nutriment slowly distributed, but which, if high, serves by its good appliances for solution, depuration, absorption, and circulation, to yield to the multiplying somatic cells a rich and pure blood. Then we come to an all-important factor, the cost of securing food. Here large expenditure of energy in locomotion is necessitated, and there but little—here great efforts for small portions of food, and there small efforts for great portions: again resulting in physiological poverty or physiological wealth. Next, beyond the cost of nervo-muscular activities in foraging, there is the cost of maintaining bodily heat. So much heat implies so much consumed nutriment, and the loss by radiation or conduction, which has perpetually to be made good, varies according to many circumstances—climate, medium (as air or water), covering, size of body (small cooling relatively faster than large); and in proportion to the cost of maintaining heat is the abstraction from the supplies for cell-formation. Finally, there are three all-important co-operative factors, or rather laws of factors, the effects of which vary with the size of the animal. The first is that, while the mass of the body varies as the cubes of its dimensions (*proportions* being supposed constant), the absorbing surface varies as the squares of its dimensions; whence it results that, other things equal, increase of size implies relative decrease of nutrition, and therefore increased obstacles to cell-multiplication.\* The second is a further sequence from these laws—namely, that while the weight of the body increases as the cubes of the dimensions, the sectional areas of its muscles and bones increase as their squares; whence follows a decreasing power of resisting strains, and a relative weakness of structure. This is implied in the ability of a small animal to leap many times its own length, while a great animal, like the elephant, cannot leap at all: its bones and muscles being unable to bear the stress which would be required to propel its body through the air. What increasing cost of keeping together the bodily fabric is thus entailed, we cannot say; but that there is an increasing cost, which diminishes the available materials for increase of size, is beyond question.† And then, in the

\* "Principles of Biology," § 46 (No. 8, April 1863).

† *Ibid.* This must not be understood as implying that while the mass increases as the cubes, the *quantity of motion* which can be generated increases only as the squares; for this would not be true. The quantity of motion is obviously measured, not by the

third place, we have augmented expense of distribution of nutriment. The greater the size becomes, the more force must be exerted to send blood to the periphery; and this once more entails deduction from the cell-forming matters.

Here, then, we have nine factors, several of them involving subdivisions, which co-operate in aiding or restraining cell-multiplication. They occur in endlessly varied proportions and combinations; so that every species differs more or less from every other in respect of their effects. But in all of them the co-operation is such as eventually arrests that multiplication of cells which causes further growth; continues thereafter to entail slow decrease in cell-multiplication, accompanying decline of vital activities; and eventually brings cell-multiplication to an end. Now a recognised principle of reasoning—the Law of Parsimony—forbids the assumption of more causes than are needful for explanation of phenomena; and since, in all such living aggregates as those above supposed, the causes named inevitably bring about arrest of cell-multiplication, it is illegitimate to ascribe this arrest to some inherent property in the cells. Inadequacy of the other causes must be shown before an inherent property can be rightly assumed.

For this conclusion we find ample justification when we contemplate types of animals which lead lives that do not put such decided restraints on cell-multiplication. First let us take an instance of the extent to which (irrespective of the natures of cells as reproductive or somatic) cell-multiplication may go where the conditions render nutrition easy and reduce expenditure to a minimum. I refer to the case of the *Aphides*. Though it is early in the season (March), the hothouses at Kew have furnished a sufficient number of these to show that twelve of them weigh a grain—a larger number than would be required were they full-sized. Citing Professor Owen, who adopts the calculations of Tougard to the effect that by agamic multiplication “a single impregnated ovum of *Aphis* may give rise, without fecundation, to a quintillion of *Aphides*,” Professor Huxley says:—

“I will assume that an *Aphis* weighs  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of a grain, which is certainly vastly under the mark. A quintillion of *Aphides* will, on this estimate, weigh a quadrillion of grains. He is a very stout man who weighs two million grains; consequently the tenth brood alone, if all its members survive the perils to which they are exposed, contains more substance than 500,000,000 stout men—to say the least, more than the whole population of China!” \*

sectioned areas of the muscles alone, but by these multiplied into their lengths, and therefore increases as the cubes. But this admission leaves untouched the conclusion that the ability to bear stress increases only as the squares, and thus limits the ability to generate motion, by relative incoherence of material\*.

\* “The Transactions of the Linnean Society of London,” vol. xxii. p. 215. The estimate of Réaumur, cited by Kirby and Spence, is still higher—“In five generations one *Aphis* may be the progenitor of 5,904,900,000 descendants; and it is supposed that in one year there may be twenty generations” (“Introduction to Entomology,” vol. i. p. 175).

And had Professor Huxley taken the actual weight, one-twelfth of a grain, the quintillion of *Aphides* would evidently far outweigh the whole human population of the globe: five billions of tons being the weight as brought out by my own calculation! Of course I do not cite this in proof of the extent to which multiplication of somatic cells, descending from a single ovum, may go; because it will be contended, with some reason, that each of the sexless *Aphides*, viviparously produced, arose by fission of a cell which had descended from the original reproductive cell. I cite it merely to show that when the cell-products of a fertilised ovum are perpetually divided and subdivided into small groups distributed over an unlimited nutritive area, so that they can get materials for growth at no cost, and expend nothing appreciable in motion or maintenance of temperature, cell-production may go on without limit. For the agamic multiplication of *Aphides* has been shown to continue for four years, and to all appearance would be ceaseless were the temperature and supply of food continued without break. But now let us pass to analogous illustrations of cause and consequence open to no criticism of the kind just indicated. They are furnished by various kinds of *Entozoa*, of which take the *Trematoda* infesting molluscs and fishes. Of one of them we read:—“*Gyrodactylus* multiplies agamically by the development of a young Trematode within the body, as a sort of internal bud. A second generation appears within the first, and even a third within the second, before the young *Gyrodactylus* is born.”\* And the drawings of Steenstrup, in his “*Alternation of Generations*,” show us, among creatures of this group, a sexless individual, the whole interior of which is transformed into smaller sexless individuals, which severally, before or after their emergence, undergo similar transformations—a multiplication of somatic cells without any sign of reproductive cells. Under what circumstances do such modes of agamic multiplication, variously modified among parasites, occur? They occur where there is no expenditure whatever in motion or maintenance of temperature, and where nutriment surrounds the body on all sides. Other instances are furnished by groups in which, though the nutrition is not abundant, the cost of living is almost unappreciable. Among the *Celenterata* there are the Hydroid Polyps, simple and compound; and among the *Mollusca* we have various types of Ascidians, fixed and floating, *Botryllidae* and *Salpæ*.

But now from these low animals, in which sexless reproduction, and continued multiplication of somatic cells, is common, and one class of which is named “zoophytes,” because its form of life simulates that of plants, let us pass to plants themselves. In these there is no expenditure in effort, there is no expenditure in maintaining temperature, and the food, some of it supplied by the earth, is the rest of it

\* “A Manual of the Anatomy of Invertebrated Animals,” by T. H. Huxley, p. 206.

supplied by a medium which everywhere bathes the outer surface : the utilisation of its contained material being effected *gratis* by the Sun's rays. Just as was to be expected, we here find that agamogenesis may go on without end. Numerous plants and trees are propagated to an unlimited extent by cuttings and buds ; and we have sundry plants which cannot be otherwise propagated. The most familiar are the double roses of our gardens : these do not seed, and yet have been distributed everywhere by grafts and buds. Hothouses furnish many cases, as I learn from an authority second to none. Of "the whole host of tropical orchids, for instance, not one per cent. has ever seeded, and some have been a century under cultivation." Again, we have the *Acorus calamus*, "that has hardly been known to seed anywhere, though it is found wild all over the north temperate hemisphere." And then there is the conspicuous and conclusive case of *Eloidea Canadensis* (alias *Anacharis*) introduced no one knows how, (probably with timber), and first observed in 1847, in several places ; and which, having since spread over nearly all England, now everywhere infests ponds, canals, and small slow rivers. The plant is dioecious, and only the female exists here. Beyond all question, therefore, this vast progeny of the first slip or fragment introduced, now sufficient to cover many square miles were it put together, is constituted entirely of somatic cells ; and this cell-multiplication, and consequent plant-growth, show no signs of decrease. Hence, as far as we can judge, these somatic cells are immortal in the sense given to the word by Professor Weismann ; and the evidence that they are so is immeasurably stronger than the evidence which leads him to assert immortality for the fissiparously-multiplying *Protozoa*. This endless multiplication of somatic cells has been going on under the eyes of numerous observers for forty odd years. What observer has watched for forty years to see whether the fissiparous multiplication of *Protozoa* does not cease ? What observer has watched for one year, or one month, or one week ?

Even were not Professor Weismann's theory disposed of by this evidence, it might be disposed of by a critical examination of his own evidence, using his own tests. Clearly, if we are to measure relative mortalities, we must assume the conditions the same and must use the same measure. Let us do this with some appropriate animal—say Man, as the most open to observation. The mortality of the somatic cells constituting the mass of the human body is, according to Professor Weismann, shown by the decline and final cessation of cell-multiplication in its various organs. Suppose we apply this test to all the organs : not to those only in which there continually arise bile-cells, epithelium-cells, &c., but to those also in which there arise reproductive cells. What do we find ? That the multiplication of these last comes to an end long before the multiplication of the first.

In a healthy woman, the cells which constitute the various active tissues of the body continue to grow and multiply for many years after germ-cells have died out. If similarly measured, then, these cells of the last class prove to be more mortal than those of the first. But Professor Weismann uses a different measure for the two classes of cells. Passing over the illegitimacy of this proceeding, let us accept his other mode of measurement, and see what comes of it. As described by him, absence of death among the *Protozoa* is implied by that unceasing division and subdivision of which they are said to be capable. Fission continued without end, is the definition of the immortality he speaks of. Apply this conception to the reproductive cells in a *Metazoon*. That the immense majority of them do not multiply without end we have already seen: with very rare exceptions they die and disappear without result, and they cease their multiplication while the body as a whole still lives. But what of those extremely exceptional ones which, as being actually instrumental to the maintenance of the species, are alone contemplated by Professor Weismann. Do these continue their fissiparous multiplications without end? By no means. The condition under which alone they preserve a qualified form of existence, is that, instead of one becoming two, two become one. A member of series A and a member of series B coalesce, and so lose their individualities. Now, obviously, if the immortality of a series is shown if its members divide and subdivide perpetually, then the opposite of immortality is shown when, instead of division, there is union. Each series ends, and there is initiated a new series, differing more or less from both. Thus the assertion that the reproductive cells are immortal, can be defended only by changing the conception of immortality otherwise implied.

Even apart from these last criticisms, however, we have clear disproof of the alleged inherent difference between the two classes of cells. Among animals, the multiplication of somatic cells is brought to an end by sundry restraining conditions; but in various plants, where these restraining conditions are absent, the multiplication is unlimited. It may, indeed, be said that the alleged distinction should be reversed; since the fissiparous multiplication of reproductive cells is necessarily interrupted from time to time by coalescence, while that of the somatic cells may go on for a century without being interrupted.

In the essay to which this is a postscript, conclusions were drawn from the remarkable case of the horse and quagga there narrated, along with an analogous case observed among pigs. These conclusions have since been confirmed. I am much indebted to a distinguished correspondent who has drawn my attention to verifying facts furnished by the offspring of whites and negroes in the United States. Refer-



ring to information given him many years ago, he says:—"It was to the effect that the children of white women by a white father had been *repeatedly* observed to show traces of black blood, in cases when the woman had previous connection with [*i.e.*, a child by] a negro." At the time I received this information, an American was visiting me; and, on being appealed to, answered that in the United States there was an established belief to this effect. Not wishing, however, to depend upon hearsay, I at once wrote to America to make inquiries. Professor Cope of Philadelphia has written to friends in the South, but has not yet sent me the results. Professor Marsh, the distinguished palaeontologist, of Yale, New Haven, who is also collecting evidence, sends a preliminary letter in which he says:—"I do not myself know of such a case, but have heard many statements that make their existence probable. One instance, in Connecticut, is vouched for so strongly by an acquaintance of mine; that I have good reason to believe it to be authentic."

That cases of the kind should not be frequently seen in the North, especially nowadays, is of course to be expected. The first of the above quotations refers to facts observed in the South during slavery days; and even then, the implied conditions were naturally very infrequent. Dr. W. J. Youmans of New York has, on my behalf, interviewed several medical professors, who, though they have not themselves met with instances, say that the alleged result, described above, "is generally accepted as a fact." But he gives me what I think must be regarded as authoritative testimony. It is a quotation from the standard work of Professor Austin Flint, and runs as follows:—

"A peculiar and, it seems to be, an inexplicable fact is, that previous pregnancies have an influence upon offspring. This is well known to breeders of animals. If pure-blooded mares or bitches have been once covered by an inferior male, in subsequent fecundations the young are likely to partake of the character of the first male, even if they be afterwards bred with males of unimpeachable pedigree. What the mechanism of the influence of the first conception is, it is impossible to say; but the fact is incontestable. The same influence is observed in the human subject. A woman may have, by a second husband, children who resemble a former husband, and this is particularly well marked in certain instances by the colour of the hair and eyes. A white woman who has had children by a negro may subsequently bear children to a white man, these children presenting some of the unmistakable peculiarities of the negro race."\*

Dr. Youmans called on Professor Flint, who remembered "investigating the subject at the time his larger work was written [the above is from an abridgment], and said that he had never heard the statement questioned."

Some days before I received this letter and its contained quotation,

\* "A Text-Book of Human Physiology." By Austin Flint, M.D., LL.D. Fourth edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888. Page 797.

the remembrance of a remark I heard many years ago concerning dogs, led to the inquiry whether they furnished analogous evidence. It occurred to me that a friend who is frequently appointed judge of animals at agricultural shows, Mr. Fookes, of Fairfield, Pewsey, Wiltshire, might know something about the matter. A letter to him brought various confirmatory statements. From one "who had bred dogs for many years" he learnt that—

"It is a well known and admitted fact that if a bitch has two litters by two different dogs, the character of the first father is sure to be perpetuated in any litters she may afterwards have, no matter how pure-bred a dog may be the begetter."

After citing this testimony, Mr. Fookes goes on to give illustrations known to himself.

"A friend of mine near this had a very valuable Dachshund bitch, which most unfortunately had a litter by a stray sheep-dog. The next year her owner sent her on a visit to a pure Dachshund dog, but the produce took quite as much of the first father as the second, and the next year he sent her to another Dachshund with the same result. Another case:—A friend of mine in Devizes had a litter of puppies, unsought for, by a setter from a favourite pointer bitch, and after this she never bred any true pointers, no matter of what the paternity was."

These further evidences, to which Mr. Fookes has since added others, render the general conclusion incontestable. Coming from remote places, from those who have no theory to support, and who are some of them astonished by the unexpected phenomena, the agreement dissipates all doubt. In four kinds of mammals, widely divergent in their natures—man, horse, dog, and pig—we have this same seemingly anomalous kind of heredity made visible under analogous conditions. We must take it as a demonstrated fact that, during gestation, traits of constitution inherited from the father produce effects upon the constitution of the mother; and that these communicated effects are transmitted by her to subsequent offspring. We are supplied with an absolute disproof of Professor Weismann's doctrine that the reproductive cells are independent of, and uninfluenced by, the somatic cells; and there disappears absolutely the alleged obstacle to the transmission of acquired characters.

Notwithstanding experiences showing the futility of controversy for the establishment of truth, I am tempted here to answer opponents at some length. But even could the editor allow me the needful space, I should be compelled both by lack of time and by ill-health to be brief. I must content myself with noticing a few points which most nearly concern me.

Referring to my argument respecting tactual discriminativeness, Mr. Wallace thinks that I—

"afford a glaring example of taking the unessential in place of the essential, and drawing conclusions from a partial and altogether insufficient survey of the phenomena. For this 'tactical discriminativeness,' which is alone dealt with by Mr. Spencer, forms the least important, and probably only an incidental portion of the great vital phenomenon of skin-sensitiveness, which is at once the watchman and the shield of the organism against imminent external dangers" (*Fortnightly Review*, April 1893, p. 497).

Here Mr. Wallace assumes it to be self-evident that skin-sensitiveness is due to natural selection, and assumes that this must be admitted by me. He supposes it is only the unequal distribution of skin-discriminativeness which I contend is not thus accounted for. But I deny that either the general sensitiveness or the special sensitiveness results from natural selection; and I have years ago justified the first disbelief, as I have recently the second. In "The Factors of Organic Evolution," pp. 66-70, I have given various reasons for inferring that the genesis of the nervous system cannot be due to survival of the fittest; but that it is due to the direct effects of converse between the surface and the environment; and that thus only is to be explained the strange fact that the nervous centres are originally superficial, and migrate inwards during development. These conclusions I have, in the essay Mr. Wallace criticises, upheld by the evidence which blind boys and skilled compositors furnish; proving, as this does, that increased nervous development is peripherally initiated. Mr. Wallace's belief that skin-sensitiveness arose by natural selection is unsupported by a single fact. He assumes that it *must* have been so produced because it is all-important to self-preservation. My belief that it is directly initiated by converse with the environment is supported by facts; and I have given proof that the assigned cause is now in operation. Am I called upon to abandon my own supported belief and accept Mr. Wallace's unsupported belief? I think not.

Referring to my argument concerning blind cave-animals, Professor Lankester, in *Nature* of February 3, 1893, writes:—

"Mr. Spencer shows that the saving of ponderable material in the suppression of an eye is but a small economy: he loses sight of the fact, however, that possibly, or even probably, the saving to the organism in the reduction of an eye to a rudimentary state is not to be measured by mere bulk, but by the non-expenditure of special materials and special activities which are concerned in the production of an organ so peculiar and elaborate as is the vertebrate eye."

It seems to me that a supposition is here made to do duty as a fact; and that I might with equal propriety say that "possibly, or even probably," the vertebrate eye is physiologically cheap: its optical part, constituting nearly its whole bulk, consisting of a low order of tissue. There is, indeed, strong reason for considering it physiologically cheap. If any one remembers how relatively enormous

are the eyes of a fish just out of the egg—a pair of eyes with a body and head attached; and if he then remembers that every egg contains material for such a pair of eyes; he will see that eye-material constitutes a very considerable part of the fish's roe; and that, since the female fish provides this quantity every year, it cannot be expensive. My argument against Weismann is strengthened rather than weakened by contemplation of these facts.

Professor Lankester asks my attention to a hypothesis of his own, published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, concerning the production of blind cave-animals. He thinks it can—

“be fully explained by natural selection acting on congenital fortuitous variations. Many animals are thus born with distorted or defective eyes whose parents have not had their eyes submitted to any peculiar conditions. Supposing a number of some species of Arthropod or Fish to be swept into a cavern or to be carried from less to greater depths in the sea, those individuals with perfect eyes would follow the glimmer of light and eventually escape to the outer air or the shallower depths, leaving behind those with imperfect eyes to breed in the dark place. A natural selection would thus be effected” in successive generations.

First of all, I demur to the words “many animals.” Under the abnormal conditions of domestication, congenitally defective eyes may be not very uncommon; but their occurrence under natural conditions is, I fancy, extremely rare. Supposing, however, that in a shoal of young fish, there occur some with eyes seriously defective. What will happen? Vision is all-important to the young fish, both for obtaining food and for escaping from enemies. This is implied by the immense development of eyes just referred to. Considering that out of the enormous number of young fish hatched with perfect eyes, not one in a hundred reaches maturity, what chance of surviving would there be for those with imperfect eyes? Inevitably they would be starved or be snapped up. Hence the chances that a matured or partially matured semi-blind fish, or rather two such, male and female, would be swept into a cave and left behind are extremely remote. Still more remote must the chances be in the case of cray-fish. Sheltering themselves as these do under stones, in crevices, and in burrows which they make in the banks, and able quickly to anchor themselves to weeds or sticks by their claws, it seems scarcely supposable that any of them could be carried into a cave by a flood. What, then, is the probability that there will be two nearly blind ones, and that these will be thus carried? Then after this first extreme improbability, there comes a second, which we may, I think, rather call an impossibility. How would it be possible for creatures subject to so violent a change of habitat to survive? Surely death would quickly follow the subjection to such utterly unlike conditions

and modes of life. The existence of these blind cave-animals can be accounted for only by supposing that their remote ancestors began making excursions into the cave, and, finding it profitable, extended them, generation after generation, further in: undergoing the required adaptations little by little.

I turn now to Dr. Romanes. He says that I do not understand Weismann; and that the cause of degeneration to which he gives the name of "Panmixia" is not the continued selection of the smaller variations. Let us see what are Weismann's words.

"The complete disappearance of a rudimentary organ can only take place by the operation of natural selection; this principle will lead to its elimination, inasmuch as the disappearing structure takes the place and the nutriment of other useful and important organs" ("Essays upon Heredity," p. 88).

"Those fluctuations on either side of the average which we call myopia and hypermetropia, occur in the same manner, and are due to the same causes, as those which operate in producing degeneration in the eyes of cave-dwelling animals" (*Ib.* p. 89).

Here, then, are two propositions: (1) "Fluctuations on either side of the average" "operate in producing degeneration in the eyes of cave-dwelling animals." (2) "A rudimentary organ" is removed "by the operation of natural selection." Why are "fluctuations on either side of the average" named, unless it is that natural selection takes advantage of them by preserving the smaller variations? If this is not meant the use of the expression is meaningless. Yet Dr. Romanes agrees with Weismann in regarding the "degenerated eye of the *Proteus* as a good example of the disappearance of a complex and useless structure by Panmixia."\* So that Panmixia is clearly identified with the selection of the smaller variations; and for the reason that economy of nutrition is so achieved. Where, then, is the misunderstanding? That my interpretation is correct I have further reason for holding; namely, that it is the one given by Weismann's adherent, Prof. Lankester, in *Nature*, March 27, 1890 (pp. 487-8). But while I cannot admit my failure to understand Weismann, I confess that I do not understand Dr. Romanes. How, when natural selection, direct or reversed, is set aside, the mere cessation of selection should cause decrease of an organ *irrespective of the direct effects of disuse*, I am unable to see. Clearer conceptions of these matters would be reached if, instead of thinking in abstract terms, the physiological processes concerned were brought into the foreground. Beyond the production of changes in the sizes of parts by the selection of fortuitously arising variations, I can see but one other cause for the production of them—the competition among the parts for nutriment. This has the effect that active parts are well supplied and grow, while

\* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April 1893, p. 509.

inactive parts are ill supplied and dwindle.\* This competition is the cause of "economy of growth"; this is the cause of decrease from disuse; and this is the only conceivable cause of that decrease which Dr. Romanes contends follows the cessation of selection. The three things are aspects of the same thing. And now, before leaving this question, let me remark on the strange proposition which has to be defended by those who deny the dwindling of organs from disuse. Their proposition amounts to this:—that for a hundred generations an inactive organ may be partially denuded of blood all through life, and yet in the hundredth generation will be produced of just the same size as in the first!

There is one other passage in Dr. Romanes' criticism—that concerning the influence of a previous sire on progeny—which calls for comment. He sets down what he supposes Weismann will say in response to my argument. "First, he may question the fact." Well, after the additional evidence given above, I think he is not likely to do that; unless, indeed, it be that along with readiness to base conclusions on things "it is easy to imagine" there goes reluctance to accept testimony which it is difficult to doubt. Second, he is supposed to reply that "the germ-plasm of the first sire has in some way or another become partly commingled with that of the immature ova"; and Dr. Romanes goes on to describe how there may be millions of spermatozoa and "thousands of millions" of their contained "ids" around the ovaries, to which these secondary effects are due. But, on the one hand, he does not explain why in such case each subsequent ovum, as it becomes matured, is not fertilised by the sperm-cells present, or their contained germ-plasm, rendering all subsequent fecundations needless; and, on the other hand, he does not explain why, if this does not happen, the potency of this remaining germ-plasm is nevertheless such as to affect not only the next succeeding offspring, but all subsequent offspring. The irreconcilability of these two implications would, I think, sufficiently dispose of the supposition, even had we not daily multitudinous proofs that the surface of a mammalian ovarium is not a spermatheca. The third difficulty Dr. Romanes urges is the inconceivability of the process by which the germ-plasm of a preceding male parent affects the constitution of the female and her subsequent offspring. In response, I have to ask why he piles up a mountain of difficulties based on the assumption that Mr. Darwin's explanation of heredity by "Pangenesis" is the only available explanation preceding that of Weismann? and why he presents these difficulties to me more especially, deliberately ignoring my own hypothesis of physiological units? It cannot be that he is ignorant of this hypothesis,

\* See "Social Organism" in *Westminster Review* for January 1860; also "Principles of Sociology," § 247.

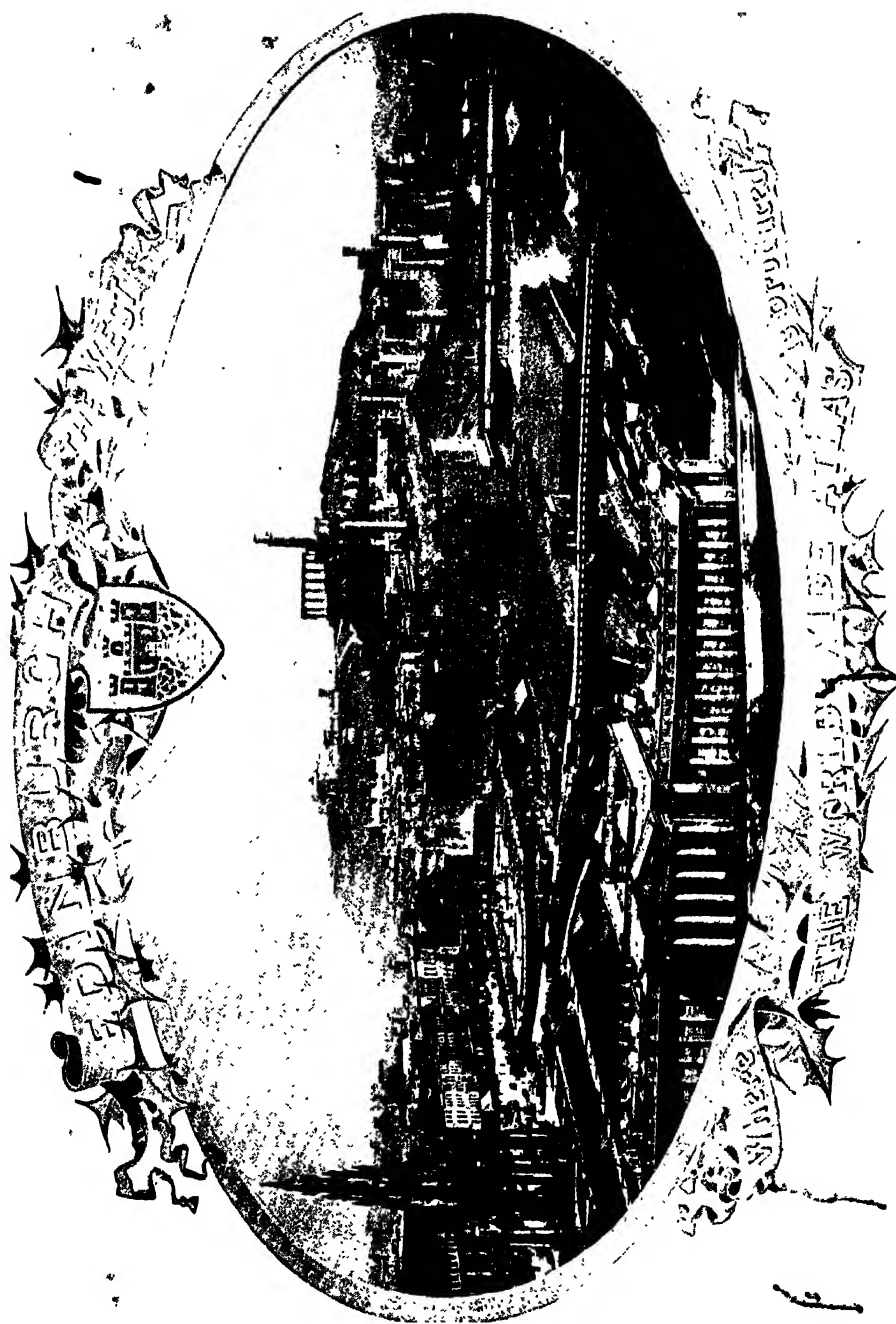
since the work in which it is variously set forth ("Principles of Biology," §§ 66-97) is one with which he is well acquainted: witness his "Scientific Evidences of Organic Evolution;" and he has had recent reminders of it in Weismann's "Germ-plasm," where it is repeatedly referred to. Why, then, does he assume that I abandon my own hypothesis and adopt that of Darwin, thereby entangling myself in difficulties which my own hypothesis avoids? If, as I have argued, the germ-plasm consists of substantially similar units (having only those minute differences expressive of individual and ancestral differences of structure), none of the complicated requirements which Dr. Romanes emphasises exist, and the alleged inconceivability disappears.

Here I must end: not intending to say more, unless for some very urgent reason, and leaving others to carry on the discussion. I have, indeed, been led to suspend for a short time my proper work only by consciousness of the transcendent importance of the question at issue. As I have before contended, a right answer to the question whether acquired characters are or are not inherited, underlies right beliefs not only in Biology and Psychology, but also in Education, Ethics, and Politics.

HERBERT SPENCER.

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NOTE.—In Mr. Elliston's article on the "Payment of Members" in the April number of this REVIEW, p. 496, it is stated that Mr. Henry Fowler in 1892 opposed the payment. The name of Mr. "Henry Fowler" is a printer's error for Mr. "Hayes Fisher," who is the member referred to. Mr. Fowler did not speak in the debate.



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## ULSTER: FACTS AND FIGURES.



ULSTER is very much to the fore just now, and her wonderful prosperity, untold wealth and unequalled progress, not to mention her superiority over the rest of Ireland, are so persistently dinned into our ears by Unionist politicians and thrust before our eyes in the columns of Unionist newspapers, that it may perhaps not be unadvisable to take some such impartial record of facts and figures as the Census, the Blue Books, or the Parliamentary Returns, and see what is the truth about it all, especially after Lord Salisbury's performances in the North of Ireland during Whitsun week.

Ulster has long had her legend, which is now being worked for all that it is worth and more, and which might be concisely expressed in the following words: "Ulster, tried by every test of progress, wealth, education, and the comfortable dwellings of the people, is far in advance of the southern and western provinces of Ireland." To which is generally added as a corollary: "Ulster is almost exclusively Protestant," and "Ulster is almost exclusively Unionist."

This is the Ulster legend, and it is really incredible that a legend so groundless should have survived so long the invention of the Census. I have before me the census of Ulster for the year 1891, with summaries of other censuses since 1841, and I beg leave to place before the readers of this REVIEW the facts and figures of the progress of Ulster under the Union.

Ulster contains nine counties—viz., Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone—divided into 27 Parliamentary divisions and three Parliamentary boroughs:—Belfast, four divisions, Derry City, and Newry; and therefore sends 33 Members to Parliament. Its total area, land and water, is

5,488,200 statute acres, or a percentage of 26·4 of the total area of Ireland.

The population of Ulster is 1,619,814—a decrease of 123,261 in the last ten years, and of over three-quarters of a million in the last fifty years. The following table shows the way Ulster progresses:

Census Periods.	Population.	Decrease between Census Periods.	
1841 . . .	2,386,373	...	...
1851 . . .	2,011,880	...	374,493
1861 . . .	1,914,236	...	97,644
1871 . . .	1,833,228	...	81,008
1881 . . .	1,743,075	...	90,153
1891 . . .	1,619,814	...	123,261

Total decrease since 1841 . . . 766,559

Since 1841 Ireland has lost 43·26 per cent. of her population, or 3,588,899 inhabitants. It will be seen by the figures just quoted that the decrease has been almost as strong and persistent in Ulster as in the Celtic and apathetic South. Ulster, with 26·4 per cent. of the area, has contributed 21·4 per cent. of the decrease of the population of Ireland. Taking the population in 1841 and the population in 1891, we see that Ulster in fifty years has actually lost 32·2 per cent. of her population.

The contrast is still more striking if we confine ourselves to emigration, instead of taking the actual decrease in the population. From the 1st of May 1851, the date on which the enumeration of emigrants from Irish ports rather tardily commenced, to the 31st of March 1891, the last date included in the returns, 3,742,746 people left Ireland as emigrants. Of these Ulster contributed 999,135, or 26·8 per cent., actually more than one-fourth, distributed as follows:

Decade ending	Emigrants.
1861 March 31 . . . . .	341,261
1871 .. . . .	201,240
1881 .. . . .	240,110
1891 .. . . .	216,524

Total number . . . . . 999,135

Close upon *one million in forty years* from a single province.

Unionists are never tired of appealing to the prosperity of Ulster in support of the present form of Government; and their great argument, whether they hail from the Orange lodges or the Dublin Stock Exchange, whether they be landed gentry or industrials, is that Home Government will check the progress of Ireland and will bring ruin to the country. It therefore logically follows that they admit the importance of the form of government to the progress or decline of a country; more than that, that they consider the form of government as the head and front, as practically the only cause, of that progress or decline. A strict economist

might not go so far, but Irish Nationalists are prepared to follow the Unionists on their own grounds. If the progress of Ireland under the Union would be a valid reason for the upholding of the present system, the decline of Ireland would be an equally valid reason against it. Do not these figures tell eloquently enough our *progress* under the present *régime*?

This system of depletion is peculiar to Ireland. All the other countries of Europe, be they ever so poor, be they ever so cursed with the worst systems of self-government, be they ever so worried with internal or external difficulties, exhibit an increase of population. Look from Spain and Portugal, through the German States and the Balkan Peninsula, to Russia;—everywhere there is an increase; look from Greece and Italy to Sweden and Norway;—everywhere there is an increase. Ireland alone has the mournful distinction amongst all the nations of the world of having lost almost half her population in fifty years, and decade after decade, year after year, of registering a steady, regular, heart-breaking decline.

But the significance of the figures of decline quoted above for all Ulster can be rightly and fully appreciated only if we consider the relative proportion which each of the constituent parts of the province contributed to them. Because one city in Ulster—Belfast—has made rapid progress, some people take it for granted that the whole province has progressed accordingly. One single Ulster county—Antrim, the county which includes the greater part of Belfast—shows *prima facie* an increase in population of 6185 in the last decade. But if we leave the city of Belfast out of consideration, we see plainly that County Antrim has followed the same downward grade as the other Ulster counties.

Counties.	Population 1881.	Population 1891.	Population 1891.	Decrease in last Decade.			
Antrim (exclusive of Belfast, part of) .	290,428	...	237,738	...	215,229	...	22,500
Armagh . . . . .	232,393	...	163,177	...	143,289	...	19,888
Cavan . . . . .	243,158	...	129,476	...	111,917	...	17 559
Donegal . . . . .	296,448	...	206,035	...	185,635	...	20,400
Down (exclusive of Belfast, part of) .	361,416	...	248,190	...	224,008	...	24,182
Fermanagh . . . . .	156,481	...	84 879	...	74,170	...	10,709
Londonderry . . . . .	222,174	...	164 991	...	152,009	...	12,982
Monaghan . . . . .	200,442	...	102,748	...	86,206	...	16,542
Tyrone . . . . .	312,956	...	197,719	...	171,401	...	26,318

Is Mr. T. W. Russell satisfied with the progress which "our glorious inheritance" has worked in the county which returns him to Parliament? A loss of 26,318 inhabitants in the last ten years, of 141,555 inhabitants in the last fifty years, for a single county in Ulster: what a commentary upon the blessings of the Unionist policy!

Has Mr. T. W. Russell ever thought of his Tyrone when he descanted upon the progress of Ulster? Did not those 26,000 Tyrone men who so greatly appreciated the blessings of the Union in the

course of the last ten years that they betook themselves to the other end of the world in order to enjoy them more fully, remind him that he was merely indulging in senseless bluster when, last April, he informed a *Central News* representative that, "while he was unable to speak of the armed drilling which it was alleged was going on in the north of Ireland, he could pledge himself to this, that every house in South Tyrone was armed in order to defend the Union." But Tyrone is not an isolated case. What of the staunch Presbyterian counties of Antrim and Down, the pillars of Unionism and Protestantism in Ireland, the counties which are ever brought forward as the most progressive and wealthy in Ireland? Is it satisfactory progress for Antrim to have lost 22,509 inhabitants in the last ten years and 75,199 in the last fifty years, and for Down to have lost 24,182 inhabitants in the last ten years and 137,438 in the last fifty years? This is unfair, it may be argued, since Belfast is not included. Belfast is situated partly in Antrim and partly in Down. The total population of Antrim and Down, Belfast included, was, in 1881, 694,050; in 1891 it was 695,187. So that the wonderful increase of Belfast, about which so much is made, has added only 1137 people to Antrim and Down in ten years. Fifty years ago, when Belfast was a town of a little over 70,000 inhabitants, Antrim and Down, Belfast included, had a joint population of 722,321. The development of Belfast has not prevented the joint population of those two counties, which it is a commonplace to describe as rising in prosperity and progress with the manufacturing counties of England, from falling off by 27,134 in fifty years. Would any of the manufacturing counties of England reckon as progress a decrease of 27,134 in population in fifty years, and be so exultant over even an increase of 0.1 per cent. in population for the last ten years? But I repeat, that if we include Belfast, we cannot discover the dry rot which is eating Antrim and Down faster than most Ulster counties. Where are the staunch race of farmers and the rural population of these counties going at the rate of 22,500 and 24,000 per decade respectively? If there is so much satisfaction with the present state of things in Ulster that we are threatened with a rising in arms in case anything should happen to disturb it, why, in the name of goodness, is the population vanishing so rapidly in that province; why, with the exception of the single city of Belfast, is everything on the downward grade; why, while there were ten years ago seven civic districts with a population over ten thousand, are there only five now; why is Presbyterian Carrickfergus decreasing at the rate of 11 per cent., and Protestant and primatial Armagh at the rate of 26.2 per cent.? Belfast has only increased its population by 22 per cent. during the last decade.\*

\* Carrickfergus . . . population, 1881, 10,009 ... population 1891, 8,923

Armagh . . . . . " " 10,070 ... " " 7,438

Belfast . . . . . " " 208,122 ... " " 255,950

Mr. Balfour, at the Belfast demonstration on April 4, said :—

"they [the Gladstonians] mean to thrust down these people's [the Ulstermen's] throats, if need be, as I understand, at the point of the bayonet, a Constitution which separates them from the Empire which they love (cheers), and under whose laws they desire to dwell (cheers). Mr. Gladstone desires that if British bayonets are to be used it shall be to compel those to leave the British Empire, to leave the unity of the kingdom who desire to remain members of it—to compel those to separate themselves from us in England who wish to be in perpetual partnership with us."

Is it their fanatical love of the Empire "under whose laws they desire to dwell" which sends these Ulstermen to self-governing countries and colonies in America or Australasia? Is it their "wish to be in perpetual partnership with us," or their overmastering "desire to remain members of the unity of the Kingdom," which sends them every year in tens of thousands to seek fortune under the Stars and Stripes?

It is not only, as might be supposed, the Celtic and Catholic portions of Ulster that have suffered heavily during the fifty years under consideration. A reference to the table of decrease per county given above will show that within the last decade, to go no farther, the counties which show the heaviest actual loss are Tyrone, Down, and Antrim. The most cursory glance at the columns of figures for 1841 and 1891 will convince any one that it is not the poorest parts of Ulster whose population has been cut down by more than one-half in fifty years. It is not the wilds of Donegal which have been swept bare, but the fertile counties of Monaghan, where arable land is 90·3 of the whole area—the highest percentage of arable land in any county in Ulster,—of Cavan, which is 86·3 arable land, of Fermanagh, which is 84·4; but the Presbyterian and progressive counties of Antrim and Down. Let any Unionist of good faith, who is impressed by the argument that the Unionist policy has meant the progress of Ulster, ponder over the following percentages. The present is not a time for any sane man to place his reliance in grandiloquent phrases. It is time that all should look at figures and learn the lesson they teach.

Counties.	Percentage of arable land.	Percentage of decrease since 1841 in population.	Percentage of decrease since 1891.
Monaghan . . . . .	90·3	57·0	16·1
Cavan . . . . .	86·3	54·0	13·6
Fermanagh . . . . .	84·4	52·7	12·6
Tyrone . . . . .	74·3	45·3	13·3
Armagh . . . . .	87·6	28·3	12·2
Down (exclusive of part of Belfast) . . . . .	84·6	38·0	9·9
Donegal . . . . .	54·7	37·6	9·9
Londonderry . . . . .	73·7	31·6	7·9
Antrim (exclusive of part of Belfast) . . . . .	80·1	26·0	9·5
Aggregate percentages.			Percentage of increase in last decade.
Antrim and Down (includ. Belfast)	83·0	4·0	0 1

Wealthy and prosperous Down, with its 84·6 per cent. arable land, where landlords are so kind, where everything goes on so smoothly according to Unionist testimony, decreasing faster than barren Donegal with its Olphert estates, and its eviction campaigns! Monaghan, which has the highest percentage of arable land, showing the highest percentage of decrease in population, and that percentage being 57·0 per cent. for the last fifty years, and 16·1 per cent. for the last decade. It is not the poor that go, but those who are presumably better off; and the movement is not of new growth, attributable to the fear of Home Rule, but has been going on steadily for the last half-century. And even within the last ten years it was not when there was a prospect of Home Rule that emigration from Ulster was heaviest, but just when Home Rule was, in the words of a certain eminent politician, "as dead as Queen Anne"; just when Mr. Balfour was ruling the Celt with an iron hand and patting Ulster on the back; just when Lord Salisbury was proposing "twenty years of resolute Government" for Ireland. The following emigration table from Ulster speaks for itself:

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1881 . . . . .	24,101	1887 . . . . .	24,654
1882 . . . . .	26,081	1888 . . . . .	21,667
1883 . . . . .	29,918	1889 . . . . .	17,108
1884 . . . . .	21,704	1890 . . . . .	14,277
1885 . . . . .	19,498	1891 . . . . .	13,264
1886 . . . . .	19,637		

Seven and eight years ago, when Home Rule was on the *tapis*, Ulster's yearly emigration suddenly fell by more than 2000, to increase by 5000 when the Tories took office; when Home Rule became again the question of the hour and the anti-Irish administration was drawing to a close, another striking fall in emigration occurred in Ulster, and the Registrar-General's statistics of the population for the quarter ending December 31, 1892,\* the first quarter after Mr. Gladstone took office, show not a diminishing decrease, but for the first time probably since fifty years, an actual increase of 75 in the population of Ireland.

Let us now refer to the wealth argument. That Belfast has increased and is increasing every Irishman is proud to admit. That its inhabitants are thrifty and enterprising, no fair-minded man will deny. Belfast people have a right to be proud of their city, and they can even be forgiven for being inordinately proud of it. But they ought not to forget, as Mr. Gladstone reminded a deputation of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, who apparently had forgotten it, that Belfast is not Ireland—is not even Ulster. Moreover, even the Belfast merchants and industrials can hardly maintain seriously that

\* Published March 27, 1893.



they would not do a more prosperous business if Ulster had to-day three-quarters of a million more inhabitants than she has; in other words, if the population had remained stationary for the last half century, and if Ireland had a population 43 per cent. larger than she has now. Is it wise of them, from the commercial point of view, to support with such vigour a policy which has meant the depopulation of Ireland, which has meant the cutting down by 57 per cent. and by 54 per cent. in fifty years of the population in those counties of Ulster more richly endowed by nature, like Monaghan and Cavan?

Besides, the progress and trade of Ulster are exaggerated for political purposes, and even the Belfast Chamber of Commerce itself has not deemed it *infra dig.* to have recourse to a trick in order to make a stronger impression upon the public mind. In a document published by that body on March 18th last, and to which allusion was made during the interview with Mr. Gladstone, we read on page 5: "The Customs amount to £2,576,511, Inland Revenue about £900,000 more, making together over £3,250,000, &c." Now the total Customs collected in Belfast are, according to the Annual Statement of Trade of the United Kingdom (Blue Book, c. 6676) 1892, £939,526. When the discrepancy was pointed out the phrase was amended in subsequent issues of the document to the following: "The amount collected by the Customs Department, Belfast, for 1892 was £2,576,511, &c., and by the Inland Revenue about £900,000 more, &c." The phrase is technically correct, but the fact that the "mistake" when pointed out was not otherwise corrected, and that the figure £2,576,511 was still kept before the public as "collected by the Customs Department" without further explanation, shows a very keen desire to hoodwink the unsuspecting Britisher. Belfast customs are not over two millions and a half, but are £939,526. The difference is made up of death duties, stamps, income-tax, excise, and some other items of Inland Revenue which are collected in Belfast by Custom House officials. Belfast has a large trade, and collects heavy customs in comparison with other cities in Ireland; but was it necessary to bolster up the importance of Belfast by this device? It is only during the last six years that Belfast has succeeded in beating Dublin, and Dublin still follows Belfast closely. Up to 1884 Dublin was the fourth city in the United Kingdom in regard to the gross amount of customs received. Only London, Liverpool, and Glasgow collected a larger amount than Dublin. In 1884 Bristol stepped before Dublin, and in 1885 Belfast did the same. In 1891 they stood in the following order: London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Belfast, Dublin.

But there are other means of appreciating the commercial status of a city besides looking at a gross amount of customs collected. It would be more satisfactory to have a statement of the value of exports

and imports, and of the shipping. Also, since Belfast is now raising a pretension to dictate to the United Kingdom on the ground of her own commercial importance, it might not be out of place to make a comparison between her and other cities of the United Kingdom, and to see what place she occupies amongst them in regard to trade. No doubt it is very shocking to say so, but Belfast as a trading city can be given the twelfth rank amongst the cities of the United Kingdom only by the utmost leniency. I know it is rank heresy for me to make that statement; but I am not responsible for facts and figures. Instead of taking Belfast at her own valuation, I have gone to the Blue Books for information; and if those cold and dusty but trustworthy tomes do not bear out the Orange spouters, whose fault is it? The Belfast Chamber of Commerce have omitted from their statement the interesting fact that in 1891 the value of exports from Belfast was only £45,622; in other words, that Belfast stood forty-first amongst the cities of the United Kingdom in regard to the value of exports, coming between Aberdeen (£109,695) and Wick. Mr. Gladstone is certainly not responsible for that, for during the whole twelve months of 1891 Belfast enjoyed the priceless blessing of a Salisbury Administration. If I wanted to use against Belfast the methods of argument which her own Chamber of Commerce have put in honour, I would leave those figures to speak for themselves, in the hope that people would draw the conclusion that Belfast exports never stood very much higher. I might add, perhaps, that in the previous year things were a little better, and that the northern capital of Ireland came thirty-fourth instead of forty-first in regard to the value of exports. But I want to be fair and just towards Belfast. Belfast is one of our chief commercial cities, disputing often successfully with Dublin the commercial supremacy in Ireland, and it is already sad enough to see those cities in the ranks where the benefits of the Union have placed them without attempting to artificially depress them further. People can see what a beggarly thing is the commerce of Ireland when they know that not a single Irish city during the twelve years 1880–1891 (inclusive) exported goods to the value of £1,000,000 per year. The high water-mark of Belfast exports was reached in 1883, when the value was a little over three-quarters of a million sterling. Belfast is the city which has the largest export trade in Ireland. Yet what is the position of Belfast amongst the cities of the United Kingdom in regard to the value of the export trade? In 1880 Belfast came 24th; in 1881, 22nd; in 1882, 22nd; in 1883, 22nd; in 1884, 20th; in 1885, 22nd; in 1886, 21st; in 1887, 21st; in 1888, 21st; in 1889, 24th; in 1890, 34th; in 1891, 41st.\* One would rather think that for a city which occupies no

\* The export figures are taken from the "Annual Statement of the Trade of the United Kingdom," page 29, abstract table 16, for the years 1885, 1888, and 1892 [c. 4459, c. 5451, and c. 5676]. For import figures see abstract table 9, page 16, same vols. Imports and exports include foreign and British.

higher position, Belfast is making a little too much noise and giving herself an importance which is not a little ridiculous.

Let us turn to the import trade now. In 1880, Belfast came 22nd; beating Dublin; in 1881, 21st; in 1882, 25th; in 1883, 22nd; in 1884, 19th; in 1885, 18th; in 1886, 18th, beaten by Dublin in each of these years; in 1887, 17th; in 1888, 20th; in 1889, 18th; in 1890, 16th; in 1891, 16th, beating Dublin in each of these years. Imports increase while exports decrease, which is not a healthy sign for a manufacturing city.

A glance at the shipping of Belfast with foreign countries and the colonies might also be instructive. I have taken at random the years 1884, 1887, and 1891.\*

VESSELS ENTERED.

		Total s.s. and sail.	Tonn.
1884	Dublin	392	225,187
	Belfast	302	173,385
	(Belfast is 23rd, beaten by Dundee.)		
1887	Dublin	380	240,459
	Belfast	330	231,354
	(Belfast is 23rd, beaten by Dundee.)		
1891	Dublin	338	228,788
	Belfast	358	248,048
	(Belfast is 20th, beats Dundee, Greenock, and Dublin.)		

VESSELS CLEARED.

		Total s.s. and sail.	Tonn.
1884	Dublin	127	68,917
	Belfast	143	84,619
	(Belfast is 23rd, beaten by Dundee.)		
1887	Dublin	145	88,702
	Belfast	106	63,671
	(Belfast is 24th, beaten by Dundee.)		
1891	Dublin	126	79,160
	Belfast	109	81,179
	(Belfast is 22nd, beats Dundee.)		

So that Belfast, Dublin, and Dundee are struggling hard with each other for the 21st or 22nd place amongst the various ports of the United Kingdom, classified according to the number of vessels engaged in the colonial and foreign trade. Belfast's vessels entered, ranging from 300 to 350, and vessels cleared, ranging from 100 to 150, seem very miserable indeed when one knows that with the exception of five or six all the English and Scotch ports coming before Belfast (and there are at least twenty of them) rule into four figures, and in many instances into five. As to the total number of sail and steam vessels entered and cleared with cargo and in ballast from and to foreign countries, British possessions and coastwise, Belfast comes 8th in regard to the number of vessels and 9th in tonnage (Dublin having a higher tonnage) for vessels entered, and 7th for the number of vessels, and 9th in tonnage (Dublin having a

\* See table 14 (pages 48-78) of the "Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping," which is usually bound with the "Statement of Trade."

higher tonnage) for vessels cleared.\* As regards the number of vessels cleared with cargo alone, Belfast comes 11th, Cardiff, Faversham, Liverpool, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport, Rochester, Sunderland, Glasgow, and Greenock coming before her.† Was it not undue leniency on my part to rank Belfast 12th as a trading city? Should not it have been 21st, perhaps?

But trade is not the only measure of wealth or the only sign of comfort. Let us revert to the census, and dip into the pages which are devoted to "houses." This will afford us an opportunity of looking more closely into the real circumstances of Ulster, by comparing the classes of houses in Ulster with those in the other provinces, by examining the character and value of agricultural holdings in the various provinces of Ireland, and by ascertaining the real position of Ulster in Ireland with regard to the rateable valuation of the provinces, and the amount of wealth of the inhabitants in each province.

In 1841, Ulster contained 414,551 inhabited houses and 21,590 uninhabited. In 1891 it contained 326,547 inhabited and 29,479 uninhabited. There is only one city in Ulster which contains more than 50,000 houses; it is, of course, Belfast. But the actual number of inhabited houses in Belfast is only 46,376. From this we fall to Londonderry, with 5292 inhabited houses. There are no cities of 4000 or 3000 houses; three cities have more than 2000 and less than 3000; seven cities have between 1000 and 2000, and all the other cities and townships of Ulster have less than 1000 houses.

As regards the class of accommodation in rural districts, it is obvious from a glance at Plate III. of the General Report, that Ulster is behind Leinster and Munster in the matter of first-class house-accommodation. It has a far higher percentage of third-class accommodation, but the lowest class (the fourth) is less numerous than in any other province in Ireland. The following gives per province the percentage of families inhabiting houses of the various classes:

	First class.	Second class.	Third class.	Fourth class.
Leinster . . .	7.4	50.9	37.7	4.0
Munster . . .	5.1	50.2	39.1	5.6
Ulster . . .	5.1	49.5	43.2	2.2
Connaught . .	3.1	41.4	51.8	3.7

It may perhaps be argued that percentages for a whole province cannot give an accurate idea of the true circumstances of the province in cases when there are peculiarly poor districts, like Donegal in Ulster—the low figures for one such district being sufficient to drag down percentages which otherwise would stand high. But this argument is of no value in the present case, because the other provinces have each their peculiarly poor districts, some of which are more miserable than even Donegal. There are three Irish counties which have fewer families inhabiting first-class houses than Donegal, and which at the

\* "Annual Statement of Navigation and Shipping, 1892," table 43.

† *Ibid.*, table 37.

same time have a larger number huddled in the wretched hovels of the fourth class; they are Clare, Kerry, and Mayo. The percentages are: Donegal, first class, 3·9; fourth class, 3·1. Clare, first class, 3·1; fourth class, 4·0. Kerry, first class, 2·8; fourth class, 10·0; (Kerry has by far the highest percentage of hovels of any county in Ireland) Mayo, first class, 1·9; fourth class, 4·6. Donegal has not even the highest percentage of third-class accommodation; it is overtopped by Mayo by almost 12 per cent. From this it will be perceived that Ulster gets no special wrong from Donegal in the provincial percentages just quoted.

The richest counties in Ulster in superior house accommodation are Down and Antrim, followed at a considerable distance by Derry. It may be that a large number of people believe that the prosperous farmers of Antrim and Down enjoy the best house accommodation in Ireland. It will probably be new to them to learn that the premier county in Ulster occupies only the seventh rank among the counties of Ireland with regard to house accommodation of the first class. Figures and facts have unfortunately no respect for the high-sounding phrases of Unionist oratory.

County.*	First-class house accommodation, percentage.
Dublin . . . . .	12·2
Wexford . . . . .	9·1
Kildare . . . . .	8·6
Wicklow . . . . .	8·6
Kilkenny . . . . .	8·0
Carlow (second-class accommodation higher than Down) . . . . .	7·5
<i>Down</i> . . . . .	7·5
<i>Antrim</i> (second-class accommodation higher than Meath) . . . . .	7·1
Meath . . . . .	7·1
Waterford . . . . .	6·8
Cork . . . . .	6·2
Westmeath . . . . .	6·1
Tipperary (second-class accommodation higher than Londonderry) . . . . .	6·0
<i>Londonderry</i> (second-class accommodation higher than Queen's) . . . . .	6·0
Queen's . . . . .	6·0
King's . . . . .	5·9
Louth . . . . .	5·6
Sligo . . . . .	5·4
Limerick . . . . .	4·9
<i>Armagh</i> (second-class accommodation higher than Tyrone) . . . . .	4·8
<i>Tyrone</i> . . . . .	4·8
<i>Monaghan</i> . . . . .	4·8
Longford . . . . .	4·1
<i>Fermanagh</i> (second-class accommodation higher than Cavan) . . . . .	4·0
<i>Cavan</i> . . . . .	4·0
<i>Donegal</i> . . . . .	3·9
Galway . . . . .	3·2
Kerry . . . . .	2·8
Mayo . . . . .	1·9

\* Ulster counties are printed in italics.

So that two-thirds of the counties of Ulster occupy almost the very lowest places amongst the counties of Ireland with regard to the first-class house accommodation by families, and the other third manage to reach a by no means high place. Is that what one would have been led to expect from the persistently sounded laudations of the prosperity of Ulster?

But it may be said that in order to appreciate the true degree of middle-class comfort which we are told is characteristic of Ulster, in the midst of the wretchedness of other parts of Ireland, we must include second-class house accommodation. Let us therefore see what is the position of the Ulster counties amongst the counties of Ireland as regards both first- and second-class house accommodation.

County *	Percentages, including fir. t and second class.
Wicklow . . . . .	68·8
Carlow . . . . .	66·2
<i>Down</i> . . . . .	66·0 *
Dublin . . . . .	64·5
Kilkenny . . . . .	64·4
Tipperary . . . . .	61·9
Waterford . . . . .	61·6
Cork . . . . .	60·5
Wexford . . . . .	60·2
<i>Fermanagh</i> . . . . .	59·9
<i>Antrim</i> . . . . .	58·9
Westmeath . . . . .	58·3
Clare (lower fourth class than Longford) . . . . .	56·7
Longford . . . . .	56·7
<i>Armagh</i> . . . . .	55·6
Queen's (lower fourth class than Leitrim) . . . . .	55·5
Leitrim . . . . .	55·5
King's . . . . .	55·4
<i>Monaghan</i> . . . . .	55·3
Sligo . . . . .	54·6
<i>Cavan</i> . . . . .	54·5
<i>Londonderry</i> . . . . .	53·5
Limerick . . . . .	52·3
<i>Tyrone</i> . . . . .	51·5
Kildare (lower fourth class than Meath) . . . . .	50·4
Meath . . . . .	50·4
Roscommon . . . . .	49·5
Louth . . . . .	48·9
Galway (lower fourth class than Kerry) . . . . .	38·4
Kerry . . . . .	38·4
<i>Donegal</i> . . . . .	37·3
Mayo . . . . .	24·4

It is obvious from the foregoing figures that the comfort of Ulster, as instanced by the housing of its inhabitants, is no greater than in other parts of Ireland. Ulster does not head the list of percentages of first- and second-class house accommodation. Down occupies only the third place, and Antrim, that other fortress of wealthy and industrious Presbyterianism, the eleventh. Protestant Antrim, where Roman Catholics form barely 25 per cent. of the population, is beaten by Fermanagh, where they are 56 per cent., by just one per cent. Yet we seldom hear of the superior condition of Fermanagh while the

\* Ulster counties are printed in italics.

superior condition of Antrim threatens to pass into a proverb with many educated people. One would think that people so industrious and so wealthy and so contented as those Ulster farmers might pay a little more attention to their housing, and not huddle together in the miserable dwellings and hovels of what are known in Ireland as the third and fourth class of dwelling-houses. Has not the paternal Ulsterian landlordism, which is now so anxious for the preservation of the present happy state of things, some responsibility for that result? Here is the position of the four provinces of Ireland as regards house accommodation of the first and second class:

Province.	Percentages, including first and second class.
Leinster . . . . .	58·3
Munster . . . . .	55·3
Ulster . . . . .	54·6
Connaught . . . . .	44·5

Result: Ulster more badly housed than Leinster and Munster. And when we remember that the housing of Ireland has become a byword amongst nations, we may perhaps have an idea what that means.

The Ulster farmer has been so much to the fore that I may be pardoned for looking a little more closely into his circumstances, and for giving a few figures concerning agricultural holdings in Ulster and the rest of Ireland. The total population on agricultural holdings is for each province as follows:

Ulster . . . . .	1,019,168
Munster . . . . .	762,716
Connaught . . . . .	629,196
Leinster . . . . .	567,390

Considering the value of the holdings, the percentages per province are as follows (Table 60, General Report):

	Over £15 rateable value.	Under £15 rateable value.
Leinster . . . . .	42·6	57·4
Munster . . . . .	41·8	58·2
Ulster . . . . .	31·2	68·8
Connaught . . . . .	13·4	86·6

Ulster here again comes third, and, for a province whose wealth is so much vaunted, has, it must be admitted, an amazingly low percentage of holdings over £15 rateable value. If we take holdings exceeding £100 rateable value, we find that Leinster and Munster, with their smaller population living on agricultural holdings, have not only a higher percentage, but actually a far larger population living on holdings exceeding £100 rateable value than Ulster:

POPULATION ON AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS.

	Over £100, not exceeding £300.	Over £200, not exceeding £300.	Over £300.
Leinster . . . . .	49,341	21,382	38,313
Munster . . . . .	50,250	15,549	22,968
Ulster . . . . .	44,241	12,523	16,355
Connaught . . . . .	12,601	4,925	11,427

Concerning the number of people per county who live on agricultural holdings above £300 rateable value, no Ulster county comes in anything like the first.

Counties.	Population on holdings above £300.
Meath . . . . .	8,708
Cork . . . . .	8,437
Dublin . . . . .	5,790
Tipperary . . . . .	5,630
Kildare . . . . .	4,739
Down . . . . .	4,258
Antrim . . . . .	4,164

Again, here the premier counties of Ulster come sixth and seventh respectively amongst the counties of Ireland.

If we look to the acreage of the holdings, we find that from holdings above 50 acres Ulster, in spite of its far larger population living on agricultural holdings, has actually a smaller number of such holdings than Leinster and Munster—Leinster, however, having 229 less than Ulster of holdings of the sixth class—*i.e.*, above 50, and not exceeding 100 acres :

For 1890.	Above 50 and not exceeding 100 acres.	Above 100 and not exceeding 200 acres.	Above 200 and not exceeding 500 acres.	Above 500 acres.
Leinster . . . . .	13,886	6,917	2,803	396
Munster . . . . .	22,281	9,264	2,822	384
Ulster . . . . .	14,115	3,677	1,030	269
Connaught . . . . .	6,289	3,167	1,718	545

And here, again, I may point out a striking proof that it is not only the poor, but those who are presumably rich as well, who have been deserting Ulster. Between the years 1889–1890, during which, it must be remembered, a much smaller number of people left Ulster than had been the case since 1868, a rather heavy decrease for a single twelvemonth under such favourable circumstances took place in three of the four above-mentioned classes of agricultural holdings, as follows :

	50–100 acres.	100–200 acres.	200–500 acres.	Above 500 acres.
1889 . . . . .	14,214	3,659	1,043	274
1890 . . . . .	14,115	3,677	1,030	269

Yet the character of the holdings is such that in a well-regulated community, or in a country which is as prosperous and satisfied as some people claim Ulster to be, they could scarcely ever decrease (admitting, since it seems to be the Unionist contention, that decrease is the necessary mark of the progress of a country) in a whole decade by the amount they decreased in Ulster in a single year.

But these are not the only means we have of testing Ulster's wealth. Let us take now the rateable valuation of the four provinces of Ireland, and ascertain the amount per inhabitant in each province :



	Population 1801.		Rateable valuation.		Valuation per head.
Leinster . . .	1,187,760	...	£4,755,002	...	£4 0 1
Munster . . .	1,172,402	...	8,373,242	...	2 17 7
Ulster . . .	1,619,814	...	4,468,591	...	2 13 10
Connaught . .	724,774	...	1,485,761	...	1 19 7

Here, again, the peerless province is third ; here again the province which from the height of its wealth looks down with contempt upon the miserable rest of Ireland, is beaten by Leinster and Munster. And not only is it inferior in valuation per head of the population to Leinster and Munster, but although it has a population exceeding by almost 450,000 the population of Leinster, the latter can boast of a valuation exceeding that of Ulster by £300,000.

The inferiority of Ulster is still more striking if we take the rateable valuation of each province exclusive of the Parliamentary boroughs, which, it might be assumed by some readers, might unfairly lower the valuation per head in Ulster as compared at least with Munster. The following are the figures :

	Population.		Rateable valuation.		Valuation per head.
Leinster . . .	901,322	...	£3,926,754	...	£4 6 10
Munster . . .	1,001,273	...	2,979,691	...	2 19 6
Ulster . . .	1,299,809	...	3,591,755	...	2 15 4
Connaught . .	707,815	...	1,403,128	...	1 19 8

(Exclusive of Parliamentary boroughs.)

So that, whichever way we look at it, whether we take or not into the calculation the chief cities, with their overcrowded slums and the squalor and wretchedness of their thousands, Ulster comes third as to the valuation per head.

Let us now ascertain the rank which the various counties in Ulster occupy amongst the counties of Ireland with regard to the rateable valuation per head of the population. And here let me remark, that the figures hereunder have been made available for the public in other forms than the Census Report. They were issued as a return presented to the House of Commons about mid-March, and were published in most of the newspapers at the time.

The following table gives the counties of Ireland (exclusive of Parliamentary boroughs) in the order of the rateable valuation per inhabitant, together with the population, the total rateable valuation, and the amount per inhabitant, in 1891 :

Counties (exclusive of Parliamentary boroughs.)*	Population.		Rateable valuation.		Valuation per head
<i>Meath . . .</i>	<i>76,987</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>£547,515</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>£7 2 3</i>
<i>Westmeath . . .</i>	<i>65,109</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>316,706</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 17 4</i>
<i>Kildare . . .</i>	<i>70,208</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>338,711</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 13 7</i>
<i>Dublin . . .</i>	<i>149,500</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>691,186</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 12 6</i>
<i>Kilkenny . . .</i>	<i>73,539</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>326,163</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 8 9</i>
<i>Wicklow . . .</i>	<i>62,136</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>274,291</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 8 3</i>
<i>Carlow . . .</i>	<i>40,936</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>164,855</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 0 6</i>
<i>Queen's . . .</i>	<i>64,883</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>259,902</i>	<i>...</i>	<i>4 0 1</i>

Ulster counties are printed in italics.

Counties (exclusive of Parliamentary boroughs.)	Population.	Rateable valuation.	Valuation per head
Tipperary . . .	173,198	£680,084	£3 18 6
Limerick . . .	112,777	426,893	3 15 9
King's . . .	65,563	243,865	3 14 4
Waterford . . .	70,538	260,352	3 13 10
Down . . .	208,995	728,610	3 9 9
Wexford . . .	111,778	376,723	3 7 5
Louth . . .	71,038	233,748	3 5 9
Fermanagh . . .	74,170	236,856	3 3 10
Antrim . . .	205,036	638,689	3 2 4
Monaghan . . .	86,206	205,035	3 1 6
Armagh . . .	137,640	407,646	2 19 2
Cork . . .	341,151	1,004,983	2 18 11
Longford . . .	52,647	153,289	2 18 3
Londonderry . . .	118,809	307,539	2 11 10
Roscommon . . .	114,397	295,576	2 11 8
Tyrone . . .	171,401	438,465	2 11 2
Clare . . .	124,483	317,016	2 10 11
Cavan . . .	111,917	274,726	2 9 0
Galway . . .	197,753	442,290	2 4 9
Sligo . . .	98,013	213,870	2 3 7
Leitrim . . .	78,618	136,622	1 14 9
Kerry . . .	179,136	290,393	1 12 5
Donegal . . .	185,635	297,189	1 12 0
Mayo . . .	219,034	314,770	1 8 9

Is it not a case for asking again, Where is wealthy and prosperous Ulster? Where are Down and Antrim, those "counties which rival the most prosperous and wealthy English counties"? Down comes *thirteenth* amongst the thirty-two counties of Ireland, and Antrim, beaten by Louth and Wexford, and by another Ulster county, Fermanagh, comes *seventeenth*. Thus, amongst the counties of Ireland placed in order of the valuation per head of the population, the "wealthy province" has only two in the first half, and these two are at the very bottom. How many Englishmen who believe the Unionist twaddle about the prosperity of Ulster could have suspected that? How many even amongst those who make what they believe to be due allowance for Ulsterian exaggeration would have been prepared to go so far?

It may not be without interest, perhaps, to compare Belfast and Dublin under the same circumstances:

	Population.	Rateable value.	Valuation per head
Dublin . . .	269,716	£795,990	£2 19 1
Belfast . . .	273,114	756,274	2 15 1

But the comparison does not do justice to Dublin, because whilst the four boroughs of Belfast have an aggregate acreage of 15,698, the four boroughs of Dublin cover only 5409 acres; in other words, the most prosperous parts of Dublin, like Rathmines and Rathgar and Pembroke, are excluded from the city limits.

The figures quoted in the preceding pages might be sufficient perhaps to explode the Ulster legend.<sup>24</sup> But as I wish to go to the bottom of the question, I beg leave to give the percentage of ratings over £20 in the various Irish counties. This may be taken as the

mean line of wealth, and will enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of the real conditions of Ulster counties than any amount of general averages could do:

County.*	No. of Ratings over £20.	No. per 1000 of the population
Dublin . . . . .	9,653	64
Meath . . . . .	4,885	63
Kilkenny . . . . .	5,108	59
Wicklow . . . . .	3,470	56
Westmeath . . . . .	3,564	54
Carlow . . . . .	2,092	51
Cork (East Riding)	9,950	50
Tipperary . . . . .	8,677	50
Wexford . . . . .	5,515	49
Kildare . . . . .	3,362	48
Limerick . . . . .	7,405	46
Queen's . . . . .	2,907	45
Down . . . . .	9,575	44
King's . . . . .	2,817	43
Waterford . . . . .	4,252	43
Antrim . . . . .	8,104	39
Fermanagh . . . . .	2,891	39
Louth . . . . .	2,500	35
Longford . . . . .	1,794	34
Armagh . . . . .	4,484	31
Monaghan . . . . .	2,651	31
Tyrone . . . . .	4,675	28
Londonderry . . . . .	4,311	28
Cork (West Riding)	4,219	28
Clare . . . . .	3,361	27
Cavan . . . . .	2,611	23
Roscommon . . . . .	2,450	21
Galway . . . . .	4,327	20
Kerry . . . . .	3,628	20
Leitrim and Sligo . . . . .	2,701	16
Donegal . . . . .	2,798	15
Mayo . . . . .	2,196	10

In other words, there is not a single Ulster county where the number of ratings over £20 is equal to five or more for every hundred of the population. There is only one—and that the one which has been called “the Yorkshire of Ireland”!—where they are four and a fraction, and in all other counties they are below four. Londonderry, which has certainly done its full share of bragging and boasting, and which is north of the Boyne enough to satisfy any Unionist, has a lesser percentage than Longford, and is practically on the same level as Clare. And be it remembered that these figures include not only the county, but the mighty city of Derry herself.

But Belfast will redress that state of things no doubt, and will give striking and unanswerable proof of its untold wealth and prosperity by leaving such worthless cities as Dublin and Cork simply nowhere in the competition for the highest percentage of ratings over £20.

The Parliamentary Return to which I have already alluded gives

\* Ulster counties are printed in italics. For the population of each county, see previous page. In this computation the boroughs are included, with the exception of Dublin, Cork, and Belfast.

the number of such ratings for the boroughs of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork. They are :

Boroughs.	Population.	No. of Ratings over £20.	No. per 1000 of the population.
Dublin . . . .	269,716	10,110	37
Cork . . . .	97,281	2,597	27
Belfast . . . .	273,114	6,367	23

And it ought not to be forgotten that, while there is very little difference between Dublin as a city and Dublin as a Parliamentary borough, there is a difference of 10,000 acres between Belfast as a city and Belfast as a borough.

No return of income-tax in connection with the population of Parliamentary boroughs has been published for the last dozen years, so that it is very difficult to ascertain the present position of Belfast amongst the various cities of the United Kingdom in that respect. The latest information about income-tax is to be gathered from the Inland Revenue Returns, and from a return presented to the House of Commons on February 16th, 1892, giving the assessment under Schedules A, B, and D for each county of Great Britain, and for each Surveyor's District\* in Ireland from 1884 to 1890, and the duty charged under income-tax in 1889-90. We learn from these that the total assessment under these three heads was as follows for the Belfast and Dublin districts in the first and last year with which the return deals :

Dublin (North and South).—						
1884-85	.	.	.	.	.	£6,987,513
1889-90	.	.	.	.	.	7,322,407
Belfast—						
1884-85	.	.	.	.	.	4,133,444
1889-90	.	.	.	.	.	4,318,470

These figures speak for themselves. The duty charged in 1889-90 was for Dublin £163,573, and for Belfast £89,004, or a little more than half the Dublin duty. If we compare the duty charged to the Belfast district to the one charged to the English counties we find the northern capital relapsing into her favourite rank amongst the twenties. In fact, Belfast here stands twenty-fifth. Twenty English, one Welsh, and two Scotch counties have a higher duty charged ; and in Ireland the Dublin district is charged almost double. Dublin stands thirteenth, being overtopped by nine English, one Welsh, and two Scotch counties. It would be invidious to make any comparison between the Londonderry district and any English district, since

\* Ireland, for the purposes of income-tax, is divided into fifteen Surveyors' districts, which in a few instances may overlap a little the provincial boundaries. The figures quoted can therefore only be relied on as a pretty correct approximation. I have given to Ulster every district which bears an Ulster name, and have followed the same rule with regard to the other provinces. A reference to the latest detailed income-tax returns for Ireland, which were published in 1881, which I have no space to make here, will show that, due allowance being made for ten years' progress, the figures quoted above give an accurate idea of the present state of things. In 1881, Belfast was assessed at £2,200,842, to Dublin's assessment of £5,368,753.

Londonderry stands almost at the bottom of the Irish districts. Outside Ulster there are only the Tralee district (Kerry), and the two Connaught districts, Sligo and Galway, which have a lower duty charged than Derry. Derry's duty in 1889-90 was only £24,678, and its assessment under the three schedules for the same year £1,760,855. Waterford, in the worthless south, was charged £30,292, and the assessment was £1,947,401. The duty charged per province was :

Leinster	.	.	.	.	.	.	£251,224
Ulster	.	.	.	.	.	.	164,588
Munster	.	.	.	.	.	.	126,825
Connaught	.	.	.	.	.	.	30,315

The following table gives, as far as can be ascertained from the figures supplied in the return, the assessment per province and per head of the population :

		Population.		Assessment under Schedules A, B, D.		Proportion per head.
Leinster	.	1,187,760	...	£13,455,357	...	£10 9 9
Munster	.	1,172,402	...	8,109,777	...	6 18 4
Ulster	.	1,619,814	...	9,913,073	...	6 2 4
Connaught	.	724,774	...	2,577,101	...	3 11 2

The difference in wealth between Leinster and Ulster is obvious enough. It ought to be sufficiently plain by this time, and after all the figures I have quoted, that Ulster's position in Ireland is not the first, which she so boisterously claims, but really and truly the third.

Whether, taking into consideration her position in the United Kingdom and her position in Ireland, Ulster is entitled on the ground of wealth to insist upon the Parliament of the United Kingdom doing her bidding, is a thing which I leave to the judgment of the reader.

There are two other Ulster legends which go with the progress and wealth legend. Ulster is represented as being overwhelmingly Protestant and overwhelmingly Unionist. A few figures will suffice to dispose of those contentions.

Almost half the population of Ulster is Roman Catholic. Out of a total population of 1,619,814, exactly 744,859, or 46·0 per cent., are Roman Catholic. How a country in which the population is so nearly divided in regard to religion can be called a Protestant country is one of those mysteries of the Unionist mind which I will make no attempt to solve. The Presbyterianism of Ulster, about which so much is heard that one would believe the whole country to be Presbyterian, amounts to very little in the end, since only 26·3 per cent. of the population are Presbyterian, the exact number being 426,245, of whom no less than 94,451 have their abode in Belfast alone. In five out of the nine Ulster counties the Roman Catholics are in a majority—viz., in Cavan, where they form 80·9 per cent. of the population (by the way, does any reader remember a very serious and threatening speech from Mr. Dane, M.P., in which he yarned the Empire that

Cavan was armed !—Cavan, where the Roman Catholics are 80·9 per cent. and which at the last election returned for its two Parliamentary divisions two Nationalist members, Messrs. Young and Vesey Knox, by majorities of 4664 and 4507 respectively !); in Donegal, where they are 77·0 per cent.; in Fermanagh, where they are 55·4 per cent.; in Monaghan, where they are 73·3 per cent.; in Tyrone, where they are 54·6 per cent. In two other counties they are over 40 per cent.—viz., in Armagh they are 46·1 per cent., and in Londonderry 44·6 per cent. In the two other counties, Down and Antrim, they stand for more than one-fourth in the population, Down having 27·5 per cent. of them, and Antrim 24·9. But if we take the whole of Ulster, leaving only the Parliamentary borough of Belfast out of consideration, we come to the startling conclusion that in that province, which is the stronghold of Protestantism in Ireland, the Roman Catholics are in a majority. Belfast left out, the population of Ulster is 1,845,700, of whom 674,625, or 50·06 per cent., are Roman Catholics. If we leave out the two counties of Antrim and Down, we find that 61·7 per cent. of the aggregate population of the other seven counties is Roman Catholic. Belfast has a Roman Catholic population of 70,234, and Derry, of the historical walls and 'prentice boys, has a Roman Catholic majority—18,340, out of a population of 33,200, being Roman Catholics. So much for the Protestantism of Ulster.

Now for the Unionism of Ulster. The northern province has 33 representatives in Parliament, of whom in the present Parliament 19 are Unionists and 14 Nationalists. The overwhelming preponderance of the Unionism of the province is therefore not visible to the naked eye. On the contrary, the two parties are almost equally divided, and in the last Parliament Ulster sent to Westminster a majority of her representation holding Nationalist views, 17 being Nationalists and 16 Unionists. Any unprejudiced person who has not forgotten the events of two years ago, the unfortunate crisis through which the Nationalist party had to pass, the abstentions in the Nationalist ranks, and the unavoidable neglect in the work of registration, will recognise that a loss of only three seats in a province which is claimed to be the stronghold of Unionists, speaks well for the strong Nationalist feeling of Ulster. And if we look into the circumstances of the counties lost, we find that the Unionists have not much to boast about, and that if they were unwise enough to select them as fields of civil war, they would see that they would not have the whole field to themselves. The seats lost were West Belfast, North Fermanagh, and Derry City. In the first instance, out of 7600 who voted, Mr. T. Sexton managed to poll 3400. In North Fermanagh the seat was obviously lost through Nationalist abstentions. The number of voters increased by 20 between 1890 and 1892, and at the general election stood at 5919. The Conservative

poll not only did not increase at the last general election, but decreased by about 80, and the Conservatives did their best in order to snatch the seat, which they succeeded in doing, but only because over 700 Nationalists did not vote. They probably would not repeat the mistake now. Derry City was won by the Nationalists by one vote in 1886, and one may imagine the strenuous effort of the Unionist party to win it back. They eventually did, but only by a majority of 26. When parties are so equally divided, are the Unionists entitled to parade Derry as a Unionist city? If it came to fighting, the chances would be pretty even. And in some of the other counties held by Unionists the majorities are by no means overwhelming; by no means such as one would expect in the case of people who are spitting out fire and flame and threatening the Empire with civil war. There is South Derry, for instance, where, on a poll of 8607, Sir Thomas Lea gets in by a majority of only 501; there is South Tyrone, where on a poll of 6500 Mr. T. W. Russell is elected by only 372; there is North Tyrone, where on a poll of 6041 Lord Frederick Hamilton escapes defeat by only 49 votes. Can any man in his senses maintain that these constituencies are so overwhelmingly Unionist, so desperately in love with what it pleases Mr. Balfour to call "the unity of the kingdom" and "partnership with us," that they would rush to arms against an Irish Parliament?

The Unionism of Ulster has about as much foundation as her overwhelming Protestantism and her monopoly of wealth. Out of 33 constituencies, 14 are overwhelmingly Nationalist, and 6 others are held by such small majorities, as I have just shown, that unity and willing work in the Nationalist ranks ought to win them over to the National cause.

It is also only in accordance with the usual practice of the representatives of certain parts of Ulster to claim for the northern province a far higher rate of popular education than the rest of Ireland. The census provides the answer:

	Percentages of persons who read and write.
Leinster . . . . .	74·6
Munster . . . . .	71·7
Ulster . . . . .	70·7
Connaught . . . . .	61·8

As usual, Ulster comes third.

In conclusion, neither on the ground of wealth or progress or education, nor on the ground of her overwhelming Protestantism or of her overwhelming Unionism, is Ulster entitled to take the first place amongst the provinces of Ireland and to rule the destinies of the country.

J. G. COLCLOUGH.

## SOME ETON TRANSLATIONS.

### ΕΥΡΥΠΠΙΔΟΥ ΕΚΑΒΗ

(444.)

Χο                    αὔρα, ποντιᾶς αὔρα,                    στροφή α.  
                      ἄτε ποντοπόρους κομίζεις  
                      θοὺς ἀκάτους ἔπ' οἶδμυ λίμνας,  
                      ποῖ' με τὰν μελέαν πορεύσεις ;  
                      τῷ δουλόσυνος πρὸς οἶκον  
                      κτηθεῖς' ἀφίξομαι ;  
                      ἥ Δωρίδος ὄρμον αἴας,  
                      ἥ Φθιάδος, ἔνθα καλλι-  
                      στων ὑδάτων πατέρα  
                      φασὶν Ἀπιδανὸν γύας λιπαίνειν,

                     ἥ νάσων, ἀλήρει                    ἀντιστρ. α.  
                      κῶπα πεμπομέναν τύλαιναν,  
                      οἰκτρὰν βιοτὰν ἔχουσιν οἴκοις,  
                      ἔνθα πρωτόγονός τε φοίει,  
                      δάφνα θ' ἱεροὺς ἀνέσχε  
                      πτόρθους Λατοῖ φίλα  
                      ὠδῖνος ἄγαλμα Δίας ;  
                      ξὺν Δηλιάσιν τε κούραις  
                      Ἀρτέμιδός τε θεᾶς  
                      χροσέαν ἄμπυκα, τόξα τ' εὐλογῆσω ;



## CHORUS FROM THE HECUBA OF EURIPIDES.

V. 414.

## STROPHE I.

*Gentle breeze that fann'st the sea,  
 As the surge thou raisest, free,  
 That bearest o'er the swelling foam  
 The way-worn sailor to his home ;  
 Whither o'er the billows wild  
 Wilt thou bear the Trojan's child ?  
 Whither shall the child of woe  
 To chains, and grief, and anguish go ?  
 On the Dorian's distant shore,  
 Or where the Phthian rivers roar ?  
 Where, sire of streams that lave the earth,  
 Enipeus gives his waters birth ?*

## ANTISTROPHE I.

*Shall Boreas bear my mournful flight  
 To some far island's rocky height,  
 Where the first-born palms expand  
 Their treasures on the Delian strand ?  
 Where the bay-tree's hallowed shade  
 Saw Latona's burden laid ?  
 Where the damsel minstrels raise  
 The hymn to chaste Diana's praise,  
 The golden wreath, th' unerring dart  
 That pierced the sylvan hunter's heart ?*

ἡ Παλλὰδος ἐν πόλει, στροφή β.  
 τῆς καλλιδίφροί 'Ἀθα-  
 ναίας ἐν κροκέῳ πέπλῳ  
 ζεύξομαι ἄρματι πώλους,  
 ἐν δαιδιδυλίσσιν ποικίλ-  
 λουσ' ἀνθοκρόκοισι πῆναις,  
 ἡ Τιτάνων γενεάν,  
 τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ  
 κοιμίζει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας ;

ὦμοι τεκέων ἐμῶν, ἀντιστρ. β.  
 ὦμοι πατέρων, χθονός θ',  
 ἃ καπνῷ κατερείπεται  
 τυφομένα, δορίληπτος  
 πρὸς Ἀργείων· ἐγὼ δ' ἐν  
 ξείνῃ χθονὶ δὴ κέκλημαι  
 δούλα, λιποῦσ' Ἀσίαν  
 Εὐρώπας θεράπναν,  
 ἀλλάξας Ἀίδα θαλάμους.

## ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΕΚΑΒΗ.

(893.)

Χο. στροφή α.  
 σὺ μὲν, ὦ πατρίς 'Ιλιάς,  
 τῶν ἀπορθήτων πόλιν  
 οὐκέτι λέξει· τοῖον Ἑλ-  
 λάνων νέφος ἀμφί σε κρύπτει,  
 δαρὶ δὴ, δορὶ πέρσαν.

## STROPHE II.

*Or on the fertile olive plains  
 Where virgin Pallas dwells and reigns,  
 Join the coursers\* to the car  
 Of her who loves the race, the war?  
 Weave the car, and weave the horse,  
 Bounding on in rapid course,  
 With many a tinge and many a hue,  
 Weave them for the Virgin's view?  
 Or Titan's bold and giant band,  
 That dared the Thund'rer's red right hand,  
 Hurl'd from the heavens' highest steep  
 And hush'd in everlasting sleep?*

## ANTISTROPHE II.

*Woe, woe is me for those I bore,  
 Woe for my sires and ravaged shore;  
 Behold the flames in fury rise,  
 Behold the Grecian's sacrifice!  
 'Tis mine to lie on foreign strand,  
 No more to see my native land—  
 No more to see my country, save  
 To see her to her foes a slave:  
 And change the soft, the bridal bed  
 For the dark chambers of the dead.*

## CHORUS FROM THE HECUBA OF EURIPIDES.\*

V. 893.

## STROPHE I:

*Ilion! on thy desert shore  
 Sounds of joy are heard no more;  
 See the Grecian foemen's cloud  
 No more unconquered Ilion shroud!  
 The spear, the spear, hath laid thee waste,*

\* A free translation.

ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι  
 πύργων, κατὰ δ' αἰθάλου  
 κηλὶδ' οἰκτροτάταν κέχρωσαι,  
 τάλαιν' οἰκέτι σ' ἐμβατεύσω.

μεσονύκτιος ὠλλύμαν,  
 ἦμος ἐκ δειπνῶν ὕπνος  
 ἤδ' οὖς ἐπ' ὅσσοις κίδναται.  
 μολπῶν δ' ἄπο καὶ χοροποιῶν  
 θυσιῶν καταπαύσας,  
 πόσις ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκειτο,  
 ξυστὸν δ' ἐπὶ πιασσάλῳ,  
 ναῖταν οἰκέθ' ὀρῶν ὄμιλον  
 Τροίαν Ἰλιάδ' ἐμβεβῶτι.

ἀντιστρ. α'.

ἐγὼ δὲ πλόκαμον ἀναδέτοις  
 μίτραισιν ἐρρύθμιζόμεν,  
 χρεσέων ἐνόπτρων  
 λεύσσουσ' ἀτέρμονας εἰς αὐγὰς,  
 ἐπιδέμνιον ὥς πέσοιμ' ἐς εὐνάν.  
 ἀνὰ δὲ κέλαδος ἔμολε πόλιν·  
 κέλευσμα δ' ἦν κατ' ἄστυ Τροί-  
 ας τόδ' ὧ παῖδες Ἑλλάνων, πότε  
 δὴ, πότε τὰν Ἰλιάδα σκοπιὰν  
 πέρσαντες, ἤξετ' οἴκους ;

στροφὴ β'.

λέχη δὲ φίλια μονόπεπλος  
 λιποῦσα, Δωρὶς ὥς κόρυ,  
 σεμνὰν προσίζουσ',  
 οὐκ ἦνυσ' Ἀρτεμιν ἅ τλῆμων'

ἀντιστρ. β'.

*Thy splendour and thy glory shorn ;  
 Black'ning towers, and gates defac'd,  
 Humbled pride, and honours torn !  
 Hapless Ilion ! never more  
 May we tread thy silent shore !*

## ANTISTROPHE I.

*'Twas dead of night, and silence deep  
 Buried all in dewy sleep,  
 For feast, and dance, and slaughter done,  
 Soft slumber's season had begun.  
 The lyre was hushed, the altar cold,  
 The sword, the lance, all bloodless lay ;  
 My husband, softly resting, told  
 The toils and dangers of the day ;  
 No longer watching for the foe  
 Sworn to lay proud Ilion low.*

## STROPHE II.

*I strove my flowing hair to bind  
 With many a festal chaplet twin'd ;  
 The mirror's rays of glittering hue  
 Betrayed me to my virgin view,  
 Hast'ning to rest—Then peal'd on high  
 O'er Ilion's walls the victor's cry ;  
 Troy heard the shout that sounded then,  
 " Dash'd down the turrets of the foe,  
 " Shall sons of Greece again, again  
 " To home, and rest, and glory go."*

## ANTISTROPHE II.

*I started from the nuptial bed,  
 To mighty Dian's temple fled ;  
 With vest that Spartan virgins bear,  
 I sought, I found not safety there !*

ἄγομαι δὲ θανόντ' ἰδοῦσ' ἀκοίταν  
 τὸν ἐμὸν, ἄλιον ἐπὶ πέλαγος,  
 πύλιν τ' ἀποσκοποῦσ', ἐπεὶ  
 νόστιμον ναῦς ἐκίνησεν πόδα,  
 καὶ μ' ἀπὸ γῆς ὥρισεν Ἰλιάδος,  
 τάλαιν', ἀπείπον ἄλγαι·

τᾶν τοῖν Δισκούροιον Ἑλέναν κίσιν, Ἰ- ἐπιδόσ.  
 δαῖόν τε βούταν αἰνόπαριν, κατέρρα  
 διδοῦσ', ἐπεὶ με  
 γῆς ἐκ πατρῴας ἀπώλεσεν  
 ἐξώκισέν τ' οἴκων γάμος, οὐ γάμος, ἀλλ'  
 ἀλάστορός τις οἷζύς·  
 ἄν μήτε πέλαγος ἄλιον ἀπαγάγοι πάλιν,  
 μήτε πατρῶων ἵκοιτ' ἐς οἶκον.

*I saw my warrior in his grave,  
And, hurried o'er the salt sea wave,  
Look'd back on Troy my own no more.*

*The ship began its homeward way,  
And torn from hapless Ilion's shore,  
I left in woe the light of day.*

## EPODE.

*Yet gave to curse, to ban, to death,  
The sister of the sons of Jove ;  
Yet doom'd to woe, with failing breath,  
Th' Idcan shepherd's traitor love ;  
No love ! but Furies' vengeful ire  
Hath torn me from my father's home ;  
Hath given Troy to raging fire ;  
For ever may she hapless roam  
A wanderer o'er the swelling main,  
Nor see her sire's abode again.*

(W. E. GLADSTONE, Eton, 1827.)

## THE EIGHT-HOURS DAY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE eight-hours day is usually preached both with most fervour and with most success as a gospel for the unemployed. No other argument has been so prominent or so influential in the present movement as the promise of mitigating and perhaps extinguishing that most unnatural of our social maladies, the unwilling idleness of willing hands. Nor is this any wonder, for what can be more captivating than the hope of seeing that troublesome malady become as obsolete as the plague? and what can at first sight appear either a surer or an easier way of making work for the idle than cutting a few hours off the work of the busy? The work seems already found, and nothing to remain but to count in the men to do it. It is a simple sum in arithmetic. If five million labourers do each twelve hours a week less work than they do now, how many supplementary labourers must you call in at forty-eight hours a week to supply the sixty million hours' service which the original staff have ceased to render? By calculations of this description—which presuppose that when a great change is made in the hours of labour all the other conditions of the problem will yet remain unchanged—Mr. W. Abraham, M.P., thinks himself warranted in predicting that the general adoption of the eight-hours day in England would provide work for 750,000 new hands, while Mr. Gunton, President of the New York Institute for Social Economics, and author of a work entitled "Wealth and Progress," which has exerted considerable influence on opinion on this subject, goes so far as to say that the "direct and immediate effect" of the general adoption of the eight-hours system in the manual trades of the United States, even excluding the great occupations of agriculture and domestic service, would absorb not only all the unemployed labour of that country itself, but all the unemployed labour of England,



Wales, Scotland, France, and Germany as well. It would create employment, he calculates, for 3,552,059 more adult labourers; and as he can only find one million of these in his own country, he is obliged to resort to Europe for the remainder. "This," he adds, "is not a fanciful speculation based upon an imaginary expansion of our home and foreign market, but it is what would necessarily result from the natural operation of economic forces in the effort to supply the normal consumption."

Now all this is entirely illusory. It stands in absolute contradiction to our now very abundant experience of the real effects of shortening the hours of labour, and it stands in absolute contradiction to the natural operation of economic forces to which it professes to appeal; and the illusion arises (1st) from simply not observing or apparently caring to observe the important alteration which the introduction of shorter hours itself exerts on the productive capacity of the workpeople; and (2nd) from yielding to the gross but evidently very seductive economic fallacy, which leads so many persons to think that they will all increase the wealth they individually enjoy by all diminishing the wealth they individually produce, and to look for a great absorption of the unemployed to flow from a general restriction of production, the very thing which in reality would have the opposite effect of reducing the demand for labour, and throwing multitudes more out of employ. It is worth while, however, examining more closely an illusion at once so popular and so persistent.

Taking the evidence of experience first, what has been the effect upon the unemployed of previous reductions of the hours of labour? What, for example, was the effect of the Ten Hours Act? That was a short-hour experiment on the very largest scale, since it took eleven hours a week off the working time of no less than half a million textile workers, and it ought, therefore, on Mr. Gunton's principle of calculation, to have provided room for 90,000 new hands. How many new hands did it in the actual event make room for? Now we possess sufficiently satisfactory statistical records to guide us to the substantial truth on this point, and the evidence thus supplied compels us to the surprising but irresistible conclusion, that instead of making room for 90,000 extra workers the Ten Hours Act could not, possibly have made room for a thousand, and most probably did not make room for a score. This, if true, is a fact of ruling and decisive importance, and I will therefore state particulars.

The Ten Hours Act came into full operation on May 1, 1848, and there is a parliamentary return of the number of persons employed in factories in the United Kingdom in April 1847, immediately before the Act was passed, and another parliamentary return giving the number employed in them in July 1850, after the Act had been two years at work. Both the returns are practically complete except in

regard to the children employed in the silk trade in 1850, for though two or three firms (one of them being, it may be interesting to mention, John Bright & Brothers, of Rochdale) refused to supply the information parliament desired, they were too few to affect the results.

The total number of factory operatives in the United Kingdom in 1847 was 544,876; but the Act did not affect the hours of all that number. It legally reduced the hours of females and young persons from 69 to 58<sup>a</sup> a week (the hours were raised again to 60 in 1850), and it had the practical effect of reducing the hours of adult males as well in 90 per cent. of the factories of the kingdom; but it did not touch the hours of the children under 13, who numbered 42,882, nor of the adult male workers in a certain proportion of factories, which continued to keep their adult males at work for an hour or two after the women and young persons were obliged to leave. This practice was confined to a few localities, particularly the towns of Ashton, Stalybridge, and Oldham, which Mr. Horner thinks worthy of especial reproach, because the adult males of these towns were amongst the most prominent advocates of the Ten Hours Bill, and yet after the Bill passed they were ready in any number, he said, to work 13½ and even 15 hours in the day. But though confined to certain localities, the practice applied to probably not less than 16,000 adult males. For most of these factories employed an extra shift of children to work along with the men after the women and young persons had to leave, and a return made in 1850 showed that there were then 257 factories that did so, and that they employed 3,742 children on these extra shifts. Now there was one child for every 3·2 adult males in factories generally in 1847, and if the same proportion obtained in these 257 mills the number of adult males would be 11,974. But there were other mills which kept their men employed extra hours without engaging children to accompany them, and Mr. Horner gives us a clue to their number by mentioning that out of 1,061 factories visited in 1850 by five of his sub-inspectors, 136 employed adult males after hours, but only ninety-five of these employed extra shifts of children. If the same proportion prevailed in the rest of the kingdom, there would be in this class of mill above 4,000 adult males whose hours were not shortened, but rather lengthened, by the new Act. We have thus to make a deduction of 42,882 children and 16,000 adult males whose hours were not restricted by the operation of the Act, and that leaves 485,994 as the number of operatives whose hours were actually diminished. The total amount of the diminution therefore was 5,345,934 hours a week, and that would, on Mr. Gunton's principle, create room for 92,170 new hands.

Now how many new hands were actually taken on? The total number of factory operatives in the United Kingdom in 1850 was

596,082, so that the whole increase from all causes together since the previous factory census of 1847 was 51,206—not much more than half the number Mr. Gunton would have anticipated; and the question comes to be, how much even of this increase, if any, is to be ascribed to the operation of the Ten Hours Act, and how much of it can be clearly ascertained to be due to other causes? The influence of other causes on the result is very apparent in the extreme inequality in the rate of the increase in the different textile industries, as the following table will show:

Manufactures.	Operatives 1847.	Operatives 1850.	Increase.	Decrease.	Percentage of Increase.	Percentage of Decrease.
Cotton . .	316,327	330,924	14,597	—	4·4	—
Woollen . .	73,406	74,443	1,037	—	1·4	—
Worsted . .	52,178	79,737	27,559	—	52·8	—
Flax . .	58,258	68,434	10,176	—	17·4	—
Silk . .	44,707	42,544	—	2,163	—	4·8

A uniform reduction of 16 per cent. in the hours is thus not by any means followed by a uniform increase of 16 per cent. in the demand for labour, but by an increase of 52 per cent. in one industry and only 1 per cent. in another, while in a third it is followed apparently by a positive decline. Other causes of less uniform operation have therefore at least contributed to the result, and we must first, if possible, deduct their contributions before we can ascertain what, if anything, has been the contribution of the Ten Hours Act. Now the chief deductions must be made for the general effect of the ordinary growth of trade, as shown by the new mills opened and the increase in spindles, looms, and power, and for the special and very important effect of the revival of trade in 1850 in reabsorbing the multitudes thrown out of employment by the extraordinary commercial crisis of 1847.

The returns of 1847 were taken in March and the beginning of April, when this great crisis had already run three months of its acute stage, and was fast approaching its height, and a note is appended to the returns by the factory inspectors who collected the figures, stating that “a considerable number of factories being at present unoccupied and only partially at work, in consequence of the depressed state of trade, the total number of those now employed in the factories of the United Kingdom is, of course, not so great as in ordinary times of prosperous trade.” All the textile industries were seriously depressed at the time this factory census was taken, except perhaps the silk manufacture; and the great cotton industry, to which 60 per cent. of the operatives belonged, was in a condition of unexampled distress, because, besides the general causes producing depression in the other industries, the cotton manufacture suffered from an additional trouble of its own—the high price of its raw material, resulting from a deficient cotton harvest. Mr. Howell, one of the factory inspectors, says in his report of May 20, 1847:

"During the half-year ended on the 30th ult. a lamentable and increasing decline has been observable in the several branches of manufacture subject to the Acts for regulating the labour employed in factories. . . . The distress has been, and continues to be, the most severe in the cotton districts, in which it is impossible to exaggerate its extent, but it has also reached other branches of industry, many factories being entirely closed, and the remainder working but very short hours. Very recently full employment was afforded in the silk-throwing mills, but in these also short time has been lately commenced."

Now trade had recovered from this depression when the second factory census was taken in July 1850, except in certain branches of the cotton trade, and to a slight degree in the silk trade; in both cases, on account of the high price of their raw materials at the time. Mr. Horner, on 31st October 1850, reports that while there was considerable depression in those branches of cotton manufacture in which the price of raw cotton constituted a considerable part of the cost of production, trade in the flax mills had improved, and there was great activity in the woollen mills. Mr. Saunders, on the same date, has the same story to tell of his district: "With the single exception of the manufacture of heavy cotton yarn and cotton goods, every branch of trade brought under my notice has partaken more or less within the last few months of the general activity which has prevailed throughout the manufacturing districts." He adds that the flax trade was one of those which had partaken largely of the increased demand for goods, but that the greatest activity of all had been in the worsted trade. Now can we measure the respective effects of this remarkable depression and of this remarkable revival of trade on the ranks of the unemployed? Data exist, I think, by which that can be trustworthily done, but as both the depression and the revival affected the respective industries in different ways and degrees, it will be necessary to consider each industry by itself.

To begin with the cotton trade, Mr. Horner reports in December 1846, that during the six weeks previous several mills had begun to work short time, and that a period of general and continued depression was approaching. The depression advanced with great rapidity. In January many mills were closed, and in March, when the factory census was taken, it was already in a most acute stage. We can follow the course of the crisis with tolerable precision by means of official returns published week by week at the time by the *Manchester Guardian*, and these returns constitute also a very fair and useful gauge of the number who were actually unemployed at the date of the factory census. From these returns it appears that there were then 177 mills of all kinds in Manchester, that they employed when in full work 40,333 operatives, and that 23 of those mills were stopped and 7243 of their operatives were out of employment on the 23rd of March, 1847. The following table will show the course of the depression:

Date.	Mills stopped.	Unemployed.	Date.	Mills stopped.	Unemployed.
January 9 . .	10 . . .	1,691	June 1 . . .	35 . . .	12,167
February 16 .	19 . . .	5,600	June 22 . . .	24 . . .	9,186
March 23 . .	23 . . .	7,243	July 13 . . .	20 . . .	8,580
April 21 . .	23 . . .	6,643	November 20 .	23 . . .	9,795
May 21 . .	28 . . .	9,149			

Now three-fourths of these unemployed workpeople were cotton operatives, for on November 20 the *Guardian* begins to classify the mills according to their industries, and 19 of the 23 then closed were cotton mills and 7364 of the 9795 then unemployed were cotton operatives. As the same proportions no doubt prevailed in March we gather that there were then 5430 cotton operatives out of employ in Manchester alone; and since there were 91 cotton mills in Manchester at that time and 28,033 operatives in them when fully employed, we arrive at the conclusion that close on 20 per cent. of the cotton workers of that city were unemployed when the factory census was taken. Things were not quite so bad in other towns, regarding which, however, our information is not so exact. The *Guardian* of April 28 states that in Oldham out of a full strength of 20,000 hands 2000 were then out of employ. In Rochdale 21 mills were stopped and 3000 mill-workers unemployed. Six mills were stopped in Blackburn, nine in Preston, and so on. But it is well within the mark to estimate the number of the unemployed in the cotton manufacture in March 1847 at 10 per cent. or something over 30,000 persons. This estimate is corroborated by other facts. According to the factory census of 1838 there were 259,000 cotton operatives in the United Kingdom; but so rapid was the transition from the domestic to the factory system between 1839 and 1846 that Mr. Horner reports an increase of horse-power during that period in the cotton mills of his district alone which would employ 60,000 hands, and as his district contained two-thirds of the cotton factories of the kingdom we may fairly set down the whole increase at about 90,000, making the total number of cotton operatives in 1846 a little above Mr. Ellison's estimate of 340,000.

Over 30,000 cotton workers, then, were out of employ in March 1847, and only 14,597 of them were taken back in July 1850, and the difference is entirely accounted for by the change in the state of trade. The consumption of raw cotton in the United Kingdom, which had been 614,300,000 lbs. in 1846, fell to 441,400,000 lbs. in 1847, and had risen again to 588,200,000 lbs. in 1850, so that while the production of the cotton factories was 28 per cent. below its normal quantity in 1847, it was only 4 per cent. below it in 1850. The cotton trade must therefore have largely recovered its former prosperity, and this increase of 24 per cent. in the production is surely more than sufficient to explain the increase of 4.4 per cent. which took place in the same period in the number of cotton operatives employed. Where,

then, is the effect of the Ten Hours Act? Apparently nowhere. It came into force when there were 30,000 cotton operatives out of employ, and as far as we can see it did not make work for one of them, although according to computations like Mr. Gunton's it ought to have created an immediate demand for 55,461 hands; for after the Act has been two years in operation we find that only 14,597 more hands have been engaged, and that their engagement has come entirely from the revival of trade. So far as the cotton trade is concerned, the Ten Hours Act, therefore, cannot be credited with reducing the ranks of the unemployed by a single unit.

The woollen industry was not so seriously or so generally distressed in 1847 as the cotton. It was not depressed in Scotland at all, for even in November Mr. Stuart, the inspector for the Scotch factories, reports that the twenty-eight wool-mills of Hawick and Galashiels and the Tweed country, and the large wool-mills of Aberdeenshire, were all working full time, though a fifth of the cotton factories of Glasgow and a fifth of the flax factories of Dundee had been obliged to close. But in England the woollen manufacture had been depressed since the middle of the previous year. The great seats of the industry were in the districts of Mr. Howell and Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Howell, as we have seen, says that many mills in all branches of industry were already closed before May 1847, while Mr. Saunders states in November 1846, that out of 173 wool-mills in the Leeds and Bradford districts, seventeen were then closed; in May 1847, that the condition of the working classes was worse than he ever remembered it to have been since he began inspecting factories in 1833, though the manufacturers were trying their utmost to retain their best hands by running short time; and in November, that the wool-mills of Leeds and Bradford were only running one or two days a week, and that out of 560 mills in the Huddersfield and Dewsbury districts, mostly woollen though partly also worsted and flax, fifty were then entirely stopped, which, he says, was about twice the usual number. There are always 3 or 4 per cent. of our factories unoccupied for one reason or another.

The state of the wool trade in March 1847 would therefore seem to be this: that in Scotland all the operatives were at work, but in England at least 4 or 5 per cent. must have been unemployed. Let us take the lower figure of 4 per cent. Then since there were 62,687 woollen operatives employed in England alone in 1847, there must have been then 2500 unemployed; but in 1850 the English woollen operatives numbered 64,426, showing an increase of only 1739, and the revival of trade accounts for all that. The Ten Hours Act ought, on Mr. Gunton's principle, to have created employment for more than 10,000 persons in the wool manufacture in England alone, but there is absolutely no trace of it having made any impres-

sion of that sort whatever. And in Scotland its impotency is still more striking, for while there were 9637 operatives in the wool-mills of Scotland in 1847, there were only 9464 in 1850, a decline of 193 in spite of the reduction of hours.

The worsted trade was more depressed than the woollen in 1847, but it enjoyed a very exceptional and extraordinary run of prosperity in 1850. It appears from Mr. Saunders's reports that the depression in this trade began about July 1846, and got worse and worse till the spring of 1848, when the tide turned and rose gradually to unprecedented heights. In November 1846, however, out of 253 worsted mills in the Leeds and Bradford district (in which probably nine-tenths of the worsted trade of the kingdom was carried on), 38 had stopped working, and in the mills still at work one-third of the spinning machinery was idle. If things were in this state in the end of 1846, they could not help being worse rather than better when the general monetary crisis came in the spring, and it is therefore impossible to think that there were fewer than 10 per cent. of the worsted operatives unemployed at the date of the factory census, or about 5700 persons. This estimate is corroborated by figures supplied by Mr. Saunders. There were 48,097 worsted factory operatives in his district in 1845, and as his district contained 94 per cent. of the worsted operatives of the Kingdom, there would be 50,982 in the whole kingdom. They were then increasing, moreover, at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum, and at that rate would in 1846 number 58,110, of whom only 52,178 were at work in March 1847, leaving 5932 unemployed. But as there was an increase in 1850 of 27,559, it is plain that the reabsorption of unemployed operatives goes but a little way towards explaining the increase. Other influences existed, however.

That was the period in which a rapid transition was going on from the domestic to the factory system, and the process was not disturbed very much by seasons of depression. When times were bad there seemed even more reason for resorting to cheaper methods of production, and Mr. Horner mentions that even in the half-year ending April 30, 1847, eighteen new mills had been opened in his district alone. This increase of factories did not, of course, always imply any actual increase of operatives, but merely a transference of hand workers to the mills. It brought these latter workers, however, for the first time into factory statistics, and would tend so far to raise the figures of the return of 1850 above the figures of the return of 1847. The power-loom in the worsted trade in Mr. Saunders's district increased from 16,870 to 19,121 in the two years between 1843 and 1845—i.e., by almost seven per cent. per annum. The worsted operatives in the same district increased in the same period from 37,060 to 48,097, or by 14 per cent. per annum, in consequence of

the natural growth of the worsted trade and of the factory system. The spindles must in these two years have increased faster than the looms, correcting the balance of the previous two years, 1841-3, in which the looms increased 23 per cent. and the operatives 5 or 6 per cent. But on the whole this natural process had, since 1838, been increasing the worsted factory operatives by 9 per cent. per annum, and if it continued at the same rate would in the three years 1847-50 have added 14,000 to their number.

But the rate was exceptionally accelerated during these particular years by an extraordinary outburst of prosperity in the worsted trade that prevailed most of the time between the two censuses. It began immediately before the Ten Hours Act came into operation on May 1, 1848, for it is already mentioned in Mr. Saunders's report for the half-year ending April 30 of that year, and before November it was in full swing. "At one time," says Mr. Saunders in his November report, "every worsted loom was at work for which experienced hands could be obtained," but he adds, "the worsted spinning has not prospered in the same proportion as the weaving, arising from the loss of demand for the Continent. Many worsted frames have never been set to work for months past." The demand for yarn abroad seems to have fallen off, but a new demand had arisen at home for worsted stuffs, and it was this new demand, and not the ten hours restriction, that led to the employment of more labour. "The manufacturers," says Mr. Saunders, "have been able not only to dispose of the stock of goods on hand at much less sacrifice than was apprehended, but in many branches there has been a demand for further supply which could only be met by increasing the hands employed and the number of hours at work. The reduced price of all raw materials required for consumption has promoted to a great extent this activity, but much of it has been the result of a legitimate demand for goods principally for home consumption. The worsted and woollen manufacturing trades are trades in which the greatest activity has prevailed." He wrote this in his report for November 1848, the first after the Ten Hours Act came into operation, and he has not a word to say of any influence that Act exerted upon the situation. The burst of prosperity which he mentions, moreover, went on increasing, so that in his next report, in May 1849, he mentions that strikes for higher wages had not been uncommon among the worsted workers. He says large numbers of migratory hands were required to be imported from Ireland, who were then creating much turbulence in the worsted districts, and Mr. Horner states that the handloom weavers were kept busy as well as the factory hands. The cause was apparently a new movement of fashion in feminine dress. Most of the goods classed under the head of worsted, as Mr. Saunders explains, were mixed cotton and woollen



stuffs; and Mr. Horner, in April 1850, mentions that while all branches of industry were increasing their mills and machinery, there was an especial activity in *mousseline de laine*, "a mixed fabric of cotton and wool," he says, "which is used when figured for women's dresses." A special run on this class of mixed fabrics seems to have come in during the spring of 1848 and it seems to have gone out again in the spring of 1851, for Mr. Saunders then reports the worsted trade to be in a more unsatisfactory state than any other, and the high profits of 1850 to be already away. It was comparatively recently that mixed fabrics had come into vogue at all, and the remarkable extent of that vogue may be seen from figures supplied from private sources by Mr. Edward Baines, in a paper read at the Leeds meeting of the British Association in 1858:

## QUANTITIES OF WORSTED STUFFS EXPORTED.

Year.	Worsted Stuffs (unmixed).	Mixed Stuffs (Worsted and Cotton or Silk).
1830	1,252,000 pieces	1,100,000 yards
1840	1,718,000 "	3,629,000 "
1850	2,122,000 "	52,573,000 "

Both classes of stuffs progressed moderately before 1840; but in the next ten years, while the unmixed fabrics increased 23 per cent., the mixed fabrics increased by the amazing figure of 1379 per cent. The use of cotton warps brought into the market not only cheaper stuffs, but an immense variety of them, and as they got better known the demand for them came in bounds and bursts. It was evidently one of these bursts of which we see the sign in the enormous increase of 52 per cent. in the number of worsted factory hands in the brief period between 1847 and 1850, and it seems likely that the whole of this increase, which is not accounted for by the reabsorption of the unemployed and the regular growth of the factory system, is due to that burst of extraordinary demand for this new class of goods. This seems likely, because Mr. Saunders informs us in April 1850, that in the year 1849 alone the worsted looms increased their produce 40 per cent., and the spindles 25 or 30 per cent., and that they were still increasing at the same rate. Many mills ran night and day by means of relays, so that, whereas the number of hands per horse-power in worsted mills was only 5.7 in 1845 and 5.9 in 1850, it was 7.4 in 1850. The enormous increase of production is shown in the export returns. These returns, it is true, did not then distinguish worsted goods from woollen as they do now, but I understand that worsteds would constitute then, as now, three-fourths of the entire export. Well, the quantity exported in 1847 was exceeded by 56 per cent. in 1848, by 60 per cent. in 1849, and by 97 per cent. in 1850; and as the whole deficiency of 1847 (judging from declared values) was only 17 per cent., the production of 1850 was 80 per cent.] greater than the normal production before 1847; and

that must have required 40 per. cent. more hands, or 20,870. The whole increase of worsted operatives was 27,559, and after deducting 5700 for the reabsorption of unemployed, 20,870 for the natural growth of the factory system, together with the unusual increase of demand for worsted goods, there are only 989 left that may possibly have owed their employment to the Ten Hours Act.

The flax and silk trades need not detain us so long. In November 1846, according to Mr. Saunders's reports, the flax trade was suffering above others. Out of forty-six flax mills in one of his sub-districts seven were wholly stopped, and about a third of the flax spinning machinery was lying idle in the works that remained open. Times got worse in the spring, when the general commercial depression set in, and in October, as Mr. Stuart states, seven flax mills out of twenty-three were closed in Belfast, and ten out of fifty-six were closed in Dundee. It is therefore probable that 10 per cent. of the flax mill operatives were out of employment in March 1847—*i.e.*, about 6000 persons. The flax trade, on the other hand, was one of the briskest in July 1850; Mr. Saunders says it had partaken largely of the increased demand for goods; and we find from the statistics of the quantity of linen manufactures exported, which only began first to be collected for the year 1848, that the linen exports of 1850 exceeded those of 1848 by more than a fourth. Indeed, if we carry back the comparison by the less exact means of the declared values of the exports for want of any better means, the linen exports of 1850 were a sixth larger than they had ever before been, so that not only must all the unemployed of 1847 have been now reabsorbed, but there was an additional growth of trade and productive means, which implied an increase of hands beyond the full working staff of that date. We know from the factory inspectors' reports that the same process of factory building was continually going on in the flax trade as was going on at the same time in the other textile industries. In Mr. Saunders's district the horse-power in flax mills increased 12.9 per cent. in the five years 1845–1850, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. At that rate the natural increase of the flax trade and the factory system in the three years 1847–1850 would be  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Now, as the total increase of flax operatives in that period was 17.4 per cent., and it has been necessary to deduct 10 per cent. for reabsorption of unemployed, and 7.5 per cent. for natural development, nothing remains for the Ten Hours Act.

The returns for the silk manufacture are imperfect so far as the number of children employed in 1850 is concerned, and as the trade is not important and the others have taken up so much space, I need not enter upon it at all. In fact, the figures for the cotton trade alone are quite sufficient to prove that the Ten Hours Act made no sensible impression on the unemployed, and the reason is given by Mr. Horner in October 1851:

"In all those departments of the factory in which men are paid by piece-work (and these constitute probably not less than four-fifths of the whole, the proportion to fixed weekly wages being daily on the increase) it has been found that the quantity produced in ten and a half hours falls little short of that formerly obtained for twelve hours. In other instances it is said to be equal. This is accounted for partly by the increased stimulus given to ingenuity to make the machinery more perfect and capable of increased speed; but it arises far more from the workpeople, by improved health, by absence of that weariness and exhaustion which the long hours occasioned, and by their increased cheerfulness and activity, being enabled to work more steadily and diligently, and to economise time, intervals of rest while at their work being now less necessary."

This experience is the more remarkable because it occurred in trades in which automatic machinery is universally employed, and the pace of the living agent is largely determined by the speed of the mechanical agent. If there is so much room for improvement in the personal energy of workpeople to tell in industries like these, it can be no source of surprise to find the same results in the common run of industrial occupations. Professor Munro has drawn attention to the circumstance that when the hours of engineers in this country were reduced from ten to nine a day in 1872, it made hardly any perceptible impression on the numbers of unemployed members of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers, there being 510 unemployed in 1871, 397 unemployed in 1872, and 465 in 1873. Professor Munro thinks this result probably due to the introduction of improved machinery, but the truth seems rather to be that no real reduction in the hours of labour occurred at all, and that the only change which actually took place was the payment of one hour more at overtime rates and of one hour less at ordinary rates. Mr. Redgrave, the factory inspector, states in 1872 that all the nine-hour trades wrought systematic overtime, and mentions the case of an engineering firm that had recently adopted the nine hours' system, but whose men, though nominally working fifty-four hours a week, were actually working eighty-four, and being paid for 103. Much better tests of the effect of shortening hours on the unemployed in the engineering trade are afforded by the experience of the various engineering firms who have recently replaced the nine by the eight hours' system. The surprising thing about these experiments—and indeed about a large proportion of other eight-hour experiments also—is that the same staff of men have done more work in the forty-eight hours a week than they did before in the fifty-four hours, together with the overtime then habitual. Messrs. S. H. Johnson & Co., engineers, Stratford, who have now practised the eight hours' system for four years, state explicitly to Mr. Hadfield, author of a recent interesting work called "*A Shorter Working Day*," that, though they pay the men the same wages for the shorter day as they used to do for the longer one, they find that the cost has not only not increased but has practically decreased, and that is, of course, equivalent to saying that they now get more work done in the day.

Mr. William Allan, M.P., whose experiment has received so much well-merited attention, told the Labour Commission, after he had nearly a year's experience of the eight hours' system, that the reduction of hours from fifty-three to forty-eight a week in his works had not reduced the amount of the week's production, but had actually raised it a little, although he had given up overtime almost entirely; and that he had observed, besides, a great improvement in the health and tone of the workpeople. A third engineer, Mr. James Keith, who has more lately adopted the eight hours' system, has also found as much work given him as before. The explanation is in all cases the same, and it is very simple. The men lose less time, and they have more physical energy. They come after breakfast, and they come with more punctuality and better heart. Both Mr. Allan and Messrs. Johnson found the work of the first hours of the day formerly unprofitable, because the men were very irregular in coming, and because, when they came, they did so little comparatively that, as Messrs. Johnson say, their early morning work cost 50 per cent. more than the work done in the rest of the day. Messrs. Short, shipbuilders, Sunderland, wrote Mr. Hadfield, after having nearly two months' experience of the eight hours' system, that they were already satisfied the change would not increase the cost of production, and that they had reason to believe the amount of production would be more. In Mr. Beaufoy, M.P.'s, vinegar works the same staff do in eight hours a day more work than they did before in nine and three-quarters, with two months' overtime into the bargain. "During this year, from September 1889 to September 1890—the year after the change—we did much more business than in almost any year I can remember, but not one hour of overtime was worked." These are strange experiences, but they can be matched elsewhere, for, after all, it is the impossible that happens. But if, in spite of first appearances, we are really going towards the point of maximum efficiency of labour instead of going from it when we shorten the hours of labour to eight, there is no ground for surprise at the small effect of the change in absorbing the unemployed. Mr. Beaufoy increased his production, and yet needed not a single extra hand, except three or four gatekeepers.

Gatekeeping belongs to a class of occupations of very low compressibility, if I may say so, because the duty involves no personal exertion, and consists of little more than period of presence. You cannot put more gatekeeping into eight hours than into nine, and if you shorten the duration of a gatekeeper's duty, you must simply take on another for the rest of the time. Out of the 12,000 occupations in England and Wales there is probably a considerable number bearing more or less of this character, but when they are all put together they will not be found to employ more than a small fraction of the

workpeople engaged in the more laborious and productive trades. Railway and tramway work is sometimes mentioned as among the most important of such occupations, and many persons speak as if, at least in these occupations, a shortening of hours must lead to an exactly proportionate increase in the number of workers employed. But even in regard to such occupations this expectation is exaggerated, for when the Huddersfield Corporation shortened the hours of their tramway conductors and drivers from twelve to eight, and introduced the double shift, they did not require twice as many conductors and drivers as they did before, but only half as many again.\*

A reduction from twelve hours a day to eight is a very big alteration to make all at once, and it would seem to be against nature to expect it to be made without some considerable reduction in the daily output. But this incredible thing has been done again and again, and even greater things, in some of the more laborious trades. The hours in the South Yorkshire coal mines were reduced from twelve to eight in 1858, and the miners sent out more coals in the day after the reduction than they did before it. Messrs. Brunner, Mond & Co., alkali and soda manufacturers, Northwich, made the same reduction three years ago, substituting three eight-hour shifts for two twelve-hour ones, and required only a slight increase of hands—one-ninth more. The experience of gasworks is more varied. The stokers and firemen in the gasworks of London and various other places got their hours shortened from twelve to eight in 1889; and in one-third less time the stokers of the London Gaslight and Coke Company did one-seventh less work, those of the South Metropolitan one-sixth, those of the Commercial Gas Company one-twelfth, while those of the Sheffield Gas Company compressed into the eight hours nearly all the work they used to do before in the twelve. One of the Commercial Company's stokers stated that he did even more.† The Gaslight and Coke Company, however, though they required only a seventh more stokers, required a third more firemen, but there are nine stokers in a gasworks for one fireman, and that company would not have required one-seventh more stokers but that the stokers at the time of the change of hours, for divers reasons, did not do their best. They are doing better now, the chief engineer states. Mr. Livesey, of the South Metropolitan Company, makes the same complaint of his stokers, that they did not keep their promise to work well after the reduction of hours, and that there were certain parts of their accustomed work they absolutely refused to do; while Mr. Jones, of the Commercial Gas Company, whose stokers, as we have seen, did the same work less only one-twelfth, has a like tale to tell of the

\* "Labour Commission Report," qu. 18,788.

† *Ibid.*, qu. 23,953, qu. 23,519, qu. 25,428.

cost increasing, because "the retorts began to be less well filled with coals than they had been under the older system, chiefly because the men were not so orderly and obedient." The dock strike occurred immediately after the eight hours' concession was granted, and the men were extremely excited by what was going on outside, and would sometimes throw down their tools and refuse to work longer on account of some supposed grievance. The natural inference from all this seems to be that if the men were in an undisturbed state of mind, and were doing their best, the slight diminution of one-twelfth could probably have been made up. Besides, the full effect of shorter hours on production is interfered with in gas-stoking by the fact that the stoker's task for the day seems to be a fixed amount agreed upon beforehand, which he has therefore no motive to exceed. The evidence from the gasworks experiments must be taken with the understanding that they involved a much larger reduction of working time than would occur in most ordinary trades now, that the men were not doing their best, and that their day's work was something of a prescribed task; and if under these circumstances gas-stoking could be done with a shortcoming of only one-twelfth, there is no reason in the nature of the occupation why there should be any shortcoming at all. Some of the works have returned to longer hours, but that does not prove the experiment a failure, any more than the similar reversion of Messrs. Green, McAllan & Fielden, the printers. The experiment was merely made under adverse circumstances of a temporary character; in the case of the printing firm the experiment cannot be said to have been made at all. They introduced the eight hours' system in name, but continued to work systematic overtime, and they found, as they might have expected, an increase of the common tendency to do less work in normal time in order to have more work to do in overtime.

The natural effect of shortening the hours of work to eight a day therefore is not in the least to diminish production; it is really the exception when that event supervenes, and as for the most part the same staff does about the same work as before, there is nothing to create any change in the situation of the unemployed, even from the fallacious standpoint of those who imagine a general restriction of production to be a sure way of creating employment.

This truth is driven home with peculiar force at the present moment by observing the protracted and perplexing redundancy of labour which has troubled the colony of Victoria ever since the end of 1889. The eight hours' day became general in that colony in the years 1884-6. Before that time it was enjoyed by no more than twenty trades, but it is now enjoyed by sixty. Three-fourths of the working population in of the colony work only eight hours a day, yet the unemployed have constituted even a worse difficulty in Melbourne since the eight hours' day became general than they did before. In July 1890 Sir

Bryan, O'Loughlan stated in his place in the Legislative Assembly that there were then 3000 unemployed men in Melbourne; in May 1891 the Trades Hall Council said there were 5000 unemployed, and that the labour market was worse than it had ever been in that city. In 1892 a Government labour bureau was opened in Melbourne, and in June Sir Bryan O'Loughlan stated there were some 4000 Melbourne workmen enrolled in it as out of employment, and that there were hundreds more who were in an equally unfortunate position, but did not care publicly to enrol their names. Out of the 4000 persons whose names had been inscribed, work had been found for only 100, and Mr. Moloney, another member of the House, said there were then in Melbourne 2500 workpeople without food or fire. By December as many as 15,000 names were inscribed, and though it was now summer employment had not been found for half of them. In January the Minister of Railways informed a representative of the press that he was then employing 300 or 400 men more than he required, but that he could not think of dismissing them in such a time of depression. Government is a very extensive employer of labour in Australia, and when the railways are employing this superfluity of hands, we may be sure there is, in all other branches of Government work, a like superfluity of hands whose retention is really a matter of relief disguised as business. The Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company came to a decision in February that in the existing state of trade there must either be a general reduction of hands on all lines or a general reduction of wages: they have in the meantime adopted the latter alternative as the more humane; and a spokesman of the directors told a deputation of the employers that no improvement could be expected in the next five months. It was probable, he said, that the coming winter would be a worse one than any they had had before; the Tramway Company were dependent on the masses for their business, and as work at the brickyards, manufactories, and quarries was *nil* or very meagre their receipts had suffered greatly.

Many remedies are from time to time suggested for this distressing condition of things. Government, tired of relief works, which usually ended in fostering the evil they were meant to cure, has proposed to promote small farming by repurchasing considerable blocks of land near the larger centres of population, and letting or selling them in small holdings to approved occupiers on reasonable terms, while the manufacturers for their part have been one after another stating that if they would only get an additional protective duty of 40 or 60 or 80 per cent. on the articles they respectively make, they could employ 40 or 60 or 80 per cent. more hands. But nobody thinks of suggesting that any good might be done to the unemployed by reducing the hours of labour. On the contrary, the tramway and omnibus workers, whose hours are at present limited by law to sixty a week,

have many of them offered to work thirteen or fourteen hours a day if that would be any use.

It is puzzling to account completely for this persistent depression in the demand for labour, but it is generally attributed to the concurrent operation of the great strike of 1889, the great land boom, and the completion of some extensive public works. Whatever the causes, however, it recalls to us in an impressive way how little even a very general adoption of an eight hours' day can do for the unemployed. A shortening of the hours of labour does not reach any of the more common causes of redundant labour, so that it is not really in the nature of the eight hours' day to do what is so commonly expected of it in that connection. A great strike or a great land boom has necessarily the same effect under a short-hour system as under a long-hour one. The poor cotton harvest and the monetary crisis which laid half the machinery of Manchester idle in 1847 would have done the same thing though the mills had been running eight hours a day instead of twelve; and the political troubles of France, which in the following year threw multitudes out of employment in York and Derby, and closed altogether the mills of Rouen, received not the faintest check from the fact that in the thick of them the hours of labour were reduced in England to ten and in France to eleven and twelve. The term of English factory labour was reduced on January 1, 1875, from sixty hours a week to fifty-six and a half, and yet, while there were 1,005,685 factory operatives in the kingdom in 1874, there were only 975,546 at the next enumeration in the depressed year 1878. Then of course shortening hours has obviously no power to cure the involuntary idleness incident to occupations dependent on weather or the seasons, or to do any good to that considerable section of the unemployed who are not only unemployed but unemployable.

A general adoption of an eight hours' day will, I am persuaded, be an immense benefit to the working class and to the nation generally. The improvement of the man will involve the improvement of the workman. While increasing his enjoyment in life, it will at the same time enhance his industrial efficiency and lengthen the years of his efficient working life—two invaluable gains for the national resources. But there is one benefit which it is plainly not in the nature or power of an eight hours' day to render in any very appreciable degree: it cannot make any serious impression on the number of the unemployed. Yet that is the very benefit which seems to be most ardently and confidently expected from it.

Now this wrong expectation arises for the most part from observing the effect of a general limitation of production in a single trade while all other trades continue to produce as largely as before, and then leaping to the conclusion that the same thing will happen when



all other trades shorten their production too. The miners, for example, may play and make something by it so long as all the rest of the world remains at work. They may by a general restriction of their output force their employers to engage more hands to do the work, and even perhaps to pay them a higher rate of wages, because they are employed in producing one of the first necessities of life which all the rest of the world require and will consent to purchase at a higher price, as long as they are able, rather than do without it. But if all the world is to play, how can it pay a higher price for its coal? It is quite true that so long as the world in general maintains its old rate of production, the effort of which Mr. Gunton speaks—the world's effort to maintain its habitual consumption—will lead it to give a little more for its coal—of course, however, at the expense of some other and less necessary item in its budget—and so long as it is able to give this little more, the miners may reduce their hours and swell their numbers. But manifestly the one condition upon which the very possibility of this effect depends is that the aggregate production of the rest of the world is maintained and not restricted, for if they all produce less they must all possess less to buy coal with.

In the same way it is seen how, when a particular trade is busy, when orders have flowed in and overtime has become necessary, a limitation of the hours of work, and a refusal to do overtime, will have the effect of forcing the engagement of unemployed members of the trade. Restricting the work thus tends, it is said, to distribute the work. So it does, and the work is not lessened thereby, because the orders are created by the aggregate production outside the trade, and these orders will continue to flow in so long as that aggregate production remains unrestricted. But if all trades together were to restrict their output in the hope of distributing the work better, they would find they had merely less work to distribute, and instead of making work for the unemployed they would have unmade the work of a considerable portion of those now employed.

The fallacy in this cruder and commoner form, therefore, is merely the naïve mistake of expecting the same result to ensue after we have removed the principal condition on which it depends. But the fallacy is presented also in a less crude form. Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. Horace Cox are too good economists to think that there could be any increase of work for the unemployed if the aggregate production of the community were diminished; but they contend, in their interesting work on the Eight Hours' Day, that the aggregate production of the community would not be diminished by a general restriction of the production of all individual labourers now at work, and that it might even be increased, inasmuch as the difference might be made up, and even more than made up, by the work of those who

are at present unemployed. The unemployed are apparently to obtain employment from capital which only comes into being as the result of their employment; they are to provide a handle to their axe from the tree they hew with it; and if this miracle can be so easily performed under an eight hours' system, why should it not be performed quite as easily under a ten hours' one, or any other? Underneath this form of the fallacy, as underneath the former, there lies the idea that there exists some force able to keep up the normal consumption of society after its normal production is allowed to fall. But the only thing able to keep up the normal consumption of society, and the only thing to keep up the normal consumption of individuals, is their means of paying for it—their means of employing labour to supply it. and when those means fail, society like individuals must simply go without and cannot employ more labour. Or perhaps the idea is entertained that if only the State had the management of things, all this could be done, but that is equally delusive, for the State could not have the means of employing labour if the means were not produced. The State may do some things on credit at present, because it can get the use of the means from private persons who produce and procure them. But if the State is sole proprietor and producer, it has no such other quarter to fall back upon. If it stops producing the old amount there is no banker outside to advance it the means of employing more labour to make good the deficiency.

The eight hours' day is not the first good cause that has been promoted by bad arguments, and life itself, perhaps, is only made tolerable by its illusions; but in the case of the eight hours' day it makes all the difference in the world to the practical success of the experiment, whether the working class are to enter upon it with the wrong idea that they are to draw their benefit from a general restriction of their production, or with the right idea that they are, on the contrary, to draw their benefit from doing their level best to maintain their production, as they have good hope of doing. Odd though it be, the most popular and trusted argument in favour of the eight hours' day constitutes really its only serious practical danger.

JOHN RAE.

## THE CHURCH IN WALES.

### AN ALIEN CHURCH.

THE position of the Anglican Church in Wales has lately received a great share of public attention. The opponents of Church establishment claim that the Church of England is regarded as an alien institution by a large majority of the inhabitants of Wales. Church apologists, unable to deny that the mass of Welshmen are estranged from the Church, have replied by proving that the Church in Wales is at any rate not alien in origin. That fact, so far as I am aware, has not been seriously questioned. No one will dispute the ability of the Church of England in Wales to trace its descent from the ancient British Church established in these islands by the Christian missionaries of the second century. But when the charge of alienism is made against the Church in Wales, it is not meant primarily or chiefly in an historical sense. All practical men will feel that if the Anglican Church can be proved to be at the present day out of sympathy with the Welsh people, if she is not now doing the work of a national Church, it is worse than futile to assert that seventeen centuries ago, or even two centuries ago, she was the Church of the Welsh people. It is the purpose of this article to show the actual position of the Church in Wales to-day, and to explain the causes that have led to her occupying that position.

The history of the Church in Wales teaches one lesson very plainly—namely, that whenever the Church has acted in sympathy with Welsh ideas and sentiments, she has been able to command the enthusiastic devotion of the Welsh people, and that when she has failed to attract their homage, it has been owing to an Anglicising and anti-national policy, thrust upon her in the main, it is true, by her English rulers. This policy of Anglicisation began at the Conquest. Norman bishops were forced upon Welsh sees as they were upon

Saxon. In both countries alike they were regarded as foreigners. But there was this difference. In England Saxon and Norman became merged in one common English nationality. In Wales, Celt and Norman remained distinct, and hence the gulf between the Welsh people and the Church remained unclosed. The primacy of St. David's was suppressed, and the four Welsh sees subjected to the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Some indication of the state of feeling in Wales is afforded by the fact that Bishop Hervé of Bangor needed the support of an armed body of retainers to maintain himself in his diocese, and, in spite of this, had finally to flee to England for refuge. A similar fate befell Peter de Leia, Bishop of St. David's. A petition, signed by Welsh princes, representing the whole of the country, which was sent to the Pope in 1203, appeals against the introduction of English bishops into Wales, and complains of their oppression and rapacity, their absenteeism, their ignorance of the Welsh language and customs, and their unscrupulous use of the power of excommunication against the Welsh when defending their national liberties. Of the complete alienation of the Welsh people from the Church, which was the result of this high-handed policy, the Welsh literature of the time affords ample evidence. The bards of the twelfth century actually attempted to revive the old national Druidism as a substitute for the Christianity which had thus been rendered odious by its association with ecclesiastical tyranny. In the revolt of Owain Glyndwr the national indignation against the Church once more burst into flame. In 1402 the cathedral at Bangor, and the cathedral, palace, and canon's house at St. Asaph, were burnt, and the castle of the Bishop of Llandaff and the house of his arch-deacon were destroyed.

With the accession of the Tudors better days dawned for Wales. Not unmindful of the Welsh blood that flowed in their veins, nor of the assistance rendered by the gallant Welsh troops on the field of Bosworth, the Tudors always maintained a kindly attitude towards Wales. Under their sympathetic rule, the Church regained to a large extent the allegiance of the Welsh people. Prelates of native blood were appointed to Welsh sees, and the policy of the Church was thus brought more thoroughly into accord with Welsh ideas. Unlike the people of Ireland—where, be it noted, an anti-national policy in Church matters was blindly persisted in—the people of Wales gave ready acceptance to the doctrines of the Reformation: and under the wise guidance of native prelates and clergy in sympathy with their flocks, Romanism disappeared more completely from Wales than from any other part of the British Isles. The Bible was translated into Welsh—not, indeed, by the bishops who were commissioned to do it—but by William Morgan, the learned Rector of Llanrhaidr-y-n-Mochnant, who afterwards became Bishop of St. Asaph. This translation, as revised in 1620 by Bishop Parry, Morgan's successor

in the see of St. Asaph, still remains the acknowledged standard of Welsh prose writing. In the work of translating and disseminating the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue patriotic Welsh laymen lent most efficient assistance. For the first time since the Norman Conquest the Church had become a truly national institution. The popular poets, such as Huw Morus, of Ceiriog, were keen partisans of Church and king. Puritanism made practically no headway in the Principality.\* What there was of it was mainly propagated from English-speaking districts, such as Cardiff and parts of Monmouthshire.

The restoration was succeeded, in Wales as in England, by a period of great spiritual torpor. The Church ceased to be vigorous and aggressive, and the mass of the Welsh people, though retaining in the main the character they have always borne as a law-abiding, industrious, and comparatively moral people, relapsed into a state of religious indifference. The few Dissenting bodies were in no position to undertake the work left undone by the Church, for Non-conformity had shared with the Church in the general spiritual decline. It was at this critical moment that the Hanoverian dynasty determined to reverse the policy of its immediate predecessors, and to return to that fatal system of Anglicisation which had well-nigh proved the ruin of the Church before the Reformation. English bishops, ignorant of the native language, were appointed to Welsh sees: the best livings were given to Englishmen, who were frequently non-resident: Welsh blood was virtually made a bar to high preferment, and native talent was frowned upon, and practically driven out of the Church. This misguided policy\* was persisted in for a hundred and fifty years, and long before it was reversed the mass of the Welsh people had revolted from the Church.

The change of policy was, indeed, singularly ill-timed. It took place on the eve of that marvellous religious awakening, known as the Methodist movement, which, under the leadership of Howell Harris, and Daniel Rowlands, swept over Wales during the last century. The effects of that movement were much deeper and more far-reaching in Wales than in England. The mass of the Welsh people were stirred by it into renewed spiritual life. Its quickening force was felt by the Welsh Dissenting bodies as well as within the Church, and resulted in a direct accession to the strength of the

\* It has been questioned whether this exclusion of Welshmen from Welsh bishoprics was due to a deliberate policy of Anglicisation. Canon Bevan ("Case of the Church in Wales," pp. 63, 64) says: "It remains an open question why English bishops were sent into Wales. . . . No Prime Minister ever avowed a motive of policy, and no bishop ever accepted a Welsh see with the understanding that it was part of his duty to throw a damper on Welsh nationality." The answer to Canon Bevan's contention may best be given in the words of a brother cleric (Archdeacon Howell): "If policy means a succession of acts during a definite period, all expressive of the same ideas, and having evidently the same end in view, if policy means an unwritten law, but a law none the less unmistakably acted upon by successive administrations, then there can hardly be anything more certain than that it was the policy of well-nigh two hundred years to Anglicise the Welsh nation through the Church, with consequences which all now deplore."

former. But the majority of those who came under the influence of the revival formed themselves into societies within the Church of England, and until the beginning of this century acknowledged some connection with that Church by occasionally receiving the sacraments at the hands of her priests. In 1811 even that loose bond of union was broken, and the Calvinistic Methodist body finally separated itself from the mother Church. Before another quarter of a century had elapsed, the Methodists, in common with the older Nonconformist bodies, had made such rapid progress in Wales that the number of Welsh-speaking people who remained in communion with the National Church had dwindled into a small minority.

An attempt has been made to prove that the causes which have alienated so large a number of Welshmen from the Church of England lay in evils which were common to England and Wales. The Archbishop of Canterbury made himself the exponent of this view when he said to the Welsh Churchmen gathered at the Rhyl Church Congress in 1891: "Not one of your troubles and oppressions but weighed equally on England. Where you lost, we lost. Our very losses showed our oneness." I cannot but think that the Archbishop, in his anxiety to demonstrate the unity of the Church in the two countries, lost sight of the immense difference between the position of Nonconformity in Wales and in England respectively. The abuses of nepotism, pluralities, and non-residence have no doubt weakened the influence of the Church in both countries. The spiritual deadness of the Church during last century and the instances of scandalous living on the part of the clergy which have occurred then and later have doubtless contributed even more to the decline of the Church in Wales than in England. But these things do not account for the peculiar position which Nonconformity occupies in Wales. To use the words of Dean Edwards: "Dissent in England is sporadic, in Wales endemic; local in England, national in Wales." The reason for this difference is simple. The Church of England lost her hold on the Welsh people, as she has lost her hold on every Celtic race under British sway, because for a century and a half her rulers trampled on Welsh nationality, despised the Welsh language and traditions, and ignored the character, temperament, and peculiar requirements of the Welsh people. The strength of the Church was matched against the strength of Welsh nationality, and a struggle of that kind could only end, as it has ended, in defeat and humiliation for the Church.

The history of the Church in Wales during those disastrous hundred and fifty years would furnish ample material for a study in Nemesis. Every measure of Anglicisation defeated its own object. Every blow aimed at Welsh nationality recoiled with tenfold force upon the Church herself. The Englishmen who were exalted to the chief places of the Church impoverished her by their rapacity, and brought

her to the verge of ruin. The very means she adopted to quench the spirit of nationality simply served to arouse national sentiment into fuller consciousness, and to array its whole strength against her. She ignored the vernacular tongue, even committing the cure of souls to men who knew no Welsh. The Welsh people did not give up speaking Welsh, but they deserted the churches and gathered in thousands on the hillsides to listen to the wild native eloquence of Nonconformist preachers, such as John Elias or Williams o'r Wern. The influence of a bi-lingual clergy in sympathy with the people might gradually have accomplished the extinction of the Welsh language; the surrender of their influence to monoglot preachers effectually perpetuated it. The Church neglected and discouraged the vernacular literature; the few clergymen who distinguished themselves as Welsh *littérateurs*, such as Gwallter Mechain and Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, received no promotion. Welsh literature consequently passed under the control of the Dissenters, and in their hands has become one of the most potent engines for moulding a public opinion largely hostile to the Church. The fact that £200,000 a year is spent on Welsh books will furnish some idea of the enormous influence of which the Church has thus been content to deprive herself. A like Nemesis has attended on her attitude to the vernacular periodical press. What is the position of that press to-day? Out of thirty-seven quarterly, monthly, weekly and bi-weekly publications, only three papers are published in the interests of the Church, and even these are said to have difficulty in dragging out a feeble existence. The higher ranks of the clergy were closed to Welshmen. As a consequence of this, the men of talent and energy, the born leaders of the Welsh people, sought in the Nonconformist ministry the career that was denied them in the Church. "For a hundred and fifty years every teacher, whose name lives in the hearts of the Welsh people, has been almost without exception a Nonconformist" (Dean Edwards). Such are a few of the results of the perverse, anti-national policy which was persisted in until a little over twenty years ago; and it says no little for the essential vitality of the Welsh Church that she was not killed outright by the mistakes and experiments of her rulers.

We may concede at once that the Church, as a spiritual body, can hardly be held responsible for the stupidities of a policy imposed upon her from without, or for the foolish acts of alien rulers whom she had no choice but to accept. Weakening as the effect of such a policy must inevitably be, it would not have sufficed to ruin the Church in the eyes of the Welsh people, if the inferior clergy had been men of strong Welsh sympathies, eager to atone by their own efforts for the omissions of their more dignified brethren. Unfortunately, this was not the case. In proportion as the best strength of the nation enlisted itself on the Nonconformist side, the Church was driven to descend lower and lower in the scale of education, ability,

and character, in order to fill the vacant ranks of the Welsh clergy. Many of the men thus chosen showed themselves only too ready to imbibe the spirit of their spiritual superiors. They affected contempt for all things Welsh, disused the Welsh language as far as possible, and often succeeded in losing all effective command over their native tongue for public purposes. Deserted by their flocks, they grew out of sympathy with the Welsh-speaking population, and leaned more and more for support on the Anglicised gentry. Gradually the idea gained ground that the national Church was not intended for the poor Welsh, but for the rich people and the gentry. At a time when the people of Wales were becoming increasingly Liberal in politics, the clergy as a whole espoused the anti-popular cause. It is well known that it was not without severe struggle and much suffering that the Welsh peasantry achieved their political independence of their landlords. Throughout this time of fierce trial, the clergy, almost to a man, took the side of the landlord. Their motives in so doing no one will call into question; but it is at least unfortunate that the Church to which they belonged should have been associated through them with the acts of tyranny and oppression of which the Welsh gentry were frequently accused. I am inclined to think that the attitude of the Anglicised native clergy towards the Welsh people has done even more to give the Church an alien character in the eyes of the latter than the sins and follies of the English hierarchy who controlled her general policy.

Some zealous apologists of the Church have sought to deny that her weakness is due to her anti-national policy, and have attributed it partly to the poverty of her endowments, and partly to the bi-lingual character of the population with which she has had to deal. The plea of poverty is put forward with a certain shamefacedness, as well it may be in face of the well-known fact that the poor Nonconformists have done, without endowments, precisely the work which it is alleged the poverty of the Church has prevented her from doing. The Church in Wales is comparatively poor in respect of endowments, but her adherents are wealthy; and it has yet to be proved that when the Church is really efficient, her wealthy laymen are less generous than their poorer brethren of the Nonconformist bodies. The bi-lingual difficulty has been a more real one, and it is one which has pressed far more heavily on the Church than on Nonconformists. The Church was confronted with the obligation of providing for the English settlers and the English-speaking gentry on the one hand and the Welsh-speaking natives on the other. The necessities of her position doubtless frequently obliged her to choose between the claims of the two parties. But it was for the Welsh people that her endowments were mainly intended; and, in case of a difficulty, it was neither wise nor just to sacrifice their interests to the claims of the English immigrants.



How, then, stands the case now? The grosser abuses of non-residence, pluralities, and nepotism have disappeared; for the last twenty years native prelates have been appointed to Welsh sees; the other dignities of the Church are at least not closed to the Welsh-speaking clergy; the anti-national policy of the Church has been to a great extent reversed; and in every direction much has been done to remove external conditions unfavourable to her growth. Many churches have been built or restored. The clergy are now better educated, better disciplined, and more enthusiastic in their work. The Church has entered with spirit into a new crusade against Nonconformity and heathenism, though, perhaps, with too great a disposition to confound the two. It still remains to be decided whether, now that she is so far freed of her fetters, she will be strong enough to contend with Nonconformity on its own ground, and to win back any considerable portion of the Welsh people to her fold. She is confronted by no mean antagonist. Nonconformity in Wales is largely the result of an instinctive national protest against the alien character and spiritual deadness of the Church, and may consequently be regarded as a natural expression of the nation's religious requirements; it is powerful and respected, intensely Celtic in spirit, and rich in national traditions; it counts among its adherents and ministers some of the ablest Welshmen of this generation; and though comparatively poor in this world's wealth, it possesses the ear of the nation through the pulpit and the press. The Church is weak in all that constitutes the strength of Nonconformity; but she is strong in material resources, and, above all, confident in the belief that a bright future awaits her.

As to the reality of the reforms that have been effected, and of the consequent progress that the Church has made, there can be no manner of doubt. All liberal-minded Nonconformists must rejoice that the Church has begun to take her proper part in the work of advancing the moral well-being of the Welsh people. The weakness of the Church in Wales during the past two centuries has been a source of weakness to the Welsh nation at large. The social and religious life of Wales has lost greatly from this cause, especially in respect of those qualities of order, reverence, and dignity which characterise the Church of England at her best. So far as the efforts of the Church are directed to bringing within her fold those who do not belong to any Christian communion, Free Churchmen will wish her God-speed. But there is a widespread suspicion abroad that she seeks to make progress not only by gathering in these wandering sheep but by luring the lambs from neighbouring folds. If the Church adopts this method of enlarging her borders she will forfeit the sympathy of all fair-minded men. The Anglican clergy would do well to make it quite clear that they have no desire thus to reap where they have not sown and to gather where they have not sown.

In spite of all the progress the Church has made, the position of Welsh Dissent has not been materially shaken. Into the vexed question of the relative numerical strength of the Church and Nonconformity, I have here no space to enter. It will be sufficient for my purpose to quote the opinions of two eminent clergymen, whose intimate knowledge of the subject and freedom from bias will not be disputed. The late Dean Edwards said in 1879, "Five-sixths of the Welsh-speaking million are outside the Church." Archdeacon Howell, in a sermon on the Welsh Church preached in 1890, referred to the "unquestionable fact that her adherents are largely made up of English settlers and of Anglicised Welshmen, not of the Welsh." It remains, therefore, substantially true in the rhetorical sense which the phrase has always borne, that the Welsh are a "nation of Nonconformists." \* The apologists of the Church, however, while not denying the fact of the present preponderance of Dissent in Wales, appeal for arrest of judgment on the ground that there are forces at work in Wales which may, within the next few years, reverse the relative positions of the Church and Nonconformity. This is a time of transition, say they. Education is spreading in Wales, the Welsh people are rapidly learning English, and English ideas are leavening the country. It would be curious to know why these things are expected to operate to the exclusive advantage of the Church. If Churchmen base their hopes on the spread of education, we can only reply that Welsh Dissent has hitherto, to use the words of Judge Johnes, "advanced with knowledge, and not with ignorance"; and that there never was a time when fewer educated Welshmen were leaving Nonconformity for the Church than at present. If a mere acquaintance with English ideas be expected to produce so great a revolution, it will be sufficient to point out that the influence of English ideas has so far been to make the Welsh people more intensely conservative of their own traditions and habits of thought. Any hopes built on the supposed tendency of Welshmen to adopt English ideas are likely to prove merely a more delusive form of that will-o'-th'-wisp of Anglicisation which has led the Welsh Church so fatally astray in the past. A more general, but not better founded, notion is that the spread of a knowledge of English is in itself a condition unfavourable to Dissent (*vide* Address of Dean Owen at the Cardiff Church Congress, "Proceedings," pp. 546-7). This idea rests upon the assumption that English is likely largely to supersede Welsh as the language of religion—which is in itself an exceedingly doubtful proposition—and that Nonconformists cannot successfully deal with an English-speaking population. With respect to the latter point, an article in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1890, in which all that can be said for the Welsh Church is said very ably, and all that can be alleged against Welsh Dissent is stated with great

\* The phrase, "a nation of Dissenters," was originally used by a Welsh Churchman (Judge Johnes, "Causes of Welsh Dissent," ed. 1870, p. 104).

lack of charity, makes the following emphatic assertion: "They" (*i.e.*, the Nonconformist bodies) "did not, and do not, attempt to solve the bi-lingual difficulty. English immigrants were, and are, left outside their ministrations. It was only to the Welsh that they addressed, or address, themselves." This very positive statement is absolutely contradicted by the facts. A crucial test is afforded by the town of Cardiff, the population of which is largely immigrant and English-speaking. In 1801 the inhabitants of Cardiff numbered 1870 only: the population has now increased to over 135,000 souls. I have been supplied from trustworthy local sources with figures relating to the provision made by the Anglicans and Nonconformists respectively for the religious needs of the English-speaking portion of the population. Roughly speaking, the accommodation in all the churches and chapels of Cardiff may be reckoned at 53,750 sittings, of which 7450 only are in Welsh places of worship. Of the remaining 46,300 sittings the English-speaking Anglicans have 12,700, the English Nonconformists 30,600, the Roman Catholics 3000. It thus appears that so far from the Nonconformists being unable to provide for English-speaking people, they actually provide in Cardiff for between twice and three times as many as the Church. No one who has witnessed the magnificent congregations gathered in the fine Nonconformist chapels of Cardiff can suppose that the accommodation therein provided is in excess of the demand.

These facts will suffice to dispose of the notion commonly met with in England that the Welsh language is the one great obstacle which prevents the Established Church from becoming once more the Church of the Welsh people. Probably the spread of the English language will tell to the advantage of the Church rather than otherwise; but in the main there can be little doubt that history will repeat itself, and that the sympathies of the Welsh people will continue to be most strongly with that Church which unites the highest spiritual energy with the greatest capacity to adapt itself to the national genius and character. At a time when national sentiment is stronger in Wales than it has been for many generations, popular favour is pretty sure to incline more than ever to that Church which is most in touch with the national genius; and it is not difficult to see that in this respect the Anglican Church labours under some considerable disadvantages as compared with the great Nonconformist bodies.

In the first place, the reversal of the anti-national policy has not been sufficiently thorough. It is now an accepted maxim of Church policy that none but a Welsh-speaking bishop shall be consecrated to a Welsh see, but the same rule has not been made to apply to the inferior offices of dignity in the Church. The Rev. David Jones, Rector of Menai Bridge, tells us in his "Biography of Dean Edwards," p. 75: "Our dignitaries are, as a matter of fact, either Englishmen or Anglicised Welshmen, who, with a few exceptions, are incapable of

preaching a Welsh sermon with decent efficiency." Considering that only about two-thirds of the population of the four Welsh dioceses are Welsh-speaking, it cannot be maintained that the higher offices in the Church should be filled exclusively by the Welsh clergy. But it is obvious that this unfamiliarity with the vernacular on the part of most of the higher clergy must be extremely unfavourable to the progress of the Church among the Welsh masses. The effect on the inferior clergy is equally undesirable. Accustomed to the idea that a defective knowledge of Welsh is no bar to high preferment in the Church, many of them neglect to cultivate their native tongue, and often discontinue its use in the ordinary intercourse of life. Hence we are told by Dean Edwards ("Wales and the Welsh Church," p. 217) that they are often "unable to express themselves with freedom and power" in Welsh, and that "nine out of ten are obliged to read their sermons instead of delivering those extempore sermons which the Welsh love of oratory so imperiously exacts." Such a lack of facility in the Welsh tongue not only tends to estrange from a clergyman the sympathies of his Welsh parishioners, but also places him at a great disadvantage in comparison with his Nonconformist rival, who generally uses Welsh as the language of his daily life, and is consequently able to write and speak it with force, elegance, and freedom.

Two serious disadvantages result to the Church from this comparative neglect of the Welsh language. One is the weakness of the Church vernacular press, of which something has been said above. But a far more important source of weakness to the Church is her lack of great preachers in the vernacular. Like all Celtic nations, the Welsh are passionately fond of oratory. Their taste in this respect is catholic. A great preacher draws crowds to hear him wherever he goes, whether he be Churchman, Methodist, or Independent. But for the last hundred and fifty years pulpit eloquence has been virtually banished from the churches of Wales. The young curate who desires to form his Welsh preaching style finds his best models in the sermons of the great Nonconformist preachers. No one who knows the Welsh character can suppose that the people of Wales will be won for the Church without preaching. Yet preaching of the kind that alone appeals to the impassioned nature of the Celt is discouraged by all the staid traditions of the Anglican Church, and meets with scant acknowledgment in the shape of ecclesiastical preferment. The appointment to a vacant see of one of the few Welsh clergymen who are in repute as preachers would do a service to the cause of the Church among the Welsh far greater than any which prelates appointed for their learning or their fighting qualities are likely to render. To set a small value on the gift of oratory is to show lack of insight into the peculiar requirements of the Welsh people.

Apart from difficulties connected with the distinctive language and peculiar temperament of the Welsh, the Church has naturally to deal

with others arising from the long-continued predominance of Non-conformity in Wales. The difficulties of Episcopalianism in Wales are similar in kind to what they are in Scotland. The prevalence of democratic ideas of Church government have called into existence a number of intellectual needs and social aspirations, such as the Anglican Church will find it difficult to satisfy without considerable modifications in her system. What attraction, for instance, has the Church to offer to that influential class of Welshmen from which the *blacnoiriad* (elders or deacons) of the chapels are chosen? There are probably 20,000 of these *blacnoiriad* in Wales. They are the very *élite* of the middle and lower classes. The duties of the office which they hold give them a good training in public business, great readiness in public speaking, and opportunities of doing useful service of various kinds, such as in the Church are confined to the ordained clergy. This feature in the Nonconformist system makes it peculiarly attractive to the most able and ambitious Welshmen, to whom it affords opportunities of social and religious influence which they could not otherwise obtain. The *blacnoiriad* are at the present moment the controlling element in Welsh society. It must be evident that a system like the Anglican, which gives the laity practically no voice in administration, starts at a tremendous disadvantage amongst a democratic people like the Welsh as compared, say, with the Presbyterian system of the Calvinistic Methodists.

The Church in Wales has, doubtless, many natural advantages. The very fact that her history has been linked with that of the Cymric race since the dawn of their civilisation, appeals strongly to the sentiment of an imaginative people like the Welsh. She has at her back the enthusiastic support of the Church in England, at a time when that Church is strong, efficient, and comparatively popular. Her oneness with the Church of England is now her strength, as in the past it has been her weakness. Nevertheless, taking into account the slowness she displays in placing herself *en rapport* with national sentiment, and the many external difficulties with which she has to contend, I cannot but think that her progress in Wales will necessarily be confined within comparatively narrow limits. That she may fill an honourable place in the national life of Wales, none will deny. But that place will assuredly not be the position of supremacy which she covets and claims as her right. In taking this view I am glad to find myself in accord with the opinion expressed by so acute an observer as Lord Aberdare, in a speech delivered at the Swansea Church Congress in 1879: "If you ask me, as one who has watched the Welsh mind, whether there is any prospect of the Church reinstating itself in the position it occupied in the seventeenth century—that is to say, when the whole of the Welsh belonged to the Church—I am bound to admit that, humanly speaking, I see no such prospect" ("Proceedings," p. 365).

THOMAS DARLINGTON.

## A TASMANIAN PRECEDENT.

THE advocates and opponents of the Suspensory Bill are alike shocking the Christian conscience by the liberal use of very unchristian weapons. "Envy, malice, and all uncharitableness" are not the arguments by which truth is generally promoted. There may be transitory but not final victory on the side of the most proficient expert in the use of such weapons. If these champions of either army would try to examine the subject from their adversaries' stand-points calmly and dispassionately, we should hear less of the terrible charges of "robbery" and "falsehood," and still worse crimes.

The Welsh Churchman looks at the Suspensory Bill from *his own* point of view. He says, "Endowments were left to us by our ancestors and we are the legal heirs. To wrest them from us is the act of a robber, as much as the act of a burglar. On the other hand, the Welsh Nonconformists have *their* point of view, and they are influenced by very opposite considerations. "These ancestral gifts," they say, "were intended to secure to dependents and tenants the benefits of religious teaching and religious ordinances, and as long as they were devoted to the purpose of the donors, we were loyal Churchmen, no people more so. But in the early Hanoverian period, the Government of the day thrust upon us English Bishops, who neither resided in their dioceses, nor understood our language. Clergy were appointed to our parishes, who read the services of the Prayer Book and preached sermons to us in a strange and unpopular tongue. In this dilemma and spiritual dearth we joined ourselves to Nonconformist bodies, who taught us all we know of Christ and His Gospel, and they have won our affection. It is true that the Church, after a century or two of sloth and inaction, has lately seen her error, but except in the great centres of population, the vast majority both of

farmers and farm-labourers are now, as much as ever, attached to those religious teachers by whose zeal we, and our fathers, were brought to the Feet of Christ." These persons feel, and it is natural they should feel, that if those men of old who endowed the National Church were alive now, their free gifts would be devoted to supply the wants of the people *generally*, and not for the support of one section of the Christian Church. They may, or they may not, be correct in this contention, but it is neither Christian nor honest to brand them with the stigma of premeditated robbery. The "robbery," they reply, with some degree of justification, has been on your side, not ours. You took away our inheritance and gave it to strangers. You filled our manse with aliens, and thrust into our pulpits, for political purposes, men who could not speak to us the vernacular we love. You tell us, indeed, that all this robbery was the work of the State, but it was done with the connivance, and without the protest, of the Church herself.

The advocates of the Suspensory Bill avowedly regard it as a measure involving the fate of the Welsh Church. The Archbishop and those who adopt his tactics maintain the inseparable union of the four Welsh dioceses with the province of Canterbury. The easy reply of Welsh Liberationists is that arguments, founded upon *fact*, are stronger than those founded on *sentiment*; and the fact is that the Welsh people *are* separate from England by race, by language, and by religious antipathy. Mr. Gee and his partisans maintain that Church funds belong to the nation, and the nation has a right to control all property for the general good. The question, therefore, naturally resolves itself into this form—is it, or is it not, the interests of the State that property, bequeathed in the ages long past, should be diverted, either in whole or in part, from the original intention of the donors? If not, Parliament was legislating unjustly in throwing open local exhibitions and scholarships which were restricted by their founders to particular grammar schools. The State again is guilty of spoliation whenever it imposes conditions upon the transfer of property, as, for instance, in Legacy Duties, in the Mortmain Act, in the powers granted to the Charity and Ecclesiastical Commission.\* There never, indeed, has been recognised any limit to this legislative interference with the disposal of property but what is dictated by *the good of the commonwealth*. If the majority of men believe (which the writer is far from holding) that the Establishment has a prejudicial effect upon the religious life of the nation, that it paralyses Christian effort, that past endowments discourage present generosity, that they make the Church worldly and careless, that its officers have grossly neglected their duties, then the State has a moral right to interfere, as it has

\* "The State," says Mr. J. S. Mill, "is fully entitled to abrogate or alter any particular right of property which it judges to stand in the way of the public good."

interfered with legacies in the shape of doles, which have been found to discourage thrift and destroy self-respect in the recipient.

The following considerations may have some weight with those Churchmen who share the conviction of the writer that, sooner or later, the Democratic wave will dissolve all ecclesiastic privileges, and that better terms may be made "with the adversary while we are on the way with him" than later on, when the judge, which is the nation, may be less favourable to the Church's interests, viz. :

- I. Church property was often in ancient times extorted by unworthy motives and sacerdotal pressure.
- II. It was, when bequeathed, of much less value than it has become by the constant accumulation of unearned increment.
- III. It was left for the purpose of securing the ordinances of the Christian religion to the family and dependents of the land-owner, when the Church of England was the only form in which religion was presented, or would be tolerated in its complex form, as it is now. The old gifts were made, it may be contended, to religion, *as such*, and it is reasonable to ask how would they have been bequeathed had the donors lived and died in the present age. This contention will have little force with rigid Churchmen, but it is certainly available for the politician.

I have been privately asked by one who bears the name of a highly honoured statesman, whether on one public occasion I had made the statement, "*If the Church in Wales has by supineness or neglect lost 60 per cent. of the population, it should be content to lose 60 per cent. of its revenues inherited from its forefathers.*" My answer was that the sentiments with which I was credited rightly expressed my views as to the practical method of settling the question of Welsh or any other disestablishment. The problem was forced upon me for solution as Bishop of Tasmania. The absolute forfeiture of our endowments in that colony was, during my episcopate, proposed to the House of Assembly, and was thrown out by a very narrow majority. We took alarm, but availing ourselves of this discomfiture, the Church party carried through the Colonial Parliament what was known as the State Aid Commutation Act, which handed over £100,000 to various governing bodies (including the Church of England, the Church of Rome, and two other religious denominations) to be divided among them in proportion to their numerical strength, as tested by the previous census. The Church of England obtained for its share £57,000. This sum, paid in Colonial Debentures, was not much more than a third of our original endowment, but our experience reads a lesson to the mother Church. In attempting to grasp all, she may lose all. Churchmen are proverbially blind. They would



not see the abolition of Church Rates till it came. The statesman that could carry a measure, framed upon the same principle of commutation, might prove to be the greatest benefactor both to the State and to the Church. Much less satisfactory and less just would be the probable alternative of a general confiscation of Church endowments, merely reserving a fund for present compensation and vested interests.

It will be argued that such a compromise as is now proposed would amount to a disruption of the compact of Church and State. The answer is that no compact can possibly be broken, because no compact was ever made. Some thirteen centuries ago the State adopted the Canon Law, including the "four General Councils," as part of the Common Law of England. "The Church and Realm of England" became absolutely co-extensive, and Christianity was formally inwrought into the civil and political life of the nation. It is a pity the same identification and continuity cannot be preserved. To the Church's blame, however, or her misfortune, as well as to the religious injury of the nation, the ecclesiastical aspect of England in 1893 is not what it was thirteen centuries ago, when Augustine was received by the King of Kent, and we began to trace the first relation of the Church to the State. The State, however, can never be said to support the Church except in its *national*, as distinguished from its, higher or catholic, character. If the State is bound to support *any* Christian body, it must support the dominant one. The Church must consequently depend upon its own energy, zeal, and faithfulness if it would continue to enforce its claim to pre-eminence. Denationalise the Church, and it remains the same Church, only with a different aspect. Her relation to the State arose from the fact of her original possession of, and control over, the whole nation, and at this moment she continues to hold that relation simply because she continues to be the Church of the majority. If the Parliament, by the will of the people, is now composed of Roman Catholics and numberless Dissenters, she can only be called the national Church so long as her prominence and usefulness entitle her to special privileges and support.

It is wise to allow that there are disadvantages as well as advantages accruing from those State privileges which a national Church enjoys. For instance, the Church is debarred from improving its Rubrics, because Rubrics are a part of Statute Law, and Parliament alone can relax what it made binding. Convocation, I allow, can pass canons and ordinances with a license, if only such license were forthcoming, *from the Crown*. What is still more important, numerous abuses affecting patronage and discipline and close churches are crying evils, which the Church as an Establishment is incompetent to remove. Should, however, the license of the Crown be more freely given (and this would probably be granted if the constitution of Convocation was made more

representative and popular), the Church would be empowered to take measures (as the King's Declaration prefixed to the 'Canons of 1604 intended) "for the honour and service of Almighty God, and the better government of the Church." So long as such disabilities remain, and Convocation is deprived of all legislative functions, we cannot be surprised that some excuse is given to her adversaries, some colour to the charge of bondage as if it were tolerated by the clergy for the sake of worldly advantage.

In offering these observations, I have been led by the desire of protesting against the rancour and bitterness that have been imported into a discussion which has naturally two sides. A calm and unimpassioned examination of the views held by those who may be as loyal as we are to truth and justice, or as blinded by prejudice and education, is far more likely to bring about a satisfactory compromise, if not settlement, of an involved and difficult controversy, as vital, as it is difficult, to the best interests of the nation.

C. H. BROMBY.

## IN THE POETS' GARDEN.

**T**HERE is no formula for the planting of the poets' garden, for they have left us no description that can be followed. But they have bequeathed us the outlines of their ideals. Vaguely, one sees the Cottage Garden, a confusion of flowers, pink roses and white ; conspicuous with sweetbriar about the gate, and woodbine above the porch. Vaguely, too, one sees the Hall Garden, with its terraces and peacocks and fountains, and its south-wall where the apricots ripen and the lilies blow. There are roses in plenty and beds of violets and jessamines on pillars, and solemn evergreens of great age, and limes "the summer home of murm'rous wings."

But whatever their garden may be like it must be a place of restfulness and of shade, the resort and refuge of many birds.

"Apt emblem (for reproof of pride)  
This delicate enclosure shows,  
Of modest kindness, that would hide  
The firm protection she bestows ;  
Of manners, like its viewless fence,  
Ensuring peace to innocence."

Of its floral contents the poets have no need to care, for where poets are, as Keats says,

"the daisies are rose-scented,  
And the rose herself has got  
Perfume which on earth is not ;"

and besides—

"a poet's muse is  
To make them grow just as he chooses."

But it would make the flintiest of gardeners weep were he called upon to produce the posies which the poets ask. They think nothing when walking with their love, of stepping aside and picking snow-drops and red roses for a chaplet for her brow. But what have poets

to do with the seasons of the flowers, or the flowers of the seasons? It is enough for them, and for us, that they gather the most beautiful and point with each most beautiful thoughts. Their garden is a treasury of emblems and similes, and they take what they want when they want it. How finely, too, their preferences turn to wild-flowers, "the nurslings of the dew and darlings of the sun." You shall find a thousand primroses to a single tulip, a million daisies to every dahlia.

It is just this same wish for a "wilderness" that gives Bacon's garden its finest touch. First, you will remember, you find yourself on coming out from the house, on a noble "green of fine turf," with trellised aisles overhung, with creepers on either side, and a broad pathway down the midst. In front, like a great green curtain, stretches a stately hedge of bays and yews concealing the garden. An archway in this green wall admits you to the place of flowers, square and surrounded on all four sides with the same trellised and overarched "alleys," with birds in cages between the arches, and—the pity of it—devices in coloured glass set at intervals in the trellis; these shady alleys being raised above the ordinary level on gently shelving banks set with flower-beds. In the centre is a mount, with a banqueting-house on the top, and numerous alleys edged with little low hedges—"round like welts; with some pretty pyramids"—running away to the wider alleys; and arbours with seats and fountains. Then here we come upon the "pretty common-land." For through the arches of the trellis opens up a view of the "heath," planted so as to resemble as much as may be "a natural wilderness."

"Trees, I would have none in it, but some thickets, made only of sweetbriar and honeysuckles, and some wild vines amongst, and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses, for these are sweet and proper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order." Note, too, those "little heaps in the nature of molehills, such as are in wild heaths," to be set some with wild-thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, "that gives a good flower to the eye"; some with periwinkles, some with violets, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilies of the valley, some with sweetwilliams, some with bearsfoot, "and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly." And others of these heaps were to be set with shrubs of juniper and taller roses, holly, barberry, and currant, rosemary, and bay, "and such like." Is it not all delightful? Just such a garden every poet has in mind, for though he never describes it, it must be somewhere in his fancy, or he could not as he does let drop beauty after beauty from it in his verse.

Very few flowers suffice the poet. At one time or another every blossom, indeed every vegetable—whether shrub, waterplant, "weed," or grass—finds notice in its place; but a dozen or less are all he makes real use of to point the lessons he teaches and to adorn his poems.

Conspicuous among the individual flowers specially honoured by separate poems to themselves, are the rose, the violet, the lily, and the daisy, which occupy in poetic botany the positions of distinction and utility, filled, among the poet's birds, by the nightingale, dove, swan, and linnet.

The rose is everywhere telling of passionate love and of grief; the violet, like the turtle, dwells apart in modest seclusion, an emblem of self-satisfying affection. Like the lily-white, silver swan, the flower that gives it its epithets is of stately mien and of spotless robe, a thing of ornament, and conscious of its beauty, while the daisy is like the linnet, artless—a pretty wilding, supplying the poet with an innocent simile of uncultured grace, and lending a rural charm to every verse in which it sings its little simple country song. They are sweet flowers all four,

Pride of place for the rose. It is—the universal flower. For it is a native, so far as we can tell now, of every continent. It is—the foremost flower. For it is recognised in every country as the Queen of Flowers. It is—the flower of all time. For it lives in every language, however ancient, and in all of them it is consecrated to the future and eternity. It is—the flower of legend. For it is an epitome of the pious traditions and folk-lore of the world, whether Christian or Pagan—a concordance of all the faiths and superstitions of the human kind, of their credulities and hopes and fears; the symbol of every emotion, the ornament of every rite; honoured alike in joy and in grief, blessing the cradle, brightening nuptials, and sanctifying even the grave. No wonder, then, that our English poets distinguish it with precedence—the premier flower of every race: the royal flower of our own.

Of its origin two legends suffice. The first, the ancient Greek story of Rhodanthé “of Corinth,” who, for her great beauty, was set upon the pedestal of the statue of Artemis, and the goddess displaced to make room for her. The Sun-god beholds from Olympus the act of sacrilege, and, to avenge his sister, turns the full glory of his ardent gaze upon the mortal on the shrine, and, lo! at once, and in full sight of the adoring crowd, she changes into the rose.

“Tho’ changed into a flower, her pomp remains,  
And lovely still, and still a queen she reigns.”

Her suitors, whose wooing she had scorned, are turned into the thorns that still defend her charms, while the ringleaders in the outrage on the goddess at once take wing as the insects that flit about the rose in senseless worship.

The other legend is the Christian one of the attempted killing of Zillah, the maid of Bethlehem, whom a rejected suitor, Hamuel, had traduced to the Sanhedrim. The punishment decreed was death at the stake. Let Southey finish the story:

"Without the walls  
 There was a barren field; a place abhorr'd,  
 For it was there that wretched criminals  
 Received their death; and there they built the stake,  
 And piled the fuel round, which should consume  
 The accused maid, abandon'd as it seem'd  
 By God and man. The assembled Bethlemites  
 Beheld the scene, and when they saw the maid  
 Bound to the stake, with what calm holiness  
 She lifted up her patient looks to heaven,  
 They doubted of her guilt. With other thoughts  
 Stood Hamuel near the pile; him savage joy  
 Led thitherward, but now within his heart  
 Unwonted feelings stirr'd, and the first pangs  
 Of wakening guilt, anticipating hell.  
 The eye of Zillah as it glanced around  
 Fell on the murderer once, but not in wrath;  
 And therefore like a dagger it had fallen,  
 Had struck into his soul a curseless wound.  
 Conscience! thou god within us! not in the hour  
 Of triumph thou dost spare the guilty wretch,  
 Not in the hour of infancy and death  
 Forsake the virtuous! They draw near the stake,  
 And lo! the torch! hold, hold, your crying hands!  
 Yet quench the rising flames! They rise! they spread!  
 They reach the suffering maid! Oh, God protect  
 The innocent one.

They rose, they spread, they raged;  
 The breath of God went forth. The ascending fire  
 Beneath its influence bent, and all its flames  
 In one long lightning flash concentrating,  
 Darted and blasted Hamuel, - him alone.  
 Hark! What a fearful scream the multitude  
 Pour forth! And yet more miracles! the stake  
 Buds out, and spreads its light green leaves, and bowers  
 The innocent maid and roses bloom around,  
 Now first beheld since Paradise was lost  
 And fill with Eden odours all the air."

That the rose was at first only white, but turned red, "for love's sake" blushing, for some act of Venus or her son, is a fancy common to East and West; and whenever a poet essays the theme, his mistress' charms are sure to claim the compliment of the ruddy change.

"Roses at first were white,  
 Till they could not agrée  
 Whether my Suppho's breast  
 Or they more white should be.  
 But, being vanquished quite,  
 A blush thir cheeks bespread,  
 Since which, believe the rest,  
 The roses first came red."

Its scent, also, is borrowed from the lips and breath of Love, but among the crowd of contending fair it were hard to say which of the Celiass, Delias, or Julias it was who first perfumed the rose with a kiss.

As a love-token it finds incessant allusion, and if only for the burden of poetic confidences laid upon it—to say nothing of the very audacious sentiments, very explicitly expressed, which they were often commissioned to convey to beauties who had proved too hard or too soft of heart—the rose may well blush and faint. Never was any messenger more exquisitely flattered with secrets.

But it was reserved for Herbert, with his daring liberties with

matters sacred, to speak of the rose as a "purge," and send it on so severe an errand as a refusal.

"Only take this gentle rose,  
And therein my answer lies.  
'What is fairer than a rose?  
What is sweeter? Yet it purgeth.  
Purgings enmity disclose.  
Enmity forbearance urgeth.  
'If, then, all that worldlings prize  
Be contracted to a rose,  
Sweetly there indeed it lies,  
But it biteth in the close.  
'So this flower doth judge and sentence  
Worldly joys to be a scourge;  
For they all produce repentance,  
And repentance is a purge.  
'But I health, not physic, choose;  
Only though I you oppose,  
Say that fairly I refuse,  
For my answer is a rose.'"

Of all the pleasant-at-first but rapidly-becoming-intolerable perfumes, there is none to compare with the attar of roses. A terror is added to official life in the East by the horrible practice of the natives of doing honour to European guests by smearing their waistcoats with the oil of roses, and veterans in the service understand how to wear an old suit of clothes, or old uniform, during the unctuous civilities of reception, and to have another to slip into immediately that the odorous ceremony is over. As for the juniors, they smell like civet cats for a month, and get to hate themselves in their tainted apparel.

It may be that there is something akin to this fatiguing, cloying perfume in the perpetual rose-worship of the poets. There is little of the natural scent of the flower about it; of that odour which is so exquisite in a passing whiff, or when infinitely diluted in the fragrance of a single rose. For the poets' perfume is the attar itself, the essential oil, the distilled quintessence of hogsheads of rose-leaves: it is artificially powerful, a chemical concentration. So there is a distinct relief in coming upon any poet who, in venturesome independence, says that the rose is undeniably lovely, but that he prefers his flowers without thorns: or the other who, making out a rivalry between the lily and the rose, divides the sovereignty of the garden between them on the ground that a pretty face requires both pink and white for its perfection:

"Yours is," she said, 'the nobler hue,  
And yours the statelier mien,  
And till a third surpasses you,  
Let each be deemed a queen.'  
Thus soothed and reconciled each seeks  
The fairest British fair.  
The seat of empire is her cheek,  
They reign united there."

But it was distinctly a set-down for the rose, all the same.

So, too, after scores of poets have admonished the rose to blush unseen, and beware of being "too fond to shine where Fame's trans-

porting rays allure," it is refreshing to meet with Shenstone's Daphne:

" 'Scè, Daphne, see !' Florelia cried,  
' And learn the sad effects of pride ;  
Yon sheltered rose, how safe concealed  
How quickly blasted when revealed ! ' "

To which the nymph pertinently retorts :

" ' You first, my swain,  
Confine your sonnets to the plain ;  
One envious tongue alike disarms  
You of your wit, me of my charms.  
What's worth, unknown, the poet's skill ?  
Or what, unheard, the tuneful trill ?  
What, unadmired, a charming mien ?  
Or what the rose's blush unseen ? ' "

Wherein Florelia is handsomely paid back in his own coin—with sauce for the gander—and Daphne distinctly scores off her "fond swain." Still it goes without saying that in the poems of a Burns, a Clare, or a Bloomfield, the retiring secluded rosebud is very gracefully handled, and excellent morals are drawn from the happiness of a humble estate, than which nothing can be more amiable or praiseworthy ; but, fortunately for the world at large, human rosebuds and nightingales aspire to wider spheres of conquest than the corner of a cottage garden affords, and larger concert-rooms than "the sequestered thorn." Albeit the poets counsel wisely. And if the majority of those who are humbly born to exalted stations prefer to endow humanity, instead of their own parish, with their charms and talents, the fact does not detract from the wisdom of the bards' advice.

So, too, when the butterfly, having but just now gone through the form of marriage with the rose, flies away from his bride to flirt with her neighbours, and the flower complains of his conduct, the butterfly retorts with a flat *tu quoque*, which is in excellent fooling :

" I saw when you gave the base violet a kiss,  
How—how could you stoop to a meanness like this ?  
Shall a low little wretch whom we roses despise,  
Find favour, O Love ! in my Butterfly's eyes ?  
On a tulip, quite tawdry, I saw your fond rape,  
Nor yet could the pitiful primrose escape ;  
Dull daffodils, too, were with ardour address'd,  
And poppies, ill-scented, you kindly caress'd.

" The coxcomb was frigid, and replied with a sneer,  
That you're first to complain, I commend you, my dear !  
But know, from your conduct my maxims I drew,  
And if I'm inconstant, I copy from you.  
I saw the boy Zephyrus fife your charms ;  
I saw how you simper'd and smiled in his arms ;  
The honey bee kiss'd you, you cannot disown,  
You favour'd besides—O dishonour !—a drone ;  
Yet worse—'tis a crime that you must not deny,  
Your sweets were made common, false Rose, to a fly."

What the nightingale is among birds the rose is among flowers ; and just as the poets, almost unanimously, make the *hen*-bird attrac-



tive by its beautiful song, so they endow the rose with honeyed sweets that are specially alluring to the bee. As a matter of fact, bees never go to roses, for the best of reasons, that there is nothing to go for. The "flaunting" and poetically disreputable tulip, or the haughty, stiff, and generally unamiable dahlia, are among the bees' delights; but Deborah never goes near the honeyless Queen of the Flowers.

In reading how Moore finds "the last rose of summer left blooming alone," and because, as he says, "no flower of her kindred, no rose-bud is nigh, to reflect back her blushes, to give sigh for sigh," how he proceeds to put the poor thing out of its pain, and tells it "go sleep" with its friends:

"Thus kindly I scatter  
Thy leaves o'er the bed,  
Where thy mates of the garden  
Lie scentless and dead,"

I cannot help thinking that the poet took a great deal more upon himself than the occasion warranted. There must always be a "last" rose of summer in every garden every year, and it would surely be only indifferently sympathetic to go about scattering it over the beds. Still, as most of the poets affect a somewhat exaggerated esteem for the latest-flowering roses, Moore's attitude is not in unpleasant contrast. In Cowper's "Winter Noddy" (plucked, by the way, "from the shelter of yon sunny shed," a poetical euphuism perhaps for "conservatory"), we find the sentiment, "the charms of the late-blowing rose seem graced with a livelier hue," turned, as in Tennyson's "Roses on a Terrace," to a pretty compliment to the faithful companion by the poet's side:

"And the winter of sorrow best shows  
The truth of a friend such as you."

Nevertheless, there is room for the robust protest of Hood, who also has a poem on a "Winter Noddy." But how deplorably different from the amiable Cowper's, and what a pleasant human smack of Elia there is in it:

"Oh, withered winter blossoms,  
Dwager-flowers—the December vanity,  
In antiquated visages and bosoms.  
What are ye planned for,  
Unless to stand for  
Emblems, and peevish morals of humanity?  
There is my Quaker Aunt,  
A Paper-Flower—with a formal border  
No breeze could e'er disorder,  
Pouting at that old bean—the Winter Cherry  
A puckered berry;  
And Box, like a tough-lived annuitant:  
Verdant alway—  
From quarter-day to quarter-day:  
And poor old Honesty, as thin as want,  
Well named—Godwot;  
Under the baptism of the water-pot,  
The very apparition of a plant;  
And why,  
Dost hold thy head so high,

Old Winter Daisy ;  
 Because thy virtue never was infirm,  
 Howe'er thy stalk be crazy ?  
 That never wanton fly, or blighting worm,  
 Made holes in, thy most perfect indentation ?  
 'Tis likely that sour leaf,  
 To garden thief  
 Forcepp'd or winged, was never a temptation ;  
 Well, still uphold thy wintry reputation ;  
 Still shalt thou frown upon all lovers' trial ;  
 And when, like Grecian maids,  
 Young maids of ours  
 Converse with flow'rs,  
 Then thou shalt be the token of denial.  
 Away ! dull weeds,  
 \* \* \*  
 I hate ye, of all breeds ;  
 Yea, all that live so selfishly—to self,  
 And not by interchange of kindly deeds—  
 Hence—from my self."

There must be also a "first" rose, and with such a one Mrs. Browning, in a poem of considerable beauty (marred by such Browningisms as this) :

"What angel but would seem  
 To sensual eyes ghost-dim !  
 And without assimilation  
 Pain is interpenetration,"

sympathises affectionately and very illogically.

"You came too soon. You thought you were going to do wonders : take a frozen world by storm. Ah, well, you did nothing of the kind. There was nobody about to take any notice of you, and you fell to pieces, and there was an end of you. You were before your time. And don't do it again." And then the simile of the poet singing before his time comes into her mind, and she urges the poet never to mind whether he has an intelligent audience or not, or whether he can sell what he sings or not, but to go on singing—

"In faith that still perceives  
 No rose can shed her leaves,  
 Far less poet fall from mission,  
 With an unfulfilled fruition"—

which is exactly what the poor premature white rose was doing, and the poet reproved her for.

A very curious poetical whim is the "*musk-rose*." Shakespeare and Milton use the word repeatedly as if the flower were one that everybody knew well, a common wilding—"every musk-rose of the dale." Keats has hardly any other rose except the "*musk*"-rose. In many other poets it will be met with, and is used almost invariably for the wild "*dog*"-rose of our hedges. An analogous fancy, among the poets' birds, is that "*mountain*"-linnet with which we become so familiar in their verse, but which, outside poetry, is a bird unknown.

One word more of the rose—under the rose. There came into my hands in Melbourne, a present from my good friend Mr.

Tom Edwards, two anonymous volumes of verse,\* entitled "The Banquet," to which are appended "The Tea," "The Dessert," and "The Rose"—all poems of more than ordinary merit. In the last is explained the origin of the phrase "under the rose." From the ceilings of most dining-rooms in modern times hangs a chandelier, or something of the kind, the shaft of which springs from a plaster ornament, which we call "the rose." In the ceilings of antique dining-rooms (built at a time when tables were lit by candles set upon them in candlesticks) "the rose" is still found, and forms the usual ornament in the centre of the carved wood overhead. And longer ago still, before we had any dining-rooms at all or any candles in England, men in another land met for feasting or for wine-bouts "under the rose." Above them, suspended from the ceiling, was a rose: the emblem of secrecy among friends: a warning to the owners of wine-loosened tongues that the easy converse of companions over wine should go no further:

"Where soft acanthus clothed the ground,  
And violets sprinkled odours round:  
Near slumbering pools that lull'd the rill,  
And bid the Zephyr's voice be still;  
In gentle dalliance, on a day,  
The Acidalian goddess lay.

"Harpocrates survey'd the scene  
With roguish eyes behind the screen,—  
A screen the hand of May had wove,  
'To canopy the couch of love;  
A screen of amaranth and binc,  
Of cedar, cypress, and of pine,  
Whose foliage with the sunbeam playing,  
Fretted its light, its heat allaying.

"Here, Cupid, take this bud," she said,  
'This blushing bud, that bends its head;  
The grace of groves, the queen of flowers,  
The perfume of our Paphian bowers.  
Promise of spring, that scents the gales,  
Which morning's odorous breath exhales:  
The charm of sight, the boast of youth,  
Delight of summer, pledge of truth;  
Whose chalice with my mouth that strives  
With nectar stores Cythera's hives;  
Whose petals with my mouth comparing  
Rival its bloom its fragrance sharing;  
Whose dews, like drops that softly creep  
Down virgins' cheeks, for joy that weep,  
Shine mirrors to the raptur'd eye  
Of loveliness and purity;  
Whose velvet down and purple stains  
Vie with the network of thy veins,  
That trace beneath the crimson'd skin  
The mazy streams of life within,  
This to the god of silence bear  
The type and tribute of the Fair."

"The urchin" does as he is told, and the poet concludes:

"Yes, still this emblem lives for you,  
To beauty, love, and silence due,

\* These volumes were printed by Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 47 Paternoster Row, and T. Lookham, jun., Old Bond Street, in 1819, and are dedicated to "Walter Scott, Esquire."

And still where'er the flower appears,  
The gait of modesty it wears ;  
And still the blossom seeks to hide,  
In reddening tints, its conscious pride ;  
And still where secret trust we show,  
Under the rose—it is—we know."

Second in the poet's affection ranks the "dainty" violet, the emblem of modest worth and beauty:

" Sheltered from the blight, ambition,  
Fatal to the pride of rank,  
See me in my low condition  
Laughing on the tufted bank.

" On my robe, for emulation,  
No variety's imprest,  
Suited to an humble station  
Mine's an unembroidered vest."

A rare favourite of the poets. Indeed, one tells it to "boast itself the fairest flower, in glade or copse or forest dingle:" another "the sweetest flower that blows;" while Herrick declares it

" So graced  
To be placed  
'Fore damask-roses."

But they all lament the fleeting beauty of these "Maids of Honour, who do bring in the Spring, and wait upon her"—

" Yet wither ere they can be set  
Within the virgin's coronet."

Their delicacy of petal and fine tracery of vein—for the poets know only the pale single violet—suggests more than once an exquisite simile:

" Sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes  
Or Cytherea's breath."

" Love's dropped eyelids and a kiss,  
Such our breath and blueness is."

Yet one deplorable legend says that they were not always blue:

" Love on a day, wise poets tell,  
Some time in wrangling spent,  
Whether the violets should excel,  
Or she, in sweetest scent.  
But Venus having lost the day,  
Poor girls, she fell on you,  
And beat ye so, as some dare say,  
Her blows did make ye blue."

But others say that poor Ianthia, pursued by Apollo, appealed to Artemis to destroy her fatal beauty, and that the goddess in pity painted her face blue!

" Discoloured thus an humbler state she proved  
Less fair, but by the goddess more beloved!"

Next the daisy. Clare, in a pretty poem, which commences—

"Welcome, old comrade! peeping once again,  
Our meeting 'minds me of a pleasant hour;"

and closes,

"Then like old mates, or two who've neighbours been,  
We'll part, in hopes to meet another year;"

strikes the note of many poets' addresses to the "wee, modest crimson-tipped flower." Specially noteworthy is the welcome of that genial, truthful poet, Mackay, whose verses, to my thinking, breathe, excepting of course the greater poets, more than any other writer the sweet spirit of Nature and the pure love of it. The poem opens:

"My heart is full of joy to-day,  
The air hath music in it;  
Once more I roam the wild-wood way,  
And prize the passing minute;  
The balms of heaven are on my cheek,  
My feet in meadow mazes,  
Let me alone, and I will speak  
My blessings on the daisies.  
"I have not seen for half a year,  
Sore pent in cares and labours,  
These gems of earth, these blossoms dear,  
'These free and glad some neighbours;  
They smile upon me as of old,  
Through memory's shifting phases,  
My blessings on your white and gold,  
Ye well beloved daisies."

Wordsworth has several poems addressed to the daisy, and confesses a debt of greater gratitude to it for its "happy genial influence" than to any other flower:

"Thou art indeed by many a claim,  
The poet's darling."

And there can be no doubt, reading his verses and noting how he again and again recurs to all the various moods in which the daisy has met him, and in all of them "repaired his heart with gladness," that the poet's affection for "the sweet flower" was sincere and deeply seated.

"Methinks that there abides in thee  
Some concord with humanity,  
Given no other flower I see  
The forest through."

In one of his poems to "Nature's favourite," he promises that it shall by his verse regain "its long lost praise"; and certainly no other poet has done so much for any other flower. Even an elegy on the death of a dear friend at sea is addressed to the daisy, the poet's lament being that the friend can never return to see his beloved flower bloom again! Chaucer's name, "the eie of daye," gives a very dainty conceit:

"Shut not so soon; the dull-eyed night  
Has not as yet begun  
To make a seizure on the light,  
Or to seal up the sun."

"No marigolds yet closed are,  
No shadows great appear,  
Nor doth the early shepherds' star  
Shine like a spangle here.

"Stay but till my Julia close  
Her life-begetting eye;  
And let the whole world then dispose  
Itself to live or die."

No flower when met with abroad recalls memories of England with more vivid suddenness than the daisy. I remember very well that, stepping ashore in New Zealand, my eye fell on daisies among the turf, and the force and rapidity with which the home associations of the little flower then started up in my mind created an impression so strong that I can still, after the lapse of years, recall it at will. There are no daisies in Australia, and their unexpected appearance in the grass at Invercargill sent the blood back to my heart for an instant; and I can remember very well the obvious surprise of my companions, all New Zealanders, at my tone of voice and attitude on seeing the daisies. Many noteworthy tributes to this power of the daisy might be quoted—as Browning's in Italy, and Montgomery's in India—a power possessed in equal strength by no other blossom, and only approached by the primrose. Mackay's poem on the public reception accorded to the first primrose in Australia is excellent.

How the lily divided the queenship of the garden with the rose I have already noted.

"The lily's height bespoke command,  
A fair, imperial flower,  
She seemed designed for Flora's hand,  
The sceptre of her power."

And long before Cowper sang, the noble blossom had been known as the sceptre-flower of Juno, a greater goddess than Venus of the rose. Indeed, all time through, it has held almost equal place with its rival. If one king instituted an Order of the Rose, another created the Order of the Lily, and each is set upon the battle-standard of nations. It is, like the rose, a Saint's-day flower, and Our Lady of the Lily is one of the titles of the Virgin. And who does not know that in every country the woman who is called "the lily" must be passing beautiful? For every Fair Rosamond you shall find a Lily Maid of Astolat.

Next to these, in order of the honours conferred, come the primrose, the rosemary, and the eglantine. Were it not for a line in "Comus," where "the twisted eglantine" is encircled with "the sweetbriar and the vine," there would have been no noteworthy exception to the poets' agreement that the eglantine is the sweetbriar.

"From this bleeding hand of mine,  
Take this sprig of eglantine,  
Which though sweet unto your smell,  
Yet the fretful briar will tell,  
He who plucks the sweets, shall prove,  
Many thorns to be in love."

So says Herrick to a maid, and we may as well accept his opinion as any other. Wordsworth, again, entitles a poem "*The Waterfall and the Eglantine*," which commences:

"'Begone, thou fond presumptuous elf,'  
Exclaimed a thundering voice;  
'Nor dare to thrust thy foolish self  
Between me and my choice!'  
A small cascade, fresh swoln with rain,  
Thus threatened a poor briar-rose."

All through it is "the patient briar," and in its self-defence for presuming to grow on the waterfall, says:

"Rich store of scarlet hips is mine,  
With which I in my humble way,  
Would deck you many a winter's day,  
A happy eglantine."

Between Herrick's death and Wordsworth's birth there is an interval of a century, and each was a master-gardener, so that taking two such authorities we make assurance doubly sure. Besides, Milton's "nature" is never very satisfactory.

In old-fashioned gardens a sweetbriar hedge is to this day a frequent feature, and it is worth noting that several poets, commencing with Chaucer, whose "*hegge with sicamore*," was set and eglaterre," employ the plant as a fence or screen. What is more odd, perhaps, is the combination with the sweetbriar of the sycamore, a plant but seldom seen in hedges nowadays, and not at all suitable for the purpose. Now the "sycamore" of England is really a maple, and not the *Sycamoras*, and a smaller variety of maple is very commonly used for hedges and for cutting out into arbours on account of its rapid growth, very twiggy nature and close foliage:

"Modest briar! odour shedding  
Down the lane to cottage doors;  
Morn herself, if failing sweetness,  
Might replenish from thy stores.  
Charm of wild woods! humbly virtuous,  
Heedless thou to flaunt or shine;  
Rich men praise thee, poor men bless thee,  
Shy but lovely Eglantine."

Rosemary—"the dark rosemary ever a-dying, that spite the wind's wrath, so loves the salt rock's face to seaward" (Browning)—is a great favourite of the poets, and scattered up and down in their verse will be found a bewildering variety of allusions to the legends and folk-lore in which this plant plays its part. In the "*Hesperides*" its use at weddings—

"My wooing's o'er: now my wedding's near,  
When gloves are giving, gilded be you there;"

and its double use, whether at wedding or funeral,

"Grow for two ends, it matters not at all  
Be't it for my bridal or my burial:"

are briefly set forth; while the opening of Keats' address "To the Herb Rosemary," with characteristic delight in the melancholy, invites the flower to accompany the poet to his death, and himself carries to his own burial the sprigs which it was the custom for the mourners to carry.

"Sweet-scented flower! who art wont to bloom  
On January's front severe,  
And o'er the wintry desert drear  
To waft thy waste perfume!  
Come, thou shalt form my nosegay now,  
And I will bind thee round my brow:  
And as I twine the mournful wreath,  
I'll weave a melancholy song:  
And sweet the strain shall be, and long  
The melody of death.

"Come, funeral flower! who lov'st to dwell  
With the pale corse in lonely tomb,  
And throw across the desert gloom  
A sweet decaying smell,  
Come, press my lips, and lie with me  
Beneath the lowly alder-tree,  
And we will sleep a pleasant sleep,  
And not a care shall dare intrude  
To break the marble solitude,  
So peaceful and so deep."

To the primrose there is no end. As in Nature, the sweet flower overspreads the poets' pages, careless of its company, always winsome, always welcome. Clare most delightfully in one short poem says nearly all there is to say:

"Welcome, pale primrose! Starting up between  
Dead matted leaves of ash and oak that strew  
The every lawn, the wood, and spinney through,  
'Mid creeping moss and ivy's darker green:  
How much thy presence beautifies the ground!  
How sweet thy modest, unaffected pride  
Glow on the sunny bank and wood's warm side!  
And where thy fairy flowers in groups are found  
The schoolboy roams enchanted along.  
Plucking the fairest with a rude delight;  
While the meek shepherd stops his simple song,  
'To gaze a moment on the pleasing sight:  
O'erjoyed to see the flowers that truly bring  
'The welcome news of sweet returning Spring."

And yet with all the gladness it brings, the "rathe primrose that forsaken dies" is eminently a sad flower. Herrick has them born weeping:

"Thus things of greatest, so of meanest worth,  
Conceived with grief are, and with tears brought forth."

And, to bring Wordsworth again into juxtaposition with Milton's



contemporary, the later poet draws from the same flower the great lesson of another universal law. He sees a primrose growing on a rock :

“ The flowers, still faithful to their stems  
 Their fellowship renew :  
 The stems are faithful to the root  
 That worketh out of view :  
 And to the rock the root adheres,  
 In every fibre true.  
 Close clings to earth the living rock,  
 Though threat'ning still to fall :  
 The earth is constant to her spheres :  
 And God upholds it all ! ”

But the poets, as a rule, accept the primrose—from, no doubt, the paleness of its colour and fragility of petal—as an emblem of transience and a sad, short life. Says Milton, “ Soft silken primrose fading timelessly.” They are always murdering it with untimely frost :

“ Rash floweret ! oft betrayed,  
 By summer-seeming days, to venture forth  
 Thy tender form, the killing northern blast  
 Will wrap thee lifeless in a hoar-frost shroud.”

Not so, Mr. Grabame. The primrose may be rash, but it is very hardy, and it cares no more for northern blasts or hoar-frost than the English boys and girls who rejoice in its coming, and prize it above all the posies of the changing year. As a matter of fact, instead of being delicate and short-lived, it is a very robust and sturdy little native with quite as long a blooming-time as most of the blossoms of the wild garden, and a thoroughly British aversion to being “ wrapped in shrouds ” by inclement skies or any other agency.

There is, however, one assailant against which the poor primrose tries in vain to flower, and that is the greenfinch. This bird has discovered, and, I believe, has taught the fact to others of the feathered race (the gardener's dread), that the young seeds of the primrose are a dainty mouthful, and it bites the flower through just at the top of the stalk, where the green calix springs. It eats no more, only that one fatal beakful, and leaves the blossom on the ground. The cowslip is saved no doubt by its longer stem, but I have known spots where the primroses covered the ground as closely as ivy, and budded abundantly, and yet not a flower could be found for picking after sunrise, while the blossom heads strewed the ground, each calix pinched through by the beak of the greenfinch and its companions at breakfast.

It is curious perhaps that none of the poets noticed the prevailing “ idea ” of the primrose in legend—its mystic power of treasure-finding as one of the *sesames* of story.

Of the seven favourites of the poets already noticed, four—the violet, primrose, daisy, and sweetbriar—are wild flowers ; and the

two that may take next rank, "the snowdrop cold, that trembles not to kisses of the bee," and the daffodils "that take the winds of March with beauty," belong to "the garden that no man hath planted."

"February fair maid" and "prophet of the roses" Tennyson calls the snowdrop, and Wordsworth devotes to it a charming sonnet, commencing :

"Lone flower, hemmed in with snows and white as they,  
But hardier far, once more I see thee bend  
Thy forehead, as if fearful to offend.  
Like an unbidden guest."

But curiously marred by the poet saying :

"So welcome as a friend  
Whose zeal outrides his promise."

Why this most infelicitous line ?

It is a pity that the poets singing of this flower should have forgotten that tradition says the snowdrop was the first flower that bloomed outside Eden. It was created out of the falling snowflakes by an angel on purpose to stop Eve's heart from breaking in her great misery.

Who does not know Herrick's address to the "Daffadils" :

"Fair daffadils, we weep to see  
You haste away so soon ;  
As yet the early-rising sun  
Has not attained his noon.  
Stay, stay,  
Until the hasting day  
Has run  
But to the evensong ;  
And, having prayed together, we  
Will go with you along."

What inspired the sweet singer with the fancy that "daffadils" are of such fleeting beauty ? They last upon the stalk longer than many flowers, and when cut last longer still ; but the fancy was fixed, for elsewhere, in his "Divination," he says :

"When a daffadil I see,  
Hanging down his head towards me,  
Guess I may what I must be :  
First, I shall decline my head ;  
Secondly, I shall be dead ;  
Lastly, safely buried."

For the rest of the flowers that can boast of special dedications, this article cannot suffice. The tulip is taken to task for its gaudiness, is called a "quean" ; and young women are warned by Cavalier poets to take warning by the rapid fading of the "painted" flower. There is nothing worth quoting in these allusions, but in some volumes,\* scarcely

perhaps so well known as they should be, I find two poems, one by "Langhorne," and one by "Mr. B——y," on the tulip, and each is a finished piece of good work. In the one the tulip scoffs at the myrtle; in the other, at the lily of the valley. In both the flaunting "quean" is reproved by third parties (a zephyr and a bee), and in both the sun is the cause of the proud maid's undoing:

"With more than usual lustre bright,  
The genial god of heat and light,  
Through the blue heavens pursued his course,  
And shone with more than summer force.  
Each flower that glow'd in bright array  
Witnessed the life-imparting day;  
The tulip, too, above the rest,  
The vigorous warmth, with joy confest,  
What transport in her bosom swelled!"

And so forth. The other poem runs thus:

"Fierce on the flower the scorching beams  
With all the weight of glory fell;  
The flower exulting caught the gleams,  
And lent its leaves a bolder swell.  
Expanded by the searching fire,  
The curling leaves the breast disclosed;  
The mantling bloom was painted higher,  
And every latent charm exposed.  
But when the sun was sliding low,  
And evening came with dews so cold,  
The wanton beauty ceased to blow,  
And sought her bending leaves to fold.  
Those leaves, alas! no more will close;  
Relaxed, exhausted, sickening, pale;  
They left her to a parent's woes,  
And fled before the rising gale."

None of the other "poems" need more than passing notice. Herrick has whimsical versicles on the origin of various flowers. Thus, the wall-flower was a virgin who, hasting too fast to meet her lover, fell over the garden wall and broke her neck; the marigolds were old maids who turned yellow from jealousy, and though they died, never changed colour; pansies (or heart's-ease), words on which he is very fond of playing:

"Frolic virgins once these were,  
Over-loving, living here;  
Being here their ends denied,  
Ran for sweethearts mad, and died.  
Love, in pity of their tears,  
And their loss in blooming years,  
For their restless hero-spent hours  
Give them heart's-ease turned to flowers."

The only one of the series with a prettily phrased conceit is to the carnation:

"Stay while ye will, or go,  
And leave no scent behind ye;  
Yet, trust me, I shall know  
The place where I may find ye.  
Within my Lucia's cheeks  
(Whose livery ye wear),  
Play ye at hide-and seek,  
I'm sure to find ye there."

But the list, if I were to make it complete, would be almost as long as a list of the flowers of a garden. Do you remember<sup>o</sup> in Leigh Hunt's "Feast of the Poets," how, when the company is assembled,

"by some charm or other, as each took his chair  
There burst a most beautiful wreath in his hair.  
I can't tell 'em all, but the groundwork was bay,  
And Campbell, in his, had some oak-leaves and may :  
And forget-me-not Rogers ; and Moore had a vine,  
And Shelley besides most magnificent pine  
Had the plant which they least touch, Humanity, knows ;  
And Keats's had forest-tree, basil, and rose ;  
And Southey's some buds of the tall Eastern palm,  
And Coleridge mandragoras mingled with balm ;  
And Wordsworth, with all which the field-walk endears,  
The blossom that counts by its hundreds of years."

In addition to these, Lytton's with his favourite jasmine and violets, Mackay's briony and bluebells, Burns and his daisies in ivy, Leigh Hunt's eglantine and poppies, Cunningham with his narcissus ; while among the wreaths should surely have been the blossoms of the celandine and water-lily, may, cornflower, and lilac, and many others whom the poets individually addressed.

It will be seen that I make no pretence of exploiting the Poets' Garden. I am merely a passer-by on the common road, and, through the gates, and here and there where the hedge lets me see over or see through, get a peep at the pleasure-grounds within. The subject is an immense one, as beautiful as it is wide-spreading, but in these few pages I have merely recorded some first impressions received in passing.

PHIL ROBINSON.

## KING JOHN AND THE ABBOT OF BURY.

I HAVE for some time been engaged in editing for the Rolls Series the "Memorials of St. Edmundsbury," a collection, that is to say, of documents relating to the great and famous Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, the abbey represented in the minds of so many English people, who otherwise would know nothing of the monastery and its history, by the Abbot Samson of Carlyle's "Past and Present."

The greater part of these materials appeals of course mostly or exclusively to the professed historical student. But in the second volume, just issued, there is a document, now published for the first time, of so much general interest, and throwing so much light on the intimate details of a past social and ecclesiastical system, as well as incidentally on the character of the King from whom the barons wrung the Great Charter, that it has seemed to me worth while to give some account of it for another public than that which generally concerns itself with the publications of the Rolls Series.

The tract in question, "De Electione Hugonis"—"On the Election of Hugo"—fills twenty leaves in the Harleian MS. 1005, but the writing is so small and so full of contractions that as now published it occupies upwards of a hundred pages of an ordinary octavo volume. The writer does not tell us his name, and it is not otherwise known, but from internal evidence it is certain he was a monk of St. Edmund's Abbey at the time when the abbatial election which he describes took place.

Now, this election was that which followed upon the death of Abbot Samson himself, the great abbot for, whose well-known portrait in "Past and Present" Carlyle drew his materials from the "Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelonde," then recently edited for the Camden Society from this same Harleian MS. which contains the tract "On

the Election of Hugo." On December 30, 1211, says the writer of the tract in his opening sentences, "Abbot Samson, of venerable memory, passed from this world to Him who hath set bounds to men which it is impossible for any one to overstep, exchanging earthly things for heavenly, toil for rest, grief and sorrow for joy and consolation, things transitory for things eternal; and leaving his flock mourning for the loss of so great a shepherd, and exposed to the attacks of ravenous wolves." They were troubled times indeed on which the good abbot closed his eyes; for England lay at the moment under the great Interdict imposed upon her by Pope Innocent III. in consequence of the conduct of John in reference to the nomination of Stephen Langton to the See of Canterbury.

The body of Samson was laid, doubtless with due funeral rites, in a small burial close, "in pratello," near the monastery, whence, as we are afterwards informed, it was translated at the end of two years and a half into the chapter-house. After this, the first thought of the monks was to communicate their abbot's death to the King. A deputation, consisting of Robert the sacrist, Robert the chamberlain, and Thomas of Walsingham, set out on its way to the King; they found him at a place called in the MS. Frisomantel—*i.e.*, Freemantle—a park and hunting-lodge, of which now no trace remains, near to Lord Carnarvon's mansion of High Clere House, in Hampshire. John received them very graciously. Some jewels and other ornaments which had been worn by the late abbot were presented to him by the deputation. He at first, with self-depreciating expressions, refused to accept them; but consented to do so when the sacrist assured him that in his last illness Samson had expressed a wish that they should be so bestowed.

An interval of more than a year and a half followed, during which no step was taken to fill the vacancy. In July 1213, the King, being then at Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire, and intending shortly to cross the Channel on his way to Poitou, wrote to the convent, directing them to send to him discreet men from their number, with a view to the choice of an abbot. This letter is given in full.

Thus far the vacancy had been of no extraordinary length, and as the abbot's revenues, pending the appointment of his successor, passed into the King's exchequer, it is likely that under other circumstances John would have waited some time longer. But he was now on his good behaviour; he had reconciled himself to the Pope through Pandulph the legate, agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief from the Holy See, and allowed Stephen Langton and the other exiled bishops to land peaceably in England. The Interdict was at an end. Full of projects against Philip Augustus of France—projects which came to a disastrous end at Bouvines in the following year—John desired to be on good terms with the bishops and the

monastic orders, and so to deprive his barons of all excuse for refusing to follow him in his contemplated campaign.

The King's letter, dated July 25, reached Bury on August 5. The monks went into chapter without delay. Before anything was proposed, Master Nicholas protested against the selection of Robert the sacrist, either as elector or elect, on the ground that he was an unfeeling and sarcastic man. Robert of Saxham supported him. Then it was agreed that three should be chosen, who should nominate seven electors. The three chosen were Albinus the sub-prior, Jocelin the almoner, and Richard the precentor. These three went out, and presently nominated seven electors. The names of all are given; among them was that of Robert the sacrist. The protest against him was renewed, and Robert the chamberlain was substituted for him. The seven swore to elect "*unum de misericordioribus*," one of the more merciful among the brethren; perhaps the stern inflexible rule of Samson had been felt a little galling. The convent swore to abide by the choice of the seven electors. The latter then went into St. Saba's chapel, and after mature debate agreed upon a man. They came out and asked for what was called a *carta de rato*—a formal letter, bearing the convent seal, ratifying and carrying out the oath just taken. This was given to them; then they returned to the chapter-house, and gave out the name of "Hugo de Norwolde" as abbot-elect. There was no opposition, and all the monks hastened to exchange the kiss of peace with their new ruler.

This election was made on August 7, 1213. The abbot-elect—whom we shall henceforth call the Elect, or Hugo—lost no time in seeking the King, to obtain his consent to the choice of the convent. This the King absolutely refused, saying that his ancient customary rights in the matter had been disregarded. Hugo and his companions, greatly perplexed, resolved to lay the matter before the archbishop. They did so, and Langton seems to have applauded the independent course of the convent. All the monks who had gone to the Court, except Hugo and two others, returned to Bury. There was a meeting of chapter; the sacrist related their interview with the King. Now appeared the first note of discord. Jocelin the almoner—apparently the same Jocelin who had written on the life and rule of Abbot Samson—rose in his place and complained that the election had been too hasty. Especially he blamed the grant of the *carta de rato*, as binding the convent irrevocably to one name, without reference to the consent of the King. It soon appeared that many of the older monks—the sacrist, the sub-prior, Richard the precentor, and Adam the infirmarian being among them—were in full sympathy with Jocelin.

It is easy to understand the King's objection to the course which

\*had been taken. When Samson was chosen abbot in his father's time, thirty years before, the convent had not sent up a single candidate whom the King was to accept without demur, but empowered their agents to submit three names, among which they were willing to accept that which the King preferred. The Abbots of Bury were not merely ecclesiastical magnates, but great personages in the temporal order. They were lords of Parliament and barons, legally possessed of immense estates and ample jurisdiction; it was therefore a matter of real importance to any English king that the heads of the great abbeys all over the kingdom should be men with whom he could work harmoniously, and who would wisely administer the great temporal trust which the law committed to them. However, during the pontificate of a man so strong as Innocent, it is not strange if the doctrine of free election, as appertaining both to cathedral and monastic chapters—of almost total independence of the civil State—had made great progress. This doctrine John resisted, and now it appeared that most of the "obediencers" in the convent, as they were called—i.e., the holders of offices—men usually of greater age and experience than the rest, approved of his resistance.

The schism in the convent gradually increased until out of sixty-three monks nearly one-half were in favour of breaking the election in order to mollify the offended King. The various measures taken by each side in order to defeat or counteract their opponents, are told by the writer (who was himself an ardent partisan of the election) in great detail. They are in themselves curious and interesting, but need not be detailed in this brief paper, the main object of which is to state the facts about King John, hitherto unknown, which the tract contains.

In September or October 1213 Hugo visited the King at Nottingham, and again endeavoured to obtain his favour, but the attempt was vain.

In November Archbishop Langton came to Bury and preached in the great church. After the sermon Herbert the prior and Robert the chamberlain fell on their knees and entreated him to procure Hugo's confirmation from the King, whose opposition was the only obstacle. The archbishop promised to stand by them and do what he could for them.

At Christmas Nicholas the papal legate visited Bury, and remained there as the guest of the convent for several days. He took up the question of the election, and examined Hugo, the prior, and the rest of the seven electors at great length. But he seems to have been a man of no great force of character, and when these inquiries were over he shrank from coming to a positive decision either way. Seeing this, the friends of the elect resolved to send a trusty agent to Rome, to lay the matter before the Pontiff. Thomas of Walsingham was



pitched upon, and departed for Italy in January 1214. The sacrist, who was at the head of the party opposed to the election, then sent to Rome two of his creatures—"Taupe" and Hugo Canis—who were to thwart Thomas of Walsingham by every means in their power. Till his agent should return Hugo was advised by his friends to absent himself from the convent. He did so, and remained in retirement till May 31, 1214, when he returned to Bury.

Shortly before that date the news had reached Bury that the Pope had sent a commission to the Abbot of Wardon, the Prior of Dunstable, and the Dean of Salisbury, directing them to hold an inquiry into the facts connected with the election at Bury, and if they found that things had been regularly done, and that Hugo was a "persona idonea," to confirm it. The proceedings of these commissioners, or delegates, at their several meetings—of which the first was held on June 4, 1214, and the last not till March 10, 1215—fill most of the remainder of the work. Wardon was a Cistercian convent in Bedfordshire. The name of this abbot was not known to the editor of Dugdale's "Monasticon," and all that we learn about it here is that it began with the letter H. He must have been a determined man, if, as is probable, he was still abbot in 1217; for we are told that when Fulk de Brent, the lord of Bedford Castle, had a quarrel about a wood with the monks of Wardon in that year, and carried off three of them and imprisoned them in his dungeon-keep, he was nevertheless compelled to make humble submission, to undergo "manual discipline," and to give back the wood. Of the admirable Richard Poore, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, whose name will be ever held in remembrance on account of his share in the building of Salisbury Cathedral, and who was perhaps the author of the "Ancren Riwle," it is enough to say that, so far as we can tell, a better selection of an ecclesiastical judge could not have been made. Of Richard, Prior of Dunstable between 1202 and 1242, there are many notices in the "Annals of Dunstable," edited by Mr. Luard for the Rolls Series.

Contemporaneously with the inquiry before the delegates as to the election, the monks were agitated by a claim advanced by the King through certain agents—Richard de Marisco, Peter des Roches the justiciary, and Henry de Vere\*—to receive from the convent a release or legal discharge in respect of all moneys which he had exacted from the convent itself, or from the knights and burgesses holding under St. Edmund, during the Interdict. Of these exactions we read something in a chronicle published by Dr. F. Liebermann† from the Harl. MS. 447. The precise amount of them is mentioned in the

\* A document in Rymer's "Foedera," dated April 8, 1214, shows that Henry de Vere was appointed at that date proctor to the King.

† "Ungedruckte Anglo-Norm. Geschichts-quellen" (1879), p. 155.

present tract. We find that while the sacrist, the almoner, and the older men generally, would have given the King the release he asked, the majority of the monks refused to do so, and claimed from John 1000 marks, to which extent, they said, he had without authority drawn upon their resources. The knights and burgesses took a different course. Whether any powerful influence was brought to bear upon them, we cannot tell; all we know is that in a meeting with the King's agents on "Kateshill" \* they fully and frankly discharged him of all obligation in respect of money exacted from them during the Interdict.

At their meeting at St. Albans on July 26, the delegates framed a letter to the King, urging and admonishing him to give his consent to the election, or to send them a statement of the reasons for which he withheld it, to be read at their next meeting on September 30. This letter Hugo himself took charge of, and set out on August 5, 1214, to find the King in Poitou. He had some difficulty in obtaining the necessary journey-money from the sacrist,† who spoke snrily of appealing to the legate against the delegates, who wished to "burden his obedience" with expenses. He yielded at last, but only on condition that Master Nicholas, who had distinguished himself all along by his eloquent support of the election, should *not* be Hugo's companion. So, taking Richard de Hengham along with him, the Elect set out for Poitou on August 5, 1214. We are not told when or where he found the King; probably it was towards the end of August. John could not have been in cheerful spirits, for the disaster of Bouvines had happened on the 20th of the previous month. Hugo found him at first ungracious; but for some reason or other the legate of France, Robert de Curtun, interested himself in the case, and through his mediation John became very friendly, and wrote to the convent that he hoped to settle the affair of the election in an amicable way on his return to England. He also wrote to Bishop Peter of Winchester, the justiciary, directing that all the arable lands, woods, and other property of the convent were to be kept without waste or damage till his return.

At their adjourned meeting at Bury on September 30, the delegates were induced by Peter the justiciary again to postpone the hearing of the case to the Friday before Martinmas (November 7); this time the session was to be held at the priory of Crux Roies, or Royston.

John concluded a five years' truce with Philip of France on or about September 18,‡ and there was now nothing to detain him longer in Poitou. He told Hugo that he had better return to Bury with all

\* An ordinary place of meeting in or near Bury.

† In the 12th and 13th centuries, the sacrist seems to have been the principal treasurer in all Benedictine monasteries. Rents from lands and offerings in church came into his hands. Dues of various kinds were paid to the cellarer.

‡ Wendover, ii. 110 (Rolls ed.)

speed, and that he himself would soon follow him. Hugo obeyed, and the writer tells us that the King and the abbot landed in England on the same day, October 13,\* the former at Dartmouth, the latter at Dover.

The letter which John had written to the justiciary from Poitou, prohibiting waste, was brought to Bishop Peter at Corfe Castle by Richard of Dereham about October 16. The King himself was then at Corfe, whither he must have ridden immediately after his landing at Dartmouth. Becoming aware of the arrival of his letter, John directed that one similar in purport should be addressed to the guardians of the abbey lands. This was done, and Richard departed with the letter for Bury, where he arrived on October 23. On the same day Hugo reached the convent. He at once took steps to obtain the sanction of the community for his taking the charters of liberty and privilege which former kings had granted to St. Edmund, and showing them to the King. The good simple man seems to have believed that all that was necessary to remove John's objections to the election was to prove to him that it was within the chartered rights of the community to make it. John, however, was thinking partly of political influence, partly of money; probably he cared little what particular monk of Bury was raised to the abbot's chair; but that the election should proceed independently of the Crown, and in such a manner as to bring the King no advantage, was a thing not easily to be borne.

The chapter refused to give its precious charters into Hugo's keeping. He accordingly caused copies of them to be made, and with these, attended by several monks, set forth again in search of the King on the 25th of October. He found him between Windsor and London, and, upon bringing up the question of his election, was referred by John to Peter des Roches. Hugo went to the bishop, but could get nothing out of him. When he returned, John said to him, impatiently, "What would you have? I have a greater love for myself and my crown than for you and your honour.† You have stirred up war against me." This Hugo strongly denied. "Well," said the King, "I did not mean you specially." Hugo returned to Bury, where he arrived on the 1st of November, exactly a week after he had left it. This was expeditious travelling, considering what was probably the state of the roads at that season, for Bury is seventy-two miles from London.

\* Roger de Wendover, and Matthew Paris following him, say that the King landed on October 19, without mentioning the place. The earlier date must be the correct one, for the "Itinerary," framed by the late Sir Thomas D. Hardy from the Patent Rolls for the reign of John shows that the King was at Dartmouth on the 15th, and at Dorchester on the 17th of October.

† "*Magis quam honorem tuum.*" "Honor" must here be used in the feudal sense, as denoting a fief comprising a number of manors. Out of the "Honor" of Halton, with its wide and important jurisdiction, grew the county of Lancaster.

The King, who was now about to carry out his promise of visiting the convent, must have commenced his journey soon after Hugo's departure; for a document in Rymer's "*Fœdera*" shows that on the 1st of November he was at Havering in Essex, some eight miles N.E. of London, whence he wrote a letter to Queen Berengaria, his brother's widow. On the next day he wrote to the convent, saying that all was still open between himself and the Elect. Arriving at Bury on the 3rd, which was a Tuesday, he went straight to the chapter-house, attended only by Saerus de Querci, Earl of Winchester, and a knight named Philip de Hulekotes, who carried a drawn sword before him. The debate which ensued is described very fully. The King opened it by saying that the monks had infringed on his right, and broken the ancient custom; he asked them to retrace their steps, enforcing what he said with mild menaces. Hugo then rose, and said that, so far as he was concerned, he wished to obey the King's will in all things, "*salvo jure ecclesiastico*." Thinking that there might be wavering and weak-kneed monks, who would fear to oppose him openly, John desired that those for and those against the election would range themselves on opposite sides of the chapter-house. This was done, but with no favourable result for the King. For although two or three miserable individuals changed sides, the writer records with exultation that a clear majority of the monks stood to their colours, and declared that they still adhered to the election. Robert the chamberlain now rose, and in a moderate speech related the exact circumstances of the election, which he ended by entreating the King to ratify. When he had finished, John turned to the opposite faction, and said, "Well, you have heard what they say?" This brought up the sacrist, who spoke at length against the election, contriving in the course of his speech to say much in his own praise and much to damage his opponents, especially Thomas of Walsingham. The precentor followed on the same side. On the other hand, Thomas of Walsingham and Richard of Saxham held forth on the ancient liberties and privileges of St. Edmund, insisted that the election was within their charters, and urged the King to confirm it. John replied, "An unused charter is of no value: my customary rights have never been impugned; therefore they stand firm." After some observations from a monk named Taillehaste, openly opposing the convent privileges, a silly old man named Henry Rufus, whose mind the presence of royalty seems to have partly thrown off its balance, in a speech professing unbounded devotion to his King, professed to be in fear both for John's safety and for that of the loyal monks. John looked at him disdainfully, and made no reply; but Philip de Hulekotes said, "O man, be not afraid"; and went on to declare that the King's peace was in no danger of being disturbed. This memorable conference was now at an end; and the King, rising

expressions of some severity, though they hardly amounted to a threat, went out of the chapter-house.

John passed the night at Bury, probably in the abbot's camera or palace, and departed the next morning (November 4) being escorted out of the town by Hugo and the sacrist. He returned by Writtle\* to London, where documents in Rymér prove him to have been on the 20th and 22nd of November.

On November 7 the adjourned session of the delegates was resumed at Royston. William, the Bishop-elect of Coventry, presented a letter from the King,† backed by others from Langton and some of his suffragans, asking for a further adjournment to a day when John, having finished the "peregrinatio" on which he was just entering, would be able to attend. This was agreed to, and the case was adjourned to Monday, December 8, at Bury.

Of the famous meeting of the discontented barons in St. Edmund's Church on November 20, described by Wendover and Paris, of the production of Henry Beauchamp's charter, and the oath at the high altar, our author has not a word to say. The case of the disputed election was still dragging itself on, from one adjourned meeting to another, and the writer, absorbed in it, could spare no thought for public grievances or aristocratic conspiracies, which in his eyes were much less important matters. Reading this extraordinary tract for the first time, and noting the absorption of the writer in monastic and his indifference to secular politics, one asks oneself, as the date of Magna Charta approaches, "Will he really say nothing about the confederation of the barons, and the conference on Runnymede"? No, that would imply an absence of human and social sympathy unnatural in a man of such warm feelings as this writer certainly possessed. But his way of dealing with the momentous events of his day is very strange, as we shall see.

The final meeting of the commission of delegates took place at Bury on March 10, 1215. The sacrist appeared by counsel, one of whom, Robert de Areines, appealed to the Pope against the proceedings of his own delegates! The court would not admit the appeal. Just at this point a letter from Innocent arrived for the delegates, in which the Pope mildly complained of their tardiness in arriving at a decision. Thus urged forward—their minds having been evidently made up for some time—the delegates, by the Prior of Dunstable as their spokesman, after carefully summing up the evidence and pleadings in the case, delivered an elaborate judgment, confirming Hugo's election. Areines, endeavouring to obstruct, was silenced. What followed was curious. Notwithstanding the judg-

\* "Rotuli Litt. Pat." (Hardy) 1835. John had built himself a house at Writtle, which is near Chelmsford, a few years before.

† Dated November, 1214, and still extant among the Patent Rolls.

ment, the sacrist and his party pointedly absented themselves from the solemn ceremonies, in church and chapter-house, with which the new abbot was installed. The delegates, wisely resolving not to overlook this conduct, ordered that the absentees should be summoned before them. When they came, Prior Richard asked them whether they meant to obey the judgment or to resist it, hinting at certain contingent penalties in the latter case. The sacrist, feeling himself hard pressed, said that if the delegates would make a protestation that everything in the election had been fair and straightforward, he would yield. The Abbot of Wardon at once made a solemn protestation in the sense desired. Then the sacrist and his party gave way, and one by one they came up to Hugo and exchanged with him the kiss of fraternity in sign of their submission.

Except the formal benediction to his office by some bishop, all that ecclesiastical authority could confer on Hugo was now conferred. The Pope, represented by his delegates, ratified his election; the English bishops consented to it; the monks consented to it. And yet, practically, Hugo was no more Abbot of St. Edmund's than he was a year before. Till the King's consent was won, he would not be admitted to the temporalities of the abbey, and till admitted to the temporalities he could not exercise the most trifling right of property in respect of them. The temporal jurisdiction attached to the abbot's function he could not wield; among his mitred brothers in Parliament he could not take his place. This being so, we are not surprised to read that before the end of March—the judgment of confirmation, as we have seen, was given on the 10th—Hugo was on his travels again, in order to seek out and propitiate the King. It must have been a journey of many days, for he did not find the King till he had reached Nottingham and entered Sherwood Forest. Since his visit to Bury, John, who was always on the move, had returned to London, where he stayed at the "New Temple," had gone westward in December, being at Monmouth on the 18th, at Hereford on the 21st, and at Worcester on Christmas-day; thence had returned hastily to London, where he had met the discontented barons on the 6th, and granted free elections to chapters on January 15. During February 1215 he was moving about in Northants, Oxfordshire, and Wilts. On March 2 he wrote to Llewellyn, his son-in-law, from the Tower, and on the 4th of the same month took the cross there. He then seems to have thought that he would enjoy an interval of hunting before Easter in Sherwood Forest, and here it was, accordingly, that Hugo found him, towards the end of March. The meeting is described graphically enough. As the King approached, Hugo and his companions dismounted from their horses and knelt on the ground. The King was evidently pleased, and said, "Welcome, Sir Elect; 'salvo jure regni mei.'"

Then the two had a long private conversation, but the King would not commit himself. Next day John heard Mass "in the chapel," at what place is not mentioned; \* after this he told Hugo to "go to William Brewere," † who had his full confidence. Brewere told him that the King was to meet the barons and magnates of England, to confer with them "*super quibusdam arduis regni sui*" (on certain difficult political questions) at Oxford on April 18. (Here we have the first intimation of the highly strained condition of general politics at the time.) If Hugo went to Oxford, Brewere proceeded to say, the King, after taking due advice, would there give him a decisive answer about his business. Hugo did go to Oxford accordingly; he seems to have arrived there before Palm Sunday (April 12), and to have remained till April 13 or 14. The archbishop, Peter des Roches, the Earl of Salisbury (made prisoner at Bouvines, but released two months before this), and other magnates, spoke in the abbot's favour, but nothing was settled. The writer says here that the King had made up his mind not to receive the abbot to favour— "*nisi præcederet certa quantitas nummorum*"—unless a certain quantity of money were forthcoming first. His friends among the barons advised that he should comply with the King's wish in this respect, but, fortified by the approval of Langton, he declined to do so, and returned at once to Bury, arriving there on Good Friday, April 17. On the 25th he appointed persons to the custody of certain manors, though such appointments, pending the transfer of the temporalities, could have been only provisional.

Now, when we have come to the last leaf\* of the manuscript, the writer seems to wake up to some dim consciousness of the tremendous issues that were at stake in the country, and of the passions that were raging around him. "After a few days had passed;" he says, "there arose a 'commotio' between the King and the barons"—a trouble which grew out of the King's overriding the charter "on the greater liberties" granted by Henry, his father. It was not a charter of Henry II., but one of Henry I., of which advantage was taken by those who were preparing to extort Magna Charta from John; on this all the accounts are agreed; but our author, as we have seen, lived outside the world of politics. The archbishop now sent for Hugo, and advised him to lose no time in getting himself "blessed" by some bishop. He went accordingly to Benedict, the newly elected Bishop of Rochester, and was consecrated by him at Halling, near Rochester, on the 17th of May. While he was arrayed in mitre and

\* Probably Olipstone, near Mansfield, where there was a royal hunting-lodge.

† This Brewere was a staunch follower and adviser of three kings, Richard, John, and Henry III; see Wendover and Paris, and the interesting article in Dugdale's "Baronage."

sandals, and the other insignia of an abbot's dignity, the amazing news came of the capture of London by the barons that same morning.\* Hugo returned to Bury, and held a high feast, or gaudy, for all who chose to enter and partake.

Richard of Saxham was now sent up to London to find out what course it would be best for Hugo to take. The barons in possession and the archbishop all advised that he should besiege the King with applications till he gave way. Hearing that John was at Staines, Richard went there; he found him, with the Earls of Warenne and Pembroke in attendance, and Richard Burgate. When he had humbly opened the cause of his coming, the King said: "Brother, return home at once, and tell your Elect to come to me without delay; I will, with the help of God, content him and your convent." John wrote to the abbot by Richard; the letter must have been dated about June 1. Hugo set out from Bury on the 5th of June, accompanied by the prior, the sacrist, and others; they reached Windsor on the 9th. The archbishop was there; Hugo seems to have obtained an interview with him at once, and while they were talking together the King came up, making as if he would pass between them. Langton presented the abbot, and spoke of his business; the King replied: "Let him come to me to-morrow 'in prato de Stanes' (in Staines meadow),† and I will try to settle his affair." On the next day, therefore (June 10), only five days before the signing of Magna Charta, Hugo repaired to Runnymede. The weather seems to have been fine; it must have been a very animated scene. "On the day appointed for the conference the barons assembled between Windlesore and Stanes, on the meadow which is called Runemad, with a splendid military array, and pitching their tents, remained there. The King also, with his courtiers, remained in a separate part of the same meadow, under *marquees*."‡ After many delays and *pourparlers*, Hugo was admitted, "*osculo mediante*," a kiss intervening, to the King's grace; and it was arranged that he should swear fealty on the next day (June 11). As he was retiring, John followed him, and in courteous terms begged that he would confer one more favour upon him by dining with him on that day. So Hugo dined with the King at Windsor.

After dinner, as they sat talking on the royal couch (*lectum regium*), the sacrist approached, and, prostrating himself before John, thanked God for having visited the King's heart so that he had admitted the

\* Wendover dates the capture on the 24th of May; Coggeshall and the "Annals of Dunstable," published in the Rolls Series, agree with the writer of the tract in placing it on the 17th.

† Runnymede, though on the Surrey side of the river, and only to be reached from London by crossing Staines Bridge, would naturally be "the meadow of Staines" to any one coming to it from the side of Windsor.

‡ Coggeshall's "Chronicle," p. 171 (Rolls edition).



abbot to grace. At this the King was angry, and replied with an oath, "*Per pedes Domini*, I should have received him into favour six months ago but for you." Then he turned to Hugo, and told him how the sacrist had intrigued with the courtiers against his election. The sacrist was abashed, and speedily withdrew.

The author of the tract gives us no help in conjecturing what motives could have influenced John to make him yield thus suddenly, after having resisted all petition and importunity so long. He had been foiled (p. 124) in the design of making money out of the appointment; the original offence of the monks in presenting but one candidate for his acceptance remained uncorrected; and he had learnt enough of Hugo's character to know that he would never become a mere courtier. On the other hand, many considerations might concur to make John think it desirable, while he had the serious rupture with his barons to deal with, to bring at least one tiresome dispute to an end. It was important for him to keep on good terms with the Pope, on whom he counted for help against the league of barons; but Innocent, through his delegates, had just solemnly confirmed Hugo's election, and it was not to be supposed that he would be favourable to the King's continued obstruction. It might be thought that John's voluntary grant to chapters of perfect freedom of election, by his letter to Innocent of January 15, 1215, must also have weighed with him, as seeming inconsistent with his conduct in the case of Bury. But in fact the concession made in that letter was to a great extent illusory, as events soon proved. A little clause, following all the sweeping declarations as to freedom, really reserves the royal influence and right of interference. After any election the King will give his consent to it, "*unless we shall have brought forward and legally proved a reasonable objection against it, justifying us in withholding our consent.*" In point of fact, every one knows that the influence of the Crown in all important ecclesiastical appointments remained unaffected down to the Reformation, and beyond it. Still, the ink of this letter being scarcely dry, John might think it prudent to cease from conduct which looked as if it were in glaring contradiction with it. Besides, the mixture of amiable frankness and manly firmness which he found in Hugo seems to have made a favourable impression. Nor could he expect, after the result of the division at Bury, to obtain the consent of the monks to the substitution of a man—Robert Gravelee, for instance—who would be openly a courtier. Had the issue of that division been different, he might have pushed on the scheme of obtaining the appointment of an abbot more to his taste than the good Hugo with some likelihood of success. As things were, he seems to have taken the course which presented the fewest difficulties.

Next day Hugo did homage to the King for his temporalities in the usual way, and then returned to Bury. As to the signing of

Magna Charta four days afterwards, and the stirring events which followed, down to the King's death in 1216, the writer, true to his principle of minding his own business, does not vouchsafe us one single word. But he tells us that Hugo, after all these storms and trials, so bore himself in the abbot's chair, as to win the love and respect of all the monks, including even those who had maligned and thwarted him. An elaborate date winds up the work.

As no reference is anywhere made to Hugo's preferment in 1229 to the See of Ely, and the whole narrative glows with the ardent interest of what has recently happened, and still lives vividly in the writer's memory, it seems probable that its composition should not be dated later than 1220.

Of all the lines of thought which this remarkable tract suggests, none is so surprising as the favourable light in which it presents King John. There is literally not one word said in his dispraise throughout. And yet the writer was not on his side : he was among those who would not yield to him in the matter of the election ; and he had only scorn and censure for those who, after voting for Hugo, recoiled from what they had done in fear of the King's displeasure. At the same time, he seems to think John's conduct perfectly natural, and does not resent it as unjust. If the convent laid stress on its privileges, the King had an equal right to insist on the ancient rights and customs of his crown. His conduct during the debate in the chapter-house seems to have been cool, moderate and good-natured. Indeed, the general impression of *bonhomie* arises from the tenor of all that is related of him. Again, it is impossible not to be struck by the lofty courtesy with which, when all is settled, he invites the abbot to Windsor :

" Sic ignovisse putato  
Me tibi, si censes hodie mecum."

It is needless to observe how different all this is from the impressions which Matthew Paris and later chroniclers have caused to be a part of our historical consciousness when we think of King John.

THOMAS ARNOLD.

## THE PRIMITIVE GOSPEL.

NOWADAYS, no impartial critic, or even enlightened theologian, holds to the once general belief that the four Gospels of the Christian Canon either headed the list of written narratives of the living and working of Jesus, or absorbed the vast mass of tradition which speedily gathered round His name. Amid much that is grown dim and indistinct athwart the mellowing haze of ages, we now clearly discern that the Gospels which have come down to us are neither the first nor the last links of the series of written sketches in which the features of the Son of Man were limned. There were Gospels according to the Hebrews and Gospels according to the Egyptians; a Gospel of Marcion and a Gospel of Bartholomew; Gospels of Apelles,\* Eve, and Judas Iscariot; indeed, Jerome truly affirmed that it would be a most tedious task even to enumerate them all. But it is perfectly certain that not one of them was written prior to the reign of the Flavian emperors (69-96),† and highly probable that very little attention was paid to them by priests or people for a considerable time after their composition, for the custom of reading them in the assemblies of the faithful was not inaugurated before the middle of the second century.‡

The fact is, that the need of fixing the new doctrine in writing did not make itself felt for a long time after the Master's death. Disciples who never lay down to rest at night without trembling at the thought that they might be aroused before dawn by the falling of the stars of heaven and the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds with

\* Professor Harnack has proved that the Gospel of Apelles is at bottom identical with the Gospel of Marcion (*cf.* "De Apellis Gnosi," &c.)

† This is of course the earliest possible date. Luke certainly could not have been written before the year 100.

‡ Justin Martyr is the first who mentions the usage; and he himself drew remarkably few controversial weapons from the arsenal of the New Testament.

great power and glory, were not in the mood to spend in writing history the precious time which they might devote to fashioning it. Nor were the advantages to be derived from written narratives very apparent; for if the chosen few could be aptly described as "unlearned and ignorant,"\* the less gifted many would have profited little by their writings. For more than one generation after Jesus' death, faith came—"by hearing, and hearing by the word of God,"† the word of the Apostles being itself "the word of God";‡ náy, "the wisdom of God."§ While the well of living water continued thus abundant as, of yore, artificial reservoirs were more than superfluous; by the side of inspiration coming direct from God Himself to His whole community,|| a human scrawl on perishable papyrus must have appeared despicable in comparison. Thus, for many a long year after Jesus' departure, the memory of His words and deeds was wholly confided to the safe-keeping of oral tradition.

The three principal elements of that tradition, in the order in which they interested primitive Christians, were: the sayings of Jesus—these having more than aught else contributed to tame the human beast and fire the souls of men with a divine enthusiasm; the strange wonders which had confirmed the doctrine, and marked the progress of the Teacher; and the record of His life and mission, in so far as they could be shown to have been the literal fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Upon this last point infinitely more stress was laid by the Christian Jew, still scrupulously observant of the Mosaic law, than by the converted Gentile, solicitous only about the precepts of Jesus. But in respect to all three subjects, the oral tradition was somewhat shifting and plastic. A glance at the discourses of Jesus as recorded by Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, and Hermas, between the years 95 and 140, in which one and the same saying appears now in one context now in another, now in this sense and now in that, is amply sufficient to convey a fair idea of the drawbacks that ensued from entrusting to oral tradition alone the safe keeping of the most precious heritage of Christianity.

Nor does a careful study of our canonical Gospels tend to soften perceptibly this somewhat painful impression. The first three, obviously more in touch with the popular tradition of which I am speaking than the Gospel of John, are technically known as the "Synoptics," owing to the circumstance that the subjects they deal with and the data they furnish, possess quite enough in common to allow of their being classed under a number of general heads and placed side by side in synoptic tables for comparison and contrast. The oldest of these three narratives is undoubtedly the second, which is known as the Gospel according to Mark. Tradition, equally favourable to

\* Acts iv. 13.

† Rom. x. 17.

‡ 1 Thess ii. 13.

§ 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

|| 1 John ii. 27.

incompatible theories, lends colour to the belief that it was inspired by Peter, and committed to writing shortly after his death; and a critical study makes it evident that it was composed originally in Greek, on a carefully elaborated plan, in a terse, realistic lapidary style in which conscious fancy had little part. It is certainly a consecutive history with a beginning, a middle, and an end, which Matthew's narrative is not. Jesus' dealings with His Apostles and His relations towards His people are unfolded very gradually in Mark's account, change with changing circumstances, and shape themselves naturally in accordance with the turn of events and the attitude of men, until they acquire that sublime character with which Matthew invests them from the very first. According to Mark, Jesus' identity with the Messiah is a truth which dawns very slowly indeed on the minds of the crowds who had listened to His teaching and wondered at His miracles. It is not proclaimed aloud by John the Baptist at the very outset of His public life, nor bruited abroad by the zealous Apostles shortly afterwards, but privately attested by unclean spirits.\* Jesus left nothing undone to hush up every rumour that would have tended to confirm it. Mark, for instance, tells us of a leper who, being come to Jesus (obviously to His house) and made clean, was charged to "say nothing to any man"† —a perfectly reasonable command if the conversation was private, as the Evangelist leads us to suppose. But it ceases to be intelligible if, as Matthew tells us, the leper was cleansed in presence of the vast multitude who had just listened to the Sermon on the Mount. This and numerous kindred inconsistencies go to show that Matthew amplified Mark's narrative from another source, without always taking care to make the heterogeneous scraps and fragments dovetail into each other. He is more solicitous about the symbolism of numbers, of which he gives us the makings of a somewhat complicated system, than about the gradual unfolding of the psychological action which Mark sketches in such a masterly way. The author of the second Gospel tells us that at first Jesus was unwilling that people should proclaim Him to be the Messiah: "He suffered not the devils to speak, because they knew Him."‡ The Gadarene whom He had freed from a legion of devils was the first to whom He granted permission to announce the marvel, and he was to tell it only to his heathen fellow-citizens.§ After He had performed several such cures in public Jesus no longer possessed a motive to enjoin silence, and people began to inquire about His person and character, or else to honour Him as a prophet. He Himself was meanwhile careful to do no more than hint obscurely at His Messianic rôle and character, until, having at last definitely broken with the rulers of the people, He arose, and went into the land of the heathen.¶ Here He questioned His disciples: "Whom

\* Mark iii. 11, 12.

† Mark i. 40-45.

‡ Mark i. 34.

§ Mark v. 19.

¶ Mark vii. 1-24.

say ye that I am?" and received from Peter, their spokesman, the reply: "Thou art the Christ." Even after this He charged them to tell no man; nor was it until the appointed time had come for the truth to be published from the housetops, that He repaired to Jerusalem, threw off all reserve, entered the holy city in triumph, and ultimately paid the penalty on the cross. Now, the logical sequence, the true dramatic unity of the story, is completely hidden from our view in Matthew's version, which tells us that Jesus was recognised as the Son of God long before Peter's memorable confession, and that already, during the Sermon on the Mount, He had described Himself as Lord and Judge;\* leaving us thus at a loss to understand what need there was of a special revelation to the chief of the Apostles later on.

These and similar discrepancies which run throughout the three Synoptic narratives afford a very strong presumption that the sources which underlie them were also to some extent at variance with each other. Now, what were these sources? Did the Evangelists draw from memory, or were they already in possession of written records? Did one Gospel serve as the groundwork for another?

Taking the last question first, and comparing the three Synoptics among themselves, with a view to determine their respective ages, we are forced to the conclusion that Luke is the youngest of the three, and that he probably consulted the writings of the other two. Confronting these in turn with each other, we find that Matthew not only presupposes Mark, but has absorbed his narrative almost *in extenso*. Another proof of the priority of Mark's Gospel, which I give here because to my knowledge it has never yet appeared in print, and also for the reason that its force can be gauged by the uninitiated reader, is taken from the story of the beheading of John the Baptist as narrated in the two Gospels. Mark tells us that Herod regarded John as "a just man and an holy," and "when he heard him; he did many things, and heard him gladly." It was with the utmost reluctance therefore that Herod, yielding to the young woman, gave orders that John should be beheaded, and we are quite prepared for the statement that when the request was made, "the king was exceeding sorry. Yet for his oath's sake, and for their sakes which sat with him, he would not reject her." Matthew, on the contrary, gives us to understand that Herod, being angry with John because the Baptist had warned him against taking his brother Philip's wife, would have put him to death without any egging on, and refrained from doing so, only because "he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet." This being so, the words, "And the king was sorry" (*i.e.*, when Herodias' daughter demanded

\* Matt. vii. 21-23. This whole subject has been discussed at length by Keim, "Geschichte Jesu"; G. Meyer, "La Question Synoptique"; and lucidly summed up by H. J. Holtzmann, "Lehrbuch d. Hist.-krit. Einleitung," 1892.

John's head) are, logically speaking, unintelligible. It is evident that Matthew's account of the matter is taken from Mark, and roughly joined to, not fused with, a different narrative.

\* But the main argument for Mark's priority is so simple that the meanest intellect can see its drift and gauge its force at once. Place the events recorded by Matthew, and in their sequence, on one side, those related by Luke on the other side, and Mark's Gospel in the middle, and you cannot fail to see that the first and third Gospels presuppose as primitive the order followed by the narrative of Mark.

But even Mark's record cannot be regarded as the primitive story; that is to say, we miss in it the simple scrappy form and lack of elaborate plan which the first written account of Jesus' life and works would have naturally and necessarily assumed. On the contrary, it is itself based upon some such record, which was even still more extensively used by Matthew, who takes from it many of Jesus' casual remarks and fuses them into long discourses, like the Sermon on the Mount, the diatribe against the Pharisees, &c., which we can hardly suppose were ever really uttered in the shape in which he there presents them. Now, we have very good reason for the belief that the primitive source from which the Synoptics drew their supply of facts was none other than a collection of Jesus' sayings jotted down sometime between His death and the composition of Mark's Gospel, without any kind of order, logical or chronological, and with such scanty indication of the circumstances under which they were uttered as seemed absolutely indispensable to enable the reader to understand their gist. In most cases no introduction beyond the words, "in those days," "at that time," &c., would be needed. As an instance of the form which these sayings assumed in the collection I may instance one which I have no doubt whatever was found in that earliest document of Christianity, and probably likewise in Luke's Gospel, of the poor and suffering: "On the same day, seeing a certain man working on the Sabbath, He said unto him: Man, if indeed thou knowest what thou art doing, then art thou blessed; but if thou knowest it not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law."\*

These sayings were probably put together on lines similar to those of the *ἄγραφα δόγματα* mentioned by Aristotle, or of the aphorisms of Hippocrates. The specific difference between Mark's narrative and Matthew's consists in the more extensive and peculiar use which the latter writer makes of these ethical sayings. Not only has he inserted a much greater number of them than Mark,

\* These words were written before the discovery of the complete text of the ancient Syriac version of the four Canonical Gospels in the Monastery of Mount Sinai. Hitherto only fragments of it were known under the name of Syrus Curetonianus. In this version the above passage is in its proper place—i.e., Luke vi. 4. Heretofore it was known only from the Codex Cantabrigiensis D.

but he has likewise removed them from their original simple settings, and worked them into long and connected discourses; while Luke gives them as nearly as possible in their primitive form, inserting most of them in his account of Jesus' last journey.

But the existence of such a *cento* of aphoristic utterances, written in Aramaic by a member of the Church of Jerusalem, is not merely highly probable *a priori*: it is a demonstrable fact. Paul would seem to have had it before him when he asked the Ephesians "to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is more blessed to give than to receive" \*—a saying which is not preserved to us in any of the Gospels, canonical or apocryphal. These words of the Lord, as they were usually termed,† were the basis of primitive Christian ethics and religion, in so far as these deviated from the norm established in the Old Testament, and still acknowledged by many members of the new Church. Cases of conscience, whenever any arose, were adjudicated upon in accordance with the principles involved in these aphorisms, and it was only when a case cropped up which was not covered by one of the Lord's sayings that the Apostles fell back upon the inspiration which was assured to them.‡ It is true we possess no direct evidence that these aphorisms already existed in writing when Paul was inditing his Epistles to the various Churches; but numerous considerations, into which this is not the place to enter, render their existence probable. If, as is more than likely, the collection was put together by one of the twelve Apostles, the *a priori* probabilities point to Matthew, whom his former life had equipped with special qualifications for the task. And this surmise is borne out even by the tradition which describes that Apostle as the editor of a collection of the sayings of the Lord§—a work which it is impossible by a considerable stretch of the critical imagination to identify with the canonical Gospel with which Matthew's name is erroneously linked. Now, this collection, owing to its nature, and not from any extrinsic considerations, enjoyed a degree of authority not possessed by any other book of the New Testament before the third century. Nay, the Gospels themselves owed the varying degrees of authority with which they were invested by the contemporaries of Papias to the greater or less fidelity with which they recorded these precious sayings, Irenæus being the first who grounds the authority of the Gospels upon divine inspiration. Justin Martyr invests these "utterances" or "sayings" with the highest religious authority conceivable in his day when he puts them on a level with the Books of the Old Testament; while the author of the Second (misnamed) Epistle of Clemens Romanus, quoting the Gospels, lays all the stress on the

\* Acts xx. 35; cf. also 1 Cor. vii. 10-12.

† Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 25.

§ Cf. v.g. Eusebius of Cæsarea, "History of the Church," iii. 39.

† λόγια κυριακά.



ethical aphorisms of Jesus. In all likelihood it was also to this collection of sayings that Celsus alluded under the name of the First Writing when he accused Christians of having revised and remoulded their Gospels over and over again.\*

Speaking broadly, this was the extent of our knowledge and conjectures until 1884, when an Austrian Oriental Review made mention of a Greek fragment of Matthew's Gospel alleged to have been discovered among several thousand papyrus texts brought from an ancient archive in Fayoum and purchased by the Archduke Rainer. No attention was paid to the fragment—which seemed to possess but the merit of antiquity—until my friend and former professor, Bickell, examined it, and discovered that, instead of being a portion of Matthew's Gospel, it was a fragment of a primitive fifth Gospel now wholly lost. It is written upon one side of a papyrus in black and red letters,† and if the most trustworthy of epigraphical tests can be relied on, cannot possibly be later than the first three decades of the third century. Unfortunately, this venerable relic of time long past is but the merest fragment, containing a passage of about one hundred letters ‡ in all, embodying words spoken by Jesus at the beginning of his Passion. As all the letters are not equally legible, and some at the margins are wholly wanting, conjectures have had to be resorted to. These are much less doubtful than that species of literature usually is—owing to the circumstance that the average number of letters in each line of the papyrus can be inferred from a quotation from Zechariah which the fragment contains.

This Greek text, as it has been finally restored by Professor Bickell in an article which lately appeared in Vienna,§ offers a parallel to Mark xiv. 25 fol.: begins with the end of some such sentence as I place before it in parenthesis, and runs thus: (I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine) "before My departure. Likewise: Ye shall all be offended this night, according to what is written: I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered: When Peter said: Even though all, not I; [to him]: The cock will crow twice, and thou shalt deny Me previously thrice."

An attempt so ingenious and convincing has been made by Professor Bickell to supply the passage of which our fragment is the second half, that I cannot refrain from giving it here. The lines on which he goes to work are very simple. He sets out from the admitted fact that the collection of Jesus' sayings underlies the three Synoptics, and he then emphasises the circumstance that Luke's account—nay, that the entire twenty-second chapter of the Third Gospel—is very considerably altered by transpositions, omissions, and

\* *πρώτη γραφή* is what Celsus calls it in his "True Account." Cf. Keim, "Celsus Wahres Wort," 225.

† Only the name of Peter is in red. ‡ It is 3½ centimetres long by 4½ broad.

§ "Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus, Erzherzog Rainer," vol. v.

interpolations, and that verse 20 and the last sentence of verse 19 (both wanting in Codex D) are but later insertions taken *verbatim* from 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Carefully bearing all these things in mind, and likewise taking Mark's critically amended text and the characteristics of the papyrus fragment into account, Professor Bickell comes to the conclusion that the original passage was as follows: "As they were eating the Passover He spake to the twelve: One of you who dip your hands with Me in the dish shall betray Me. And taking bread and blessing and breaking it: Take. This is My body. And a cup, giving thanks: This is My blood of the covenant, shed for many; for I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine before My departure. Likewise: Ye shall all be offended this night, according to what is written: I will smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered. When Peter said: Even though all, not I. [To him]: The cock will crow twice, and thou shalt deny me previously thrice."

A comparison of the Vienna fragment with the parallel passages of the Synoptics makes it very evident that the papyrus Gospel differed more considerably from the most cognate of these than these differ among themselves. The style is terse and sententious; the construction widely different, and the transition from the supper to the announcement of the Apostle's infidelity is exceedingly sudden. Nor do we find any traces therein of those solemn stereotyped expressions, such as, "Verily I say unto you," &c., which so frequently introduce Jesus' utterances in our canonical Gospels, and form part of a series of conventional devices to project into Aramaic and Greek prose that marvellous personal charm of the Master which fascinated the disciples, and may have seemed to them a reflex of His divinity. On the contrary, it would appear to have been as plain and popular in form as Luke's Gospel was democratic and humane in spirit. Thus a degree of simplicity, bordering upon actual vulgarity, characterises certain of the expressions employed; as, for instance, the term *κοκκύζει* as applied to the crowing of the cock, instead of the more refined *φωνῆσαι* used by all the Synoptics.\* Another difference is to be found in the stress laid by the papyrus fragment upon the sayings of Jesus, and the little weight which it attaches to the events that occasioned or accompanied them, the latter being alluded to only in so far as a knowledge of them seems indispensable to a proper understanding of the former. Thus, the institution of the Eucharist and the announcement of the Apostle's infidelity shrink to the dimensions of a single remark of Jesus, which is split up into two parts, whereby the last supper itself and Peter's protestation appear even grammatically as a casual and unimportant insertion among the sayings of Jesus.

Now, these are likewise the main characteristics of the words of the Lord attributed by tradition to Matthew, and which form the groundwork

\* Another term employed in the fragment—which, however, may be characterised as prosaic rather than vulgar—is *ἀλεκτρυών*, instead of *ἀλέκτωρ*, as designation for the cock.

of the Synoptic Gospels. Matthew's collection was written in Aramaic, the community being at that time mainly Jewish in language, rite, and sympathies. The papyrus Gospel, of which the Vienna papyrus contains a fragment, is manifestly a translation from Aramaic, as any expert can at once discern by glancing at the unmistakable Semitic physiognomy (as embodied in the grammatical construction) of the last sentence; besides which it is evident from the text of Zechariah that the writer had the Hebrew text before him, not the Septuagint usually employed by Greek and Græco-Jewish Christians. There would seem to be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the so-called Proto-Marcus,\* the genuine Matthew, and the Sayings of the Lord, are not different books, but one and the same work, the earliest Christian document that was ever written, and which were excluded from the Canon for some of the puerile reasons put forward by Irenæus to prove that there could not possibly be more or fewer Gospels than four. Neither is it doubtful that the Vienna fragment discovered by Professor Bickell is an integral portion, not of some mere apocryphal writing, which, possessing a certain limited interest for the learned, the bulk of Christians can afford to ignore; but of the Sayings of Jesus—the woof, so to speak, on which our first three Gospels were ultimately woven. And if this conclusion be correct, we possess in that fragment one of the most precious relics of primitive Christianity.

Last year a Frenchman (M. Bouriant) agreeably surprised the world of letters by publishing—without critical analysis or commentary—some Greek fragments of an apocryphal Gospel and Apocalypse found some time before in a monk's grave in Akhmûm. Professor Harnack of Berlin at once recognised them as fragments of two of the five writings ascribed by tradition to the Apostle Peter,† and discerned their enormous importance for the history of the Canon, of the Gospels, and of early Christian literature in general.‡ The fragment thus unexpectedly brought to light contains about 6264 letters, is written in the first persons singular and plural,§ begins in the middle of the story of the Passion, and offers many highly interesting details not to be found in our canonical Gospels.

Peter's Gospel belongs unmistakably to the Synoptic type, was composed by a writer endowed with considerable narrating power and a more than rudimentary sense of the poetic, and gives us at least one very important tradition, older than any found in our canonical Gospels, according to which Jesus did not appear to any one on Easter Sunday.|| The writer of this history, which is obviously independent of our Gospels, drew many of his materials direct from the sources

\* A Gospel the existence of which is but a logical inference.

† Viz., a Gospel, two Epistles, Apocalypse and Kerygma.

‡ Cf. "Bruchstücke des Evangeliums und der Apocalypse des Petrus," v. Adolf Harnack, Leipzig, 1893.

§ "I, Simon Peter," "we, the twelve Apostles of the Lord," &c.

|| The tradition embodied in Paul's account would seem to be identical with that of which "Peter's" Gospel is the echo.

which they had utilised, very largely from that which supplied Mark, less extensively from those special to Matthew and Luke, and to some extent from a third category of data unknown or unheeded by the authors of our four Gospels. It was composed apparently later than Luke's Gospel, probably during one of the three first decades of the second century, was publicly read in some churches and venerated as authentic, until in the course of time it came to be recognised as the arsenal where the most formidable weapons of the Gnostic Docetæ\* were stored away; and having been placed under the ban of orthodoxy, was soon entirely lost to view. Bishop Serapion of Antiochia, who doubtlessly knew the Gospel by hearsay, and whose implied opinion of its orthodoxy is an eloquent testimony to the consideration in which it was held, expressly authorised Christians to read it publicly in their assemblies at Rhossus. Later on, having in the meantime examined it with care, he withdrew his permission on the ground that, although in the main the narrative was in agreement "with the true doctrine of the Saviour," certain additions had been made,† of which the Docetæ were taking advantage. But whether these additions were the result of later interpolations, or constituted an integral portion of the work as it first appeared, it is certain, on the one hand, that it was not originally composed in the interests of a sect, and on the other, that even if it had contained the germs of the Docetian heresy from the beginning, this circumstance would not, in the commencement of the second century, have materially detracted from the authority of a work universally attributed to the chief of the Apostles. Fortunately, however, we are not reduced to mere conjectures on the subject: it is absolutely certain that Justin Martyr was acquainted with Peter's Gospel, and that he regarded it as authentic.‡

From every conceivable point of view it is a most instructive and interesting story. The very miracles it records possess a peculiar *cachet* of their own, suggestive of the fanciful Christian legends of mediæval Europe: immaterial things are endowed with feeling and will; a stone moves aside, and rolls away of its own accord, when the proper time arrives; wood is endowed with life, movement, speech, and replies to a question uttered from the skies; and angels in human form, when standing on the ground, carry their heads high up among the clouds. The most important section of the Gospel, however, is that which deals with the Resurrection and the events immediately following, of which it furnishes a new and in one case the oldest version. Upon the significant circumstance that the writer

\* \* A Gnostic sect, the members of which believed that Jesus' body was a mere phantom, and denied the Resurrection and Ascension.

† Cf. Eusebius, "Historia Eccles.," vi. 12.

‡ To my thinking, there is no flaw in the fabric of historical evidence and close reasoning which Professor Harnack has raised up as a pedestal for this all-important fact. Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

knows nothing of an apparition of Jesus on Easter Sunday to Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, nor indeed of any apparition whatever during the seven days that ensued after the Crucifixion, due stress, no doubt, will be laid by theologians in the proper place.\* What I should like here to draw attention to is the fresh light which this recently discovered document throws upon the question of the primitive Gospel, of which it would seem to have adopted the general order, and adhered to the salient facts.

Now, we cannot do better than follow in this matter the old scholastic maxim which discountenances the needless multiplication of entities—a maxim to which the schoolmen themselves would seem to have turned a very deaf ear at times. And a careful consideration of all the elements of the question forces us to the conclusion that the “Proto-Matthew”—a Gospel which is so often referred to by critics as an earlier form of our first Gospel—was never endowed with any real existence, unless, indeed, we feel disposed to apply the term “Proto-Matthew” to the Sayings of the Lord,† which tradition, probably with reason, attributed to the converted publican. There is absolutely no ground for supposing that between Peter’s Gospel and the Sayings of the Lord there was ever any connecting link to which we might give the name Proto-Peter, and which might be surmised to have been simpler and more fragmentary than the Gospel, of which a specimen was recently found in Akhmîm, and more of a connected narrative than the Sayings. And this being so, there is no cogent reason to infer the existence of an intermediary link between the Sayings and Mark’s Gospel, upon which the name Proto-Mark has been so liberally lavished. “Proto-Mark,” “Proto-Matthew,” and the Sayings of the Lord would then appear to be merely different designations for one and the same work; so that none of the really important phases of the Gospel-evolution, if I may use such a profane term without irreverence, has disappeared from our ken without leaving a trace behind.

Among the points of agreement between Peter’s Gospel and the Sayings of the Lord I should like to draw special attention to the following, as the most striking and significant. There is a passage in Mark’s Gospel—it is the second last verse in our best manuscripts‡—which records the following words spoken by the angel in Jesus’ sepulchre to

\* It is more than merely probable that the apparition, which the author of Peter’s Gospel regards as the first, took place, not upon a mountain in Galilee, but upon Lake Gennezareth, and this would likewise seem to be the earliest tradition on the subject.

† This is by no means identical with the proposition that the Pseudo-Matthew has come down to us in its original form—a statement which I should be very sorry to endorse.

‡ Mark xvi. 7. There has never been any difference of opinion among critics as to the obvious fact that the last twelve verses of Mark’s Gospel—which may originally have had a very different ending—are later additions, but it is satisfactory to find that the newly discovered Syriac version of the four Gospels, of which the newspapers have just brought scanty but interesting tidings, likewise omits the last twelve verses of our Mark.

the women who were come to anoint the body : " Tell His disciples and Peter that He goes before you into Galilee ; there shall ye see Him, as He said unto you." The words " as He said unto you " are evidently an allusion to Mark xiv. 28, where Jesus says : " But after that I am risen I will go before you into Galilee." Now nothing corresponding to Mark xvi. 7, nor remotely akin to it, occurs in the Gospel according to St. Peter. And in like manner the Vienna papyrus fragment, which we have identified as a portion of the Sayings of the Lord, knows nothing of the promise made after the last supper to which those words of the angel refer, but wholly omits the sentence reported by Mark and Matthew : " After that I am risen I will go before you into Galilee." The twofold testimony, therefore, of Peter's Gospel and the Gospel of the Vienna papyrus discloses the interesting fact that Mark was the first who inserted—and rather awkwardly inserted—these two announcements of an impending apparition of the risen Saviour in Galilee—a fact rendered self-evident in the case of the first of these predictions by the disturbing effect produced by its violent introduction upon the context. The apparition thus solemnly foretold on two different occasions was—as is already suggested by the great stress laid upon it by the writer—the only one described in the original text of Mark—that is to say, before the last twelve verses were appended. Matthew likewise records no other. It is very natural to conclude that the primitive Gospel—seeing that it lacks these two announcements—contained no mention of any apparition whatever. This, I am aware, is liable to be considered a somewhat hasty view, not only because St. Paul, who had the primitive Gospel before him, records several manifestations of the risen Saviour (*cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 4 *fol.*), but also because Peter's Gospel, while ignoring the predictions, describes the apparition in Galilee. At the same time it is quite possible—and speaking for myself I am strongly disposed to hold the opinion—that the primitive Gospel, being pre-eminently a collection of the utterances of Jesus, may have contained no account of any apparition after His death, but have come to an end with the flight of the affrighted women from the sepulchre. It is thus that Mark concludes his record, if we regard Mark xvi. 8 as the last verse of his original Gospel. In further support of this view one might reasonably point to the fact that Luke, instead of describing as Matthew does, an apparition in Galilee or mentioning a previous announcement of it, like Mark, records only apparitions in and near Jerusalem. And it is in the highest degree unlikely that he would have passed over in silence a fact of such overwhelming importance had he found a warrant for it in the earliest Apostolic sources. I consider it therefore probable that the primitive Gospel contained no allusions whatever to any apparitions of Jesus in Jerusalem, Galilee, or elsewhere.

Another point of contact between the Gospel of St. Peter and the

Sayings of the Lord, as recorded in the papyrus fragment, is the absence in both of the malediction uttered against the betrayer of the Son of Man which is mentioned by Matthew (xxvi. 24) and Mark (xiv. 21). For the papyrus Gospel could not possibly have contained the verse, for the cogent reason that the grammatical structure of the period absolutely excludes it; and that it was likewise wanting in the Gospel of Peter we know from a quotation contained in the Syriac Didaskalia (Book V. chap. xiv.), and evidently extracted from that Gospel. The force of this statement will be better appreciated when I say that the Didaskalia is a shorter and earlier form of the first six books of the Apostolical Constitutions, which was written during the first half of the third century, and embodies a considerable portion of a Gospel concerning which nothing was known beyond the circumstance that it was lost. Scholarship and perseverance, however, have already succeeded in deciphering that literary palimpsest and revealing the principal features of that lost Gospel, which a further comparison with the Akhmîm fragments shows to have been identical with the Gospel of Peter.\* Now this omission, common to both narratives, would of itself suffice to warrant serious doubts as to the antiquity of the tradition on which the malediction in question is founded. But the further circumstance, that both these canonical Gospels relate it in exactly the same words, and that the manuscripts are devoid of various readings, renders it still more probable that we have here to do with a later addition. This and several other considerations, into which it is impossible here to enter, help us to understand why Papias expressed himself with such scant reverence about the Gospel texts of his day, among which were undoubtedly two of the four which have since become canonical.

Summing up the evidence, then, I should say that the main source of the Gospel of Peter—as indeed of the three Synoptics—is the Collection of the Sayings of the Lord, an ancient Greek translation of which was contained in the Fayoum papyrus, of which the Vienna fragment is a portion. This was the earliest source of all the synoptic narratives—the Primitive Gospel—so that the Gospel genealogy might be delineated as follows:

Sayings of the Lord (Primitive Gospel.)

Mark

Peter

Matthew

Luke.

*Cf. Harnack, op. cit., p. 40 fol.*

One word in conclusion as to the connection between the Gospel of Peter and the first Epistle attributed to the same Apostle, on which the Akhmîm fragments have thrown unexpected light. Not only do both these writings bear the name of the same Apostle—which of itself is a bond between them—but they both allude to Jesus' descent to hell. A still closer nexus, however, consists in the quotation from Proverbs (x. 12) in the Gospel (as embodied in the Didaskalia) and the First Epistle of Peter: "Charity shall cover the multitude of sins;" whereby the form assumed by this quotation, while identical in the Gospel and the Epistle differs somewhat both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew original. These and other points of contact make it highly probable that the relation between these two writings may be aptly described as one of dependence, whereby the Epistle was composed later than the Gospel. I believe I have found an additional confirmation of this in the following consideration. In the account of the Resurrection given by the Gospel of Peter we are told that in the night from Saturday to Sunday the watchmen who guarded Jesus' sepulchre perceived two gigantic men,\* whose heads reached to the clouds, leading out a third man,† whose head towered above the clouds; whereupon a voice was heard from heaven asking: "Hast thou preached to the sleeping?" And from the cross was heard the answer: "Yea." Professor Harnack and some other learned theologians, bearing in mind the parallel passage in 1 Peter iii. 19, 20, in which the spirits to whom Jesus preached are described as disobedient, has made some slight alterations in the text of the Gospel by means of which the voice from heaven is made to ask: "Hast thou preached *obedience* to the sleeping?" And from the cross was heard: "Yea." I confess I do not see the need for meddling with the text. The notion of obedience rather than any other virtue having been preached to the spirits, seems to me to be the result of an error. I am inclined to believe that the slight—and I may add, seductive—alteration which some German theologians proposed a few weeks since, was erroneously made by the author of the First Epistle of Peter seventeen hundred years ago.‡

E. J. DILLON.

\* Angels.

† Jesus.

‡ The text without the alteration runs—ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις; καὶ ὑπακοή ἤκούετο ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅτι ναι. In the amended form, as proposed by Prof. Harnack, it is—ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις ὑπακοήν· καὶ ἀκούετο ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὅτι ναι



## A CONSCRIPT'S VIEW OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

IT has been the duty of the present writer, though brought up in England, to serve as a conscript in one of the Eastern corps of the French army. On coming out of this period, and looking back at the pictures which it presented, one is at a loss to find a regular series of ideas. As is the case with every life of routine and discipline, weeks of it sometimes pass without leaving more impression on the mind than would a single day, except the impression of dulness and an even influence. Then there will come scenes so striking, and episodes so dramatic and intense, that a whole lifetime of later experiences could never destroy their image. For though, of course, one of these great conscription armies cannot offer as much interest to the casual reader in times of peace as would the merest skirmish in active service, yet for the soldier it has about it much of the hardship, all the discipline, and, in the period of the manœuvres, not a little of the outward excitement of a war.

The first and most salient point in the French army seen from within is the mixture of social ranks. Now this mixture, which might in many societies be a source of weakness, may be said here to be one of the principal causes of the recuperation of the country. It is, I believe, a unique experiment to lay the military law equally upon the shoulders of every citizen, of whatever rank he may be. The nearest approach to the French universal conscription is to be seen in Germany, but even there the absolute equality of men before the law is far from holding good. Promotion from the ranks is almost unknown; the rich, who can afford a university education for their sons and who can pay a sum of money to the Government, exempt them from all serious soldiering. These young men pass a few weeks in barracks, and afterwards attend a specified time of drill,

while they are allowed to lodge outside quarters, and to follow their ordinary civil occupations in the university. This lasts, if I am not mistaken, for one year, after which term they pass into the Reserve as officers. But under the French law every man without exception serves in the army for at least one year. During that year he is merged entirely in the private soldier. His social rank, if he has one, is completely ignored; the officers who command him regard merely his efficiency and his faithfulness to duty, and if any difference is made between a man of some education and the peasants around him, it is in the direction of putting him into the *Peloton d'Instruction*—a species of school of drill—where he may earn in six months or a year the grade of corporal, but in which, on account of the extra duties the place involves, the life is harder in manual labour and has less free time than that of the unambitious trooper outside. It must not be inferred from this that the *Peloton d'Instruction* stands apart. It is held merely during the hours which are otherwise free time; nor must it be imagined for a moment that a man of a richer class than his fellows necessarily belongs to it, or that men of such a class form the majority of its members. There may be in a company or battery from six to eight *élèves caporaux* and in a whole regiment less than that number of gentlemen. The elevation to the grade of Reserve officer is also proceeded with in a manner very different from that obtaining in Germany. The places in the Reserve are given in part to retired officers of the active army, and in part to those men who have followed the *Peloton d'Instruction* for at least one year, and who, at the end of that time, are competent to pass a special examination.

The result is peculiar, and on the whole is not prejudicial to the parties concerned. It may be doubted whether any other modern European nation could adopt such a system, but in France it secures all the obvious advantages which are attached to it, without the lack of cohesion and discipline which might follow in a less homogeneous nation. For there is in France a strange similarity between the various social ranks; differences are certainly very apparent to a Frenchman of the upper class, but they are extremely slight compared with those existing, for example, in England. The difference of accent which creates so profound a gulf between men in this country is hardly known in France; when it exists it may be referred to a local origin, like the Scotch accent or the Irish brogue, rather than to any difference in the social level. The development of the intelligence in different men is, again, only to a slight extent a question of class in France; and the small conventionalities of living which in other countries are confined to the richer part of the people penetrate very far down into French society. This similarity of classes has been characterised as superficial to a large extent, chiefly

by those whose direct interests were attacked by it; but there can be no question that, once the necessity of conscription becomes apparent to a country, such homogeneity adds great strength to the military system.

Discipline loses somewhat in France by the absence of that class loyalty and deference on which German authorities have insisted so much, but it gains in the possibility of raising to commission rank in large numbers men of long service and sound disciplinary qualities. And it would, I think, be the unanimous testimony of French soldiers that officers who have seen service in the ranks are the most constant in service, and the most sure of securing obedience, respect, and efficiency in their subordinates, a result which comes largely from their personal experience of the due limits of discipline, the transgression of which serves only vainly to exasperate the soldiers. The place and value of these officers raised from the ranks certainly comes from no lack of firmness or *poigne* on their part, and they are distinguished, as a rule, not for their over-great sympathy with the difficulties of a private's life, but for their experience of what is possible, and what impossible, in the duties to be demanded of a man.

This mixture of the different social ranks is remarkable also in the case of the private soldier. But here the military effect is less marked. Whether a man proves an efficient or inefficient soldier very much depends upon his physical strength and on his readiness to obey and to acquire the habits demanded of him. Physical strength is independent to a great extent of social differences, except that the peasant and the artisan have, in all that involves direct manual labour, the advantage over the product of the wretched public school system which obtains in France. Readiness is ensured by a discipline pressing so hardly and so equally upon all that the habit of continual labour is acquired with an ease and rapidity that surprise the man himself who is submitted to it. The great fatigues—or rather the fatigues which seem so great after an ordinary civilian life—the long marches in full kit, followed often by sleepless nights of guard-duty, seem at first unendurable. It is impossible to conceive, unless one has experienced it, how different is the hardship of such a life from that which a free man voluntarily imposes on himself; and when men say, on hearing of some forced march, or feat of endurance, that they have on this or that occasion surpassed it, they leave out of reckoning the thousand difficulties that arise when large bodies of men have to do the same thing in concerted action, and with no regard for the individual. All these fatigues naturally press hardest on the man who has seen no active service to speak of, and on whom the *internat* has had its full effect. But it cannot be denied that the change, though it is sudden and extreme, has, as a rule, a good

effect. The French *lycéen* learns in the regiment an independence and a self-reliance that years in the society of men of his own stamp could never teach him, and he picks up health visibly, in spite of the short hours of sleep, the bad food, and the perpetual labour.

A very large number of things which in this country are, I believe, put into the hands of civilian contractors, fall in France upon the shoulders of the army; and it is evident that in a position where a little under two hours is allowed for mobilisation the duties are far more rigorous than those of more sheltered places. The men who came to our frontier garrison, transferred from regiments lying farther inland, noted at once the increase of duties, and would tantalise us after the evening *soupe* round the barrack-room fire with descriptions of Orleans or Clermont Ferrand, where stable-guard came round every ten days, and cleaning harness after hours was unknown. But the difficulties entailed by the position give a certain pride to the men of the 6th and 7th Army Corps, and a man on leave is always careful to let you know that he comes from the gates of the country—Toul, Epinal, or Belfort.

This excess of manual labour and lack of free time turn evidently upon the existence of the conscription. In a country such as England, where an army of voluntary enlistment is all that is considered necessary, these hardships supply their own corrective, for did the life of a private soldier become appreciably harder than that of a civilian the difficulties of recruitment would evidently increase. But this regard for the private in armies which cannot compel universal service is not an unmixed blessing. It has been questioned by many authorities in this country whether the usefulness of infantry, for example, would not be greatly increased if the marching in full kit were more of a habit than an exception. The infantry soldier of a foreign army, trained to immediate readiness and every fatigue, never mounts a guard, takes patrol duty, or makes the shortest march without the knapsack; and the first thing that strikes a foreigner, amidst all the splendid accuracy and smartness of English soldiers, is the frequent absence of that rather necessary part of the equipment.

Now, in a conscript army many of those regulations which fall hardly on the private soldier, but which are in the highest degree beneficial to the army as a whole, can be enforced, and the result is a necessary increase in the fatigue and irksomeness of a private soldier's daily work, of which he does not usually see the necessity.

It is nevertheless remarkable how little any spirit of discouragement or vexation exists in the ranks of the army, and how little the hardship which it has caused him to undergo affects the French elector when he leaves it to enter upon civilian life. The popularity of the army, the admission of its necessity, and the pride taken in

its new vigour are sentiments in which the whole nation is practically unanimous. A candidate who seriously proposed any reduction in its numbers or its expenses would stand no chance of election in any French constituency.

This acquiescence in the necessity of a universal military service, and in the justice of its object, is at the present time the most salient feature in the political life in France; it is one which offers a striking contrast to the growth of socialism and cosmopolitan ideas among the enemies of that country, and it is a striking witness to the tact and skill which the superior and general officers have exercised in building up a system so stable, and a discipline so firm, in a nation whose democracy tends every day to become more extreme; nor is it too much to say that it is perhaps these very political tendencies, which, by laying the hard military service justly and evenly upon the shoulders of all, and by placing authority in the grade and not the person of a commander, have proved their best allies in the work they have completed.

It is not permissible in a member of such a body to point out its faults. But it can do no harm to enumerate those which foreign critics point out—especially those which most strike an Englishman. It is customary in the first place to note a certain lack of smartness and *tenue* in the French linesman which is particularly noticeable to a native of this country, accustomed as he is to the best dressed and the most perfectly drilled of any soldiers in the world. The physique of the French private soldier again is a subject on which some authorities in foreign countries are never tired of dilating; and there are some who will prove to you, by statistics of his height, weight, and chest measurement, that he is quite incapable of doing things as well as his neighbours, which as a matter of fact he does a good deal better. It cannot be denied that, as the soldiers of European armies go, he is short; and the prominence of this feature is increased by the fact that the armies to which he finds himself contrasted are invariably smaller than his own in proportion to the size of the population—the recruits that can be rejected in France on physical grounds without impairing the numerical superiority of the army being very few.

Other faults—numerous as they were, and evident in the disasters of twenty years ago—it is hardly necessary to mention. The breakdown of purpose which ruined many of the leaders, the lack of proper discipline in the earlier battles, and the fact that the French combatants in the later ones were mere hordes of recruits rapidly levied, without training or experience of arms, all point to the peculiar circumstances of a peculiar time. Neither infirmity of purpose, nor lack of discipline, nor armies unfamiliar with arms are characteristic of the French nation in history. These faults were, in the terrible campaign of 1870, the end of a disastrous *régime*; they

were neither of long standing nor destined to endure, and, it would be impossible in criticising the French army of to-day to draw any idea of its lasting defects from the momentary faults of that time.

But the objections first noticed, and those that are most commonly brought against the efficiency of the French private soldier, have all a certain measure of truth. It is undoubtedly true that his physique does not strike Englishmen as equal to their own; it is also true that the general smartness of the man is not up to the English standard. How much of the ill-effect depends upon the uniform may be tested by comparing a non-commissioned officer (whose pay in France is about the same as that of a private soldier in England) with a man in the rank and file, especially in a regiment whose colonel does not discountenance *fantaisie*. It is an eminently practical uniform, and one in which the apparel and military adjuncts have been reduced to a minimum, but it is one which leaves unnoticed a cleanliness and care that would be at once apparent in a smarter dress, and which takes away much of the motive for such strictness. But, with all this, it is true that the French linesman might be a good deal smarter in his personal appearance, and would not lose by another inch or two of height. And it remains only to mention in contrast the many peculiar and splendid qualities of a soldier which he does exhibit, and which are so apparent when one stands shoulder to shoulder with him in the routine of the barrack-room or the hard days of the manœuvres.

There is one quality in the French soldier which gives him a supreme value: it has by the writers of his own country been called 'endurance,' but perhaps that word in English hardly gives the equivalent of what is meant; it is rather a power of recuperation and of extreme effort for a particular object, which distinguishes him: it goes side by side with a peculiar gaiety which shows him the lighter view of the darkest case. There is another quality—which in days of short service and extremely rapid action is of no less importance—it is his intelligence.

The two combined more than compensate for those qualities in which the critics of other nations find him lacking. The conclusions, for example, at which a casual observer might arrive in regard to the marching power or rapidity of a French regiment, or the number of stragglers which it would leave on a forced march, or the minimum amount of food or sleep required by the men in any difficult circumstances, would as a rule be entirely erroneous. A type of man whom many would consider the least able to endure fatigue is, on the contrary, the most severely tried and the most heavily burdened of any soldier in the modern armies. It has, indeed, been a criticism passed by most military authorities in Europe, that the French line has always carried into action a weight which seriously impaired its value.

In 1870, this was certainly the case; and even nowadays, when everything in the accoutrement has been reduced to bare necessities, the French private, in full kit is expected to march, and succeeds in marching, with the weight upon him of everything that will make him independent of the *impedimenta* of the army. It has been the policy of the French military authorities at all times to give to their infantry a mobility superior to that of their opponents, and to effect this they have relied to the utmost upon the energy of the troops at their command. That this mobility will be of the highest utility, and that its importance increases daily with the changes of method which have been introduced in warfare cannot be denied; and it is a witness to the force of the material upon which the conscription draws, that the strain has not proved too great under the hardest conditions of the manoeuvres and experimental marches by which its effects are tested.

It has been remarked that the high level of intelligence which the conscript exhibits in France is of immense importance in the present state of the army. This factor increases in value as the system of conscription becomes more universal. In an army of voluntary enlistment, or in one whose numbers are small in comparison with those of the nation, the scale of pay will be high and the average time of service long. There is no need to hurry in the forming of a recruit, his drill may last a full year, as it did in the French army of twenty years ago, and the time will not have been lost. Again, under such a system the regiment forms an excellent unit of training, especially in an army like that of this country, where the recruits arrive at all times in the year, and can be regularly drafted upon the completion of their instruction into the corps to which they belong. But as the conscription increases in severity the length of service must necessarily be shortened; as the recruits arrive in batches (which, in an extreme case, such as that of France at the present day, where the conscription is universal, form a third of the army), it becomes necessary to make the company or battery the unit of instruction; and even the six bare months which are all that remain for the training of the recruit are to be grudged out of the short period for which a man remains under arms. With these necessities the rapidity with which a recruit can receive instruction, and the general level which enables some thirty or forty men to be taught in unison become of the most immediate value, and the army more than gains in efficiency what it may lose in the motives for obedience which exist where the differences of intelligence are more marked.

These qualities, which give the French soldier his superiority, are especially brought forward in the annual manoeuvres. It has been the aim of the Government for some years past—following, to a certain extent, the example of Germany—to throw a strong light, as

it were, upon its military strength; and this can best be done by reproducing in a particular field all the main conditions of war. It is needless to touch upon the feeling caused by the greatest of these experiments in 1889; it was as though some new policy, introducing new factors into the conditions of Europe, had been laid before the surrounding nations. The English critics, who, under the circumstances, were the most impartial, gave reports which cannot fail to have impressed this view upon the military opinion of their country, and the period since that year has been one of continued success. The motives actuating that display were perfectly honest, and were, I think, admitted to be such by all impartial observers. The experiment succeeded then, and has succeeded in every year since beyond expectation; but the result has never been made a motive for anything but increasing the work of defence, for it is a feeling which pervades the army quite as much as it does the nation, that the period through which France has been passing is one of great difficulty, requiring the action of every silent energy on the part of every man.

Of the moral side of the conscription in France, how strongly it is supported by the peasant soldiers whom it produces, how solid is the patriotism of which it is the result, it has not been thought necessary to make much mention in this paper. Suffice it to repeat that personal service in the ranks, which more than any other experience is calculated to damp the enthusiasm of a man, and to make him, if he looks upon it selfishly, lose sight of great national ideals, has in no way impaired the strong love of country in the French peasant and workman, but has made it more sane, and has given it a clearer object. That the conscription in one nation has helped social order while in another it has attacked it, is a matter depending largely upon the justice or injustice of its weight upon the people. In the France of to-day it is a matter of history that the private soldier when he returns to his civilian life strengthens the Republic; and it is an experience of the present writer, in which he is sure that all those who have shared in the life of the French barrack-room will bear him out, that the value of his people, and the peculiar strength of those qualities which lie at the root of their character, are never more apparent than in those long and hard months of ordeal which each man puts without question upon himself, and which, in the mass, have re-made the nation.

HILAIRE BELLOC.



## THE PROSPECTS OF THE CIVILISED WORLD.\*

THERE is a distinction in kind between predictions which refer to a remote future, and which are necessarily, if not professedly, more or less arbitrary, and those which profess to infer what soon will be from what now is. A prophecy of the latter class, if it relates to social history, is a criticism of life. The Bible prophecies, according to the truer view of them which now prevails, are of this nature. They paint, indeed, imaginative scenes of ultimate glory; but for the most part they express the liveliest interest in the present, and declare what, under the divine purpose and law, the present is about to bring forth in the future. Such a prophecy pronounces judgment upon existing tendencies, and serves both for a warning and for an encouragement. No philosophy of causation will drive out of the heads of living men the belief that they can do something to guide the course of things, and so to modify the future. Men have always been accustomed to assume, and they will go on assuming, that they can set themselves against a tendency which they believe to be dangerous, and give support by their endeavours to one that promises to lead to good. Some of those who are most convinced that the future is a necessary consequence to be developed out of the present, and most sure about manifest destiny, happen to be at the same time most earnest and importunate in denouncing what they consider to be hurtful habits and movements, and in urging their fellow-men to adopt and favour those which they judge to be beneficial. A forecast of the future which shows genuine insight is not only interesting to intellectual curiosity, but it can scarcely fail to have some moral influence.

No one, I think, can read Mr. C. H. Pearson's recent book without

\* "National Life and Character: a Forecast." By Charles H. Pearson.

being in an unusual degree excited and disquieted by it. The extraordinary range of knowledge exhibited in it must quickly awaken the reader's respect; and he will be impressed by the keenness and originality of observation, the philosophic calmness, the apparent disinterestedness and openness of mind, with which tendencies are traced and probable results indicated. And the author touches upon all the things that concern us most closely—upon our beliefs as to the unseen world and the life beyond the grave, upon the relations of husband and wife and of parents and children, upon town and country, upon trained armies and volunteers, upon poetry and art, upon science and industrial invention:

"Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,  
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est farrago libelli."

But what will probably most astonish the reader is the success with which Mr. Pearson conceals any interest he may feel as a fellow-man in human doings and fortunes. There is something abnormal in the dispassionate coolness with which he reports upon the world and the downward way on which it is going—a coolness which the impatience of his readers may be tempted to resent as cynical. Almost the only sign of warmth is in the angry bitterness of the remarks on "the Churches" and theology, though some other antipathies may be guessed. We cannot help wondering what purpose the author had in writing the book: we feel as we read that so serious a thinker must have had some purpose besides that of making a good many of his fellow-men unhappy; but the object he had in view is not apparent. He gives us a dismal prospect, and he writes as if he held a brief for discouragement; but here and there he suggests that it does not much signify. He gives us leave to reject his forecast if we please, on the ground that rational forecasts have often turned out mistaken. Where he does refer to the effect which his prophecies may have upon his readers' minds, his language is curiously confused, and we speculate in vain as to what he can really mean. Thus at the close of chapter i. he says that, for us of the Aryan race and the Christian faith,

"our pride of place will be humiliated. . . . We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside, by people whom we looked down upon as servile, and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs. The solitary consolation will be, that the changes have been inevitable. It has been our work to organise and create, to carry peace and law and order over the world, that others may enter in and enjoy. Yet in some of us the feeling of caste is so strong that we are not sorry to think we shall have passed away before that day arrives."

If we, who will have passed away, are to wake, it will be presumably in the persons of our descendants. For whom, then, will the conso-

lation be? For us, to whose pain the author allows no better name than that of injured caste-feeling? Our consolation is, that we shall not see, except in prevision, the melancholy condition, to which our humane endeavours, aided by opportune circumstances, are bringing the world. The deluge will be after our time. This is a consolation which I should suppose to be hardly worth offering. But it is about as satisfactory as that which our descendants will have, in the reflection that the changes were inevitable. This stoical acquiescence in the inevitable is the solitary moral attitude which Mr. Pearson suggests to his readers. But can he really think that he is offering them consolation? I should suggest for this purpose the reflection: "We did our best; it is not our fault, but Nature's." Still stranger is the passage which concludes the volume. The author seems to feel that he must say something in the way of moral reflection; but he has nothing to say, and he does not shrink from saying that nothing in curiously unmeaning phrases:

"When Christianity began to appear grotesque and incredible, men reconciled themselves to the change by belief in an age of reason, of enlightenment, of progress. It is now more than probable that our science, our civilisation, our great and real advance in the practice of government, are only bringing us nearer to the day when the lower races will predominate in the world, when the higher races will lose their noblest elements, when we shall ask nothing from the day but to live, nor from the future but that we may not deteriorate. Even so, there will still remain to us ourselves. Simply to do our work in life, and to abide the issue, if we stand erect before the eternal calm as cheerfully as our fathers faced the eternal unrest, may be nobler training for our souls than the faith in progress" (p. 311).

Here, again, "we" are evidently our descendants. "Eternal" is always an impressive word, but why is it applied either to the calm or to the unrest? The unrest, at all events, was not eternal, for it will have been superseded by the calm; and the calm at any moment can scarcely be more than a stage in the progress of decay *ad non esse*. Our fathers are not happily described as having cheerfully faced unrest, whether eternal or temporary; it should rather be said of them that, sustained by faith in Divine Providence, and animated by hope of a better future, they threw themselves into the struggle of their time, and were a part of its "unrest." To do our work in life, and abide the issue, has a good old sound; but what is the work of life to be, when people will ask nothing from the day but to live, when they know of no Taskmaster who sets them their work and takes account of its performance, when they see clearly that any good efforts which they might put forth would only make things worse, when "the savour of vacant lives will go up to God from every home"? (p. 338). I could willingly believe that our author secretly intended to suggest to his readers an unspoken alternative; that he would wish "some of us" to say, "These depressing prognostics are

not easy to refute; it looks as if decay may be coming upon our world; but it will be better to resist the coming evil with all our might than to stare blankly at it, or to acquiesce cheerfully in it; we have still enough of faith and hope at the back of our minds and the bottom of our hearts to give us courage to die fighting."

It seems possible that Mr. Pearson may have been vexed by the cheerful anticipations of those who believe in reason, enlightenment, and progress. Those imaginative spirits who are most excited by the movements of our time have been dreaming of universal peace and happiness. In epochs of change, forecasts of the future have not been uncommon, and prophecies of evil have always added a growling accompaniment to the hopeful forecasts. There are plenty of disaffected persons in these days who rather enjoy telling us that we are going to the bad; who look with disgust on triumphant democracy, and are sure that we are in the way to lose refinement and religion, if not on the eve of a period of robbery and rioting. But these Cassandra warnings do not aim at being scientific; they are rather expressions of displeasure at the turn things are taking than attempts to conceive the actual condition of the world during the coming generations. It is impossible to take part in making changes, or to rejoice in their being made, without believing that mankind will on the whole and in the long run be the better for them. The youthful and poetical, who dip into the future far as human eye can see, have always had visions of a better and happier as well as more wonderful world. Just now, philanthropy, which pervades all classes, and socialism, which is the creed of those who are most zealous in promoting social change, are looking forward to a millennium of general comfort and international harmony. Attempts have been made to give realistic representations of the socialist world of the future, in which life is to be made easy and happy for all by a skilful reconciliation of interests. Through no such revolution, but as a gradual result of evolution, a satisfactory future has been anticipated by philosophers also. Mr. J. S. Mill gave economic reasons for expecting a stationary condition of society, in which a quiet and general pursuit of things really desirable may take the place of eager competition and the increasing of wealth. Mr. Herbert Spencer convinces himself that, by the continued action of existing causes, an industrial organisation of society will completely supersede the military organisation which is already passing away, and will bring with it general well-being, and oblige every one to be amiable. To disturb these pleasant prospects of the augmenting happiness of the superior races, Mr. Pearson brings to the front the Chinese, the Negroes, the Indians of the tropical parts of America, and the natives of British India. His primary argument is, that the yellow and black races are bound to

multiply and advance, and so to squeeze into narrower quarters the hitherto dominant races of the temperate zone.

The first and grayer danger with which Europe is threatened is from the expansion of China. Mr. Pearson, a distinguished Oxford student, has been Minister of Education in Victoria, and he looks back with keen satisfaction upon the policy adopted by the Australians towards the Chinese. What the yellow race is capable of doing was seen and tested in Australia. China has a multitudinous population, trained to habits of industry, habituated to privation and hardships, of singular toughness in body and spirit, ready to emigrate to any land to which they are attracted by a hope of bettering themselves. Mr. Pearson's auguries with regard to the future development of China have been to some extent anticipated by other observers, who have predicted that both Russia and the British Empire may find in that power a formidable rival on their oriental frontiers. I have come across a physiological forecast, which goes beyond Mr. Pearson's, in a paper by Mr. S. S. Buckman on "Some Laws of Heredity, and their Application to Man," read before the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club, and published in their "Proceedings," vol. x. part iii.:

"In time—a distant time truly, but none the less certain—the European, the quick-developing race, will disappear altogether. . . . Medical science and philanthropy, though admirable for the individual, absolutely necessary for a high degree of civilisation, and indispensable for the evolution of scientific thought, are decidedly detrimental to the race. They keep alive and allow to multiply just those weakly members who would be so surely and summarily weeded out by that rough-and-ready process known as Natural Selection. In the distant future, when that over-population which they do so much to cherish (*teste* India at the present day) precipitates a genuine struggle for existence, the races in which natural selection has been checked the most will assuredly go to the wall. A race in which a high level of physical vitality is maintained by a constant struggle for existence under arduous but healthy conditions, a race able to subsist on a sparing quantity of food from the same cause, a race unaffected by so-called civilisation, and a race sufficiently prolific withal, is the one which is destined to occupy the place of the Europeans. Strange as it may seem, the Chinese appear to be fitted for the work" (pp. 315, 316).

Mr. Pearson takes shorter views, and does not look forward so far as to the extinction of the European race, but is content to threaten it with decline and torpor. He sees other inferior races advancing with minatory strides, the lower civilisation showing more vigour than the higher; but it is with China that we have to reckon first:

"No one in California or Australia, where the effects of Chinese competition have been studied, has, I believe, the smallest doubt that Chinese labourers, if allowed to come in freely, could starve all the white men in either country out of it, or force them to submit to harder work and a much lower standard of wages. In Victoria, a single trade, that of furniture-

making, was taken possession of and ruined for white men, within the space of something like five years. Only two large employers excluded Chinamen altogether; and white men, where they were retained, were kept on only to supply a limited demand for the best kind of work. Now, what Chinamen can do in Melbourne . . . . Chinamen at home could do incomparably better, if they worked in establishments fitted up with the best machinery and were directed by foremen knowing the European taste. Does any one doubt that the day is at hand when China will have cheap fuel from her coal-mines, cheap transport by railways and steamers, and will have founded technical schools to develop her industries? Whenever that day comes, she may wrest the control of the world's markets, especially throughout Asia, from England and Germany" (pp. 125, 126).

This is the check with which England is most immediately threatened—a deadly competition in the Eastern markets. And Mr. Pearson makes the shrewd observation, that "the Chinese would be less dangerous than they are if they were as warlike as the Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, because in that case they would waste their reproductive forces in arms" (p. 96). "Every year seems to increase the pre-eminence of industrial over essentially martial nations" (p. 95). But he believes that China will soon become formidable as a military power:

"Neither does it seem possible to imagine that the great inert force of China will not some day be organised and rendered mobile and capable of military aggression. . . . We have compelled her to come into the fellowship of nations. She has adopted steamers, and European artillery and army organisation; she has accepted the telegraph; she is about to introduce railways; and she has credit enough to carry out the changes she needs with foreign capital. On three sides of her lie countries that she may easily seize, over which very often she has some old claim, and in the climate of which her people can live. Flexible as Jews, they can thrive on the mountain plateaux of Thibet and under the sun of Singapore; more versatile even than Jews, they are excellent labourers, and not without merit as soldiers and sailors; while they have a capacity for trade which no other nation of the East possesses. They do not need even the accident of a man of genius to develop their magnificent future. Ordinary statesmanship, adopting the improvements of Europe without offending the customs and prejudices of the people, may make them a State which no Power in Europe will dare to disregard; with an army which can march by fixed stages across Asia; and a fleet which could hold its own against any the strongest of European Powers could afford to keep permanently in Chinese waters" (pp. 111, 112).

The reader sees with what *verve* our author argues his case. One of his chief points is, that emigration has of late years done much to promote the prosperity of the European, and especially of the British races, by providing a vent for their growing numbers, and for their more eager and enterprising spirits; and that soon there will be no vacant part of the globe which these more civilised races can occupy. The black and yellow races are filling up the hotter parts of the globe with their much-enduring populations. Mr. Pearson

speaks with pride and warmth as an Australian colonist who has "resided twenty years under the Southern Cross":

"We know that coloured and white labour cannot exist side by side; we are well aware that China can swamp us with a single year's surplus of population; and we know that if national existence is sacrificed to the working of a few mines and sugar plantations, it is not the Englishman alone, but the whole civilised world that will be the losers. . . . We are guarding the last part of the world, in which the higher races can live and increase freely, for the higher civilisation" (p. 16).

But this one outlet will not serve us long. The European nations, according to our author's view, will undergo industrial compression. They will be shut up within their own territories, with shrinking trade, and with the necessity of retaining and supporting their entire populations. State Socialism in all its forms will of necessity be developed, the increase of population will be restrained, and each nation will be compelled to arm itself to the teeth, not from any love of war, but for self-defence, and as the condition of preserving its national existence. That is the political and economic condition which will be forced upon the nations of Europe by this one definite cause—the certain and closely approaching expansion of the inferior races of the world.

Those who have any belief in "a Hand that guides" would be inclined to set their faith defiantly against all such calculations. That faith was once expressed with characteristic and refreshing vigour by Luther:

"Potentates and princes nowadays [we should say, statist and philosophers] set to work calculating: three times three make nine, twice seven are fourteen, so-and-so will do so-and-so; in this manner will the business surely take effect. But our Lord God says unto them, For whom, then, do ye hold me. For a cypher? Do I sit here above in vain and to no purpose? You shall know that I will twist your accounts about finely, and make them all false reckonings" ("Table-Talk," Bohn's edition, p. 310).

Whatever Mr. Pearson's private convictions may be, in developing "the argument of this book," he certainly takes the line of treating our Lord God as a cypher. He looks only at the facts and processes of the present time, and from these he deduces what, according to judicious reasoning, enlightened by the experience of the past, may be expected to be their results in the proximate future. Those of his readers who would decline to meet him on this ground of rational calculation, he on his part would decline to meet at all. There is no sign of his having any general theory or set of opinions which he wishes to make interesting and attractive. The most instructive part of the book—though every page is crowded with knowledge—is that in which the author dwells on the religious and social and intellectual tendencies of the English world of our time. But as he

makes this onward aggressive march of the yellow and black races, and the consequent repression of the Aryan races, the basis of his argument, this is the consideration which first challenges the attention of the reader.

As regards a Christian faith in "our Lord God," we are not entitled to hold that it may not be in the designs of Divine Providence that races which have done their work should give way to other races, through which the development of mankind in general should be advanced. We must go farther, and admit that, if this terrestrial globe is destined to lose its power of sustaining life, and the sun itself is gradually parting with its heat, we have to face the remote contingency of the extinction of the whole human race. We are bound to be cautious about dictating to our Lord God as well as ignoring Him. But on his own ground we may find reason for keeping our author's conclusion at bay. What has been the most conspicuous feature of all past human history? Confessedly, war. Mr. Pearson notes the fact that the Chinese race is not constitutionally warlike, as the Turks were. He also refers to the growing distaste of modern Europeans, and especially of the English, for violent proceedings, and to the shortness and comparative humanity of recent wars. But he takes for granted that the Chinese will create formidable armies, and he believes that the nations of Europe will be compelled to become more military than they are now. He is not the dreamer dwelling on the happy time when the battle-flags shall be furled, in the Parliament of man, the federation of the world. From his point of view, what is more probable than that war will reign in the future as it has reigned in the past—war with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones? It is true that the imperial sceptre of Great Britain forbids fighting in India and South Africa, and is likely to do so increasingly in Central and Northern Africa, and that under the Pax Britannica the protected races multiply with inconvenient rapidity. But is it possible that great Powers should be built up out of the inferior races without desolating wars? All experience confutes such a forecast. Mr. Pearson himself supplies evidence against it: "India left to itself might be rent for a time by the war of Mussulman and Hindoo; but India is too populous for any large part of its people to be exterminated, unless indeed wars were waged in the Chinese fashion" (p. 34). Within our own time, the Tae-ping war cost China many millions of people, and was at last brought to an end by British aid. A Mohammedan rebellion was stamped out by Chinese troops in Yunnan and Ili, after wars in which millions of lives were destroyed (p. 132). Mr. Pearson says: "Although it would not be wise to calculate that there will be no revival of the old savagery, it is reasonable to expect that the accepted practice of civilised nations



will, on the whole, maintain itself, and will influence the procedure of conquerors in Southern Asia, in Africa, and in South America" (p. 82). It is not in the least reasonable, I submit, to expect that "massacres which Gustavus Adolphus, Cromwell, or Turenne would have looked upon as the regrettable but necessary consequences of war" (p. 83), should not occur in the procedure of Chinese or Negro conquerors unrestrained by any influence of European Powers; the development of strength and ambition and military effectiveness in half-civilised races cannot fail to be accompanied by wars of the old kind, such as will break up dominions and keep down the increase of populations. As regards immediate prospects in Europe, there are many who see in the large scale of the existing armaments of the nations a most dangerous incitement to war, and who therefore long to persuade the Powers to reduce simultaneously their military strength: Mr. Pearson evidently holds, and I think more wisely, not only that any attempts to arrange simultaneous disarmament would be futile, but that if France or Russia, Germany or Austria, were seriously to diminish its preparations for war, war would be the more likely to break out. It can hardly be doubted that a tempting opportunity would be too much for the self-restraint of almost any of the Continental Powers; and the shock of modern war between great nations, though it may be brief, is terrific and highly destructive. The fact that our author has omitted to take account of the chances of wars—of wars which would excite mankind, and change governments, and sweep away millions of men—seems to me sufficient of itself to weaken the verisimilitude of his forecast. But that the statesmen of Russia and of England are bound to keep their eyes upon China with a certain anxiety, and that this is one of the many reasons for looking to the security of our Imperial system, and for refusing to abandon ourselves to sentimental dreams, Mr. Pearson's readers will probably be more convinced than they were before.

Having satisfied himself that within a century or two the Chinese, the Negroes, and the native populations of British India and Central America, will be driving back the European races and penning them within the lands of the temperate zone, it was natural that our author should go on to consider how the civilised nations, and the English in particular, would meet this new condition. We are thus led to a general survey of the tendencies now to be discerned in the habits and activities of the English race. To Mr. Pearson's eyes, all things are moving in the same direction—towards more general and equally diffused comfort, and towards flatness, dulness, vacuity. It seems to me very questionable whether the physical ease which our author expects to prevail is likely to be secured in conjunction with the other conditions which he supposes. He believes that State Socialism will make progress; that the whole population, acting through the State

as its effective organ, will have its mind set on providing for itself the necessities of life in sufficient abundance; and that it will succeed in its aim. This is perhaps a little too like the views of the sanguine State Socialists, who take for granted that the State, being all-powerful, can do what it pleases in the sphere of economics, and make every one comfortable. If England were to lose its trade and be shut in upon itself, it would have some hard times to go through in adjusting itself to these new circumstances. And an army maintained by conscription at a strength which would make it a match for any invaders, and kept in the highest state of military efficiency, would heavily tax the resources of the country. Can it be considered probable that these things would result in an "eternal calm" settling upon the land? The physical comfort of Mr. Pearson's forecast may be to many a welcome set-off against the dismal colours of the rest of his picture. But some of us would as lief, perhaps, see our country perishing in final convulsions, as descending towards a permanent level of well-fed animal life.

Again and again I find the suspicion recurring, that our author is not expressing his whole mind in this book. The general thesis which he develops is this—that all the changes of recent years are not only inevitable, but good and desirable, and that they all tend to degeneracy and decay. Over a wide range of subjects, with a rare wealth of illustration, and with pertinacious analysis, he sets himself to demonstrate this tendency. As it was impossible that any one could be so wise as Lord Thurlow looked, so we may say it is impossible for any serious thinker—much more for a man who has been a Minister of Education—to be so coldly cynical as Mr. Pearson might seem to be. To prophesy evils which cannot be guarded against, and to show that these are the results of good motives and right actions, with no purpose but to make the doers unhappy, seems too dismal a task for any one but an impossible cynic to undertake. And there are jets of heat—to be felt in an occasional fiery phrase like this, "*If the people of Athens had not been quickened by the inspiration of empire, if they had stooped to count heads or ships*"—which issue from no merely cynical nature. It is true, however, that the telling phrases which catch the reader's attention are apt to have a touch of cynicism about them. Their epigrammatic irony strikes one the more from their occurring in the course of an almost careless, though vigorous and scholarly, style of writing. The following are casual examples; "Charity occasionally blesses him, that gives, and habitually demoralises him who takes" (p. 206); "human nature has always shown itself impatient of conjugal restraints" (p. 236); such is the absolute decorum demanded in our day from a leading man, that "Nelson, Wellington, and Warren Hastings would scarcely be permitted now to save the Empire" (p. 202). But "the argument

of this book" is the matter to which the author would probably request the reader to confine his attention; and about the bearing of this there is no uncertainty.

The spirit which, as Mr. Pearson recognises, has been working in the characteristic opinions and habits and in the legislative reforms of this epoch is that of humanity, or consideration of the claims and happiness of all. Amongst "the liberal changes of the century" he specifies "religious tolerance, the mitigation of the penal laws, the recognition of the labourer's right to associate, the diffusion of education, the extension of the suffrage." These he describes as "acts of justice," "eminently defensible," and as, at the same time, unavoidable. And, on the whole, their tendency is towards State Socialism. Competition, the free struggle of individuals, is being superseded by the care of all for each. "The State appears to be the best expression of the wishes of the majority;" "each man identifies himself more and more with the needs and aspirations of his fellow-countrymen;" "what are now the governing classes will have to arrange reasonable compromises by which the condition of the poor is made endurable" (pp. 27, 28). Mr. Pearson has some acute remarks on Democracy, as a different thing from Socialism, but a form of government which in these days promotes Socialism: "Socialism gives an industrial programme: Democracy only gives the power of adopting a programme" (p. 110). Every month that has gone by since the author penned his forecast has made it more certain that we are moving, and shall continue to move—tentatively and by degrees, and in respectful disregard of many warnings—towards the carrying out of the industrial programme of State Socialism. It is possible that experience may say to us before long, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further. But everything seems to portend that we shall go a good deal beyond our present stage in the controlling of labour and trade by public authorities, and in the application of the wealth of the country to the promotion of the general wellbeing.

One of Mr. Pearson's most original views is his expectation that the religion of the future will be the worship of the State. He shows how, to the minds of the coming generations, beneficence and help and protection will be largely associated with the action of the civil power:

"The State watches over the infant life from birth; provides that the growing child is not stunted by excessive toil, is properly clothed and fed, and is so educated as to have a fair start in life; it assures the adult against starvation, protects him from foreign enemies, from tyrannical employers, and from the criminal classes that prey upon property; it secures him liberty of thought and faith; and it offers him the means of safe and easy insurance against illness and death. It is constantly endeavouring to extend the sphere of its beneficent energies. . . . Neither is it merely material

benefits with which a great country endows its citizens. The countrymen of Chatham and Wellington; of Washington and Lincoln, of Joan of Arc and Gambetta—in short, the citizens of every historic State—are richer by great deeds that have formed the national character, by winged words that have passed into current speech, by the example of lives and labours consecrated to the service of the Commonwealth. The religion of the State is surely as worthy of reverence as any creed of the Churches, and ought to grow in intensity year by year" (pp. 224, 225).

It will hardly be hypercritical if I note in this last sentence the confusedness which appears here and there in the book, and which probably indicates that the author had not an opportunity of revising it carefully. The intended meaning of the sentence presumably is, that the State is as worthy of religious reverence as any Divine Being named in the creeds of the Churches—as the Heavenly Father, for example, or the Lord Jesus Christ. Religion which grows in intensity must be the *feeling* of reverence or worship, not the *object* of worship; but it is the object of worship, and not the feeling, that is more or less worthy of reverence.

On a succeeding page the author says:

"The religion of the country [that is, the worship of the civil power] is likely to become a deeper and more serious feeling as the sphere of State-action increases, as the State shows itself more beneficent in its aims than a good king, more effectively moral than the Churches, and more comprehensive and human than king or Church, aristocratic caste, or guild of associated workmen" (pp. 227, 228).

That the morality of the State is superior to that of the Churches is one of the author's most emphatic allegations. His chief indictment against the Churches is that they have restrained individual liberty:

"Every Church is tempted to compromise with human frailty so long as its own supremacy is recognised. It often, almost habitually, prefers the immoral man, who gives it no trouble, to the moral man, who is always tinging his conscience, and doubting how far the Church system is adequate. To a considerable extent, accordingly, the Churches proscribe independence of speculation, and weaken the springs of character by relaxing the moral fibre" (p. 264).

When the Churches have sought to impose morality upon their members, they have failed:

"In the struggle to repress irrepressible human nature the Churches have always been worsted, and their defeats have necessarily been disgraceful. Even, however, if the Church ideal could be maintained, it would be at the cost of something better than the formal abstinence from evil—of human liberty. If we can conceive a generation that abstained from saying what it thought for fear of Church censures; that was sober, moral, and cleanly mouthed, not because it regarded vice as evil, but because it feared fine, imprisonment, or disgrace; that talked with the tongue of By-ends, while within was all uncleanness, we should have the picture of a society more hopelessly corrupt than the world has ever yet seen. The sons of such men would be born, suckled, and bred in lies; would inherit the lust of the flesh, the craven spirit, and the tortuous intellect. In vindicating for every man

the right to think mistakenly, to speak foolishly, and to live within limits riotously; the State has vindicated also the right to believe on conviction, to denounce error fearlessly, and to lead sweet and wholesome lives, untainted by Pharisaism, and not degraded by the reproach of a profitable conformity" (pp. 198, 199).

As I have before intimated, there seems to be unquestionable warmth, if rather doubtful reasonableness, in our author's polemic against "the Churches":

"While it is apparent that society has lost nothing by transferring the correctional functions of the old Churches in certain matters of religious and moral obligation to the secular law-giver, it is demonstrable that it has gained very much since the State has vindicated its supreme right to deal with such matters as pauperism, the right of labour, and popular education. All these are issues in which the Church has failed from having a low ideal, as well as from inherent ineffectiveness" (p. 205).

As regards education, for example, "the clergy in every country demand the control of the schools; and, while they are willing to teach the elements of knowledge, desire above all to send out the scholars entrusted to them saturated with a superficial and gross theology" (p. 214). But these clerical desires and demands are in vain. Moral authority, as well as the fascination of promise, has passed from the Church to the State. Christianity is now seen to be "grotesque and incredible" (p. 344), as well as injurious to morality; and men in general will transfer their faith and worship to the secular power.

Together with the gross theology with which the clergy are endeavouring in vain to saturate the recalcitrant laity, a "religion of the family," according to our author, is also passing away, to be similarly lost in the apotheosis of the State. With regard to the family, I must again observe that it is difficult to make out Mr. Pearson's real feeling. The basis of the family—that which made it what it has been till now—he describes as a barbarous absolutism exercised by the husband and father and master. The man claimed to do what he liked with his wife and children, and if he behaved brutally, "the Church" made no objection:

"As late as the thirteenth century, the Church courts in England ruled that a husband could transfer his wife to another man for a period determinable at the recipient's pleasure" (p. 230). "The right of the parent to leave his child uneducated, or to put it to sordid or excessive toil during the years of growth, has only been encroached upon in quite recent times" (p. 231).

We are reminded that the main purpose of marriage was, according to the old idea, the continuance of the family. Now,

"the primitive marriage of suitability, the marriage which aimed first at constituting the conditions for a new family, and which only regarded inclination in the second place, is being superseded everywhere by marriages that are supposed to be based upon love, and only not disallowed by the judgment" (p. 240). "The feeling is apt to be less tender to the children, who were not the first thought in marriage, but only an inevitable incident,

so to speak, than is the case in countries where the perpetuation of a family, the constitution of a home, have been the first thought. . . . It will be very marvellous if the present cordial relations of parents and children in France survive marriages of inclination and their correlative, the law making marriage dissoluble" (pp. 246, 247). "In proportion as the family bonds are weakened, as the tie uniting husband and wife is more and more capricious, as the relations of the children to the parent become more and more temporary, will the religion of household life gradually disappear" (p. 255).

Mr. Pearson approves, as I have said, of the changes which he notes. He declares himself positively to be in sympathy with the humanity which has demanded the changes. Yet he unshrinkingly points out what the world loses by them, and the decay which they are bringing on society. Here is one of the most serious passages in the book :

"The Puritan condition of family life is dead, and cannot be revived. The results of that iron drill were obtained at a cost which none who passed through it can forget, or would submit to again, or could endure to see inflicted upon their children. The mother who almost doubted if it were not sin to love the babe that smiled up in her face ; the children who spoke with bated breath and were trained to orderly composure on Sundays ; the belief of young and old that they lived in a world whose amusements and thoughts were irreverent and grotesque by the side of life with its awful duties, even as laughter above a deathbed would be ; the conception of marriage as indissoluble ; the recoil from libertinage of thought or of moral tone as from shame and death, are all parts of a system that could only be maintained while the New Testament was believed in as something more than the best possible moral code—as the actual word of God. Instead of this we have got a new family life, which is infinitely genial, charming, and natural ; which gives free vent to the feelings, and cares liberally for culture and advancement in life. Only the sense of obligation, of duty to God, of living forward into eternity, has disappeared" (pp. 275-6).

The general result of the great changes upon which he dwells—of the retreat of the higher before the lower races, of State Socialism, of the rejection of theology, of the transformation of family life—must be, our author argues, a decline of individual energy, of force of character, of productive life, in the European nations. The decline has already begun, and has but to go on. To many of Mr. Pearson's criticisms there seems to be no possible answer but assent. But we learn from an early paragraph how determined he is to prove his case. "Perhaps one of the best instances of the decadence of English energy is in the imperfect welcome accorded to mechanical invention" (p. 101). The reader's curiosity is stimulated by this statement, with its singular phrase "imperfect welcome." After a reference to the famous English inventors, it is admitted "that England still contributes the larger half of the world's inventive fertility ;" but then, "England no longer gets or deserves the credit for it." What, we ask, can this mean ? It means that—

"Many of the best patents, such as the steam-plough, the sewing-machine, and the electric telegraph had to cross back to England from America before they could obtain recognition. Even Nasmyth's steam hammer was employed in Creuzot before the foundries of his own country adopted it.

The English inventor is still more than the equal of his rivals ; more fertile in expedients than the German, and more patient than the American. Where he fails is when he carries his work to market " (p. 102).

If our manufacturers are really so much slower than their predecessors in taking advantage of new inventions, their backwardness is not very apparent to the ordinary observer ; and we are hardly led to expect the less striking instances of the decadence of English energy to be very conclusive. But as regards literature, there is no gainsaying the indictment that all the higher branches of it are showing at this moment a lack of original and vigorous genius. In poetry, including the drama, in prose fiction, in philosophy, in theology, we have nothing of the highest quality appearing or promising to appear. But are we not rather in a hurry in despairing ? Browning and Tennyson have only just left us. Herbert Spencer still lives, in a green and not unproductive old age ; and if there is a growing impression, even amongst those who have been inclined to look to him for guidance, that he has not solved all the problems of existence, he cannot fail to rank amongst the master minds of philosophy. Mr. Pearson argues, indeed, that the materials of poetry have been exhausted :

" It appears possible to imagine a not very distant time when the student will recoil from every new variation in worse verse of the old themes, as a lover of music closes his ear against familiar melodies ground out on a barrel-organ, and when men gifted with the power to feel and write will be paralysed, if they attempt earnest work, by the recollection that almost this exact thing has been done before, and has passed into household words or speech " (p. 301).

But is it not also possible to imagine that the same thing might have been said towards the close of the last century ? Science itself is not too dominant or sacred to have its future questioned by our critical *advocatus diaboli*. Amongst competent students in general a sanguine expectation prevails as to the further interesting discoveries to which those of recent years may be leading. But Mr. Pearson refuses to be drawn into any kind of hope :

" It is surely not unreasonable to surmise that there are limitations in the nature of the universe which must circumscribe the achievements of speculative research. Every astronomer knows that there was only one secret of the universe to be discovered, and that when Newton told it to the world the supreme triumph of astronomy was achieved. Whether Darwin, or some one else, shall have disclosed the other great mystery of the generation of life, it is none the less certain that all future triumphs will be insignificant by the side of the first luminous hypothesis " (p. 291).

In this last sentence I hardly think the author can have made his meaning intelligible. But he is confident that nothing of primary importance remains to be found out :

" Then, again, not only is science ceasing to be a prophet, but in virtue of her very triumphs, precisely because her thoughts are passing into the life-blood of the world, is she losing visible influence as a liberal education. It is coming to be matter of history that she has taught us to substitute law

for caprice in our conceptions of the divine will; that she has relegated the belief in secondary causes, and the belief in arbitrary interpositions of the First Cause, to the lumber-room of fable; that she has given us a broader and intenser view of nature, while she has left us the fairyland of the world's childhood for an appreciable treasure. Other harvests have now been gathered in. The prophet and leader is rapidly becoming a handmaid. Her possibilities can be pretty accurately summed up or forecast in a cyclopædia; and having delivered herself of her one imperishable protest against popular theology, she has no other great moral truth to declare" (pp. 291, 292).

Thus does our able and determined author write *ICHABOD* over all the achievements of the higher civilisation of the world. He sees all these achievements, noting especially the social changes in which our generation is chiefly interested, and behold, they are very good. We could not wish them to have been otherwise; manifest destiny decreed that they should not be otherwise. But these good and necessary changes are bringing on with appalling rapidity an equilibrium of stagnation: the paths of glory lead but to the grave.

In the passage just quoted the reader will be aware of that angry tone towards religious beliefs to which I have referred as indicating more of personal feeling than the author otherwise allows to appear. But in this rejecting of theology, if science and morality have triumphed, the world is admitted to have lost vital force:

"It is conceivable that our later world may find itself deprived of all that it valued on earth, of the pageantry of subject provinces and the reality of commerce, while it has neither a disinterred literature to amuse it [as in the Renaissance], nor a vitalised religion to give it spiritual strength." (p. 131).

"It seems reasonable to assume that the world will be left without deep convictions or enthusiasm, without the regenerating influence of the ardour for political reform and the fervour of pious faith, which have quickened men for centuries past, as nothing else has quickened them, with a passion purifying the soul." (pp. 336, 337).

Our author evidently does not know how to adjust his attitude towards religious faith: he can neither live with it nor without it; he spurns its creed as grotesque; he finds its austerity intolerable; but yet—to be without "the sense of obligation, of duty to God, of living forward into eternity," is to have lost spiritual strength, a supreme quickening and purifying fervour. In one passage that I have quoted he speaks with vehemence of the rule of the Church as making men whited sepulchres, and of the happiness of having this superseded by the freedom "to live riotously within limits" given by the secular authority. But in other places he assumes that the law and opinion of the secular authority will force upon men increased outward decorum:

"It can scarcely be doubted that civilisation is at present the winning force, and that while its admirable police will impose a stricter morality everywhere, the scientific spirit which it fosters will dissipate the larger part of traditional religion" (p. 273).



Will men, in the etiolated condition to which they are to be reduced, have lost desire and vanity and perverseness, and all the causes of disorder and immorality, as well as the hopes and interests which have hitherto kept morality alive? Our author can hardly think so, for he observes in one place that the non-religious man of the future "will clutch with a fierce avidity at power or wealth, or at the pleasures which are purchased by the provision of power and wealth" (p. 276).

Perhaps the chief value of this remorseless book is that it brings us face to face with a world to which a God is unknown. The author allows everything to secular morality that its admirers can claim for it, but assumes it to have denied God; and then he exclaims, See how weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable all the uses of your world have become! I have mentioned that in one part of the book he develops the thesis that, in the worship of the State, a new religion may grow up to take the place of the older reverences and obligations. But he does not afterwards make much of this. The truth is, that reverence for the State is not possible, unless there is a Divine Power behind and above it. If men see clearly that the State is only themselves, they will not worship it. It is the same with Humanity. It was Quetelet, if I remember right, who, when it was proposed to him that he should worship Humanity, replied, "Worship Humanity? No, thank you; I know the creature too well." We can reverence Humanity, the Church, the State, parents, the family, if we regard them as ordained of God, but not in themselves without God. The old reverence for the family was bound up, as Mr. Pearson mentions, with the worship of the family gods. Patriotism has always had in view more or less consciously the country's gods. When there is a reverence for Humanity, deeper and humbler than philanthropy, it is really evoked, not by the concrete mass of men and women, but by an ideal, by a Divine Nature and Providence manifesting itself in mankind and its history. But to men to whom the visible is all and the grave an end, how is any thing or person or institution to acquire sacredness? And without sacredness we have such a world, perhaps, as that which Mr. Pearson describes—a world on which death and corruption have set their mark.

According to "the argument of this book," belief in a living God is doomed. Before acquiescing in this assumption, there are a good many of us that will know the reason why. It was not in this century or the last that "Christianity began to appear grotesque and incredible." Porcius Festus, in A.D. 60, represented a world of men to whom the original Christianity had just that appearance. We are perfectly aware that we are passing through a time of great spiritual perplexity, a time when the heavens are shaken even more than the

earth. We do not shut our eyes to the crumbling of the foundations upon which our fathers allowed their faith to rest—the two, mainly, of the authority of the Bible and the authority of the Church. And we may surely add to these, as failing to give us dictation which we can accept without reserve, the authority of reason; for the human reason is convicted of a perfectly bewildering incapacity. One defect after another which Divine Providence (for to us it is nothing less sacred), working through historical criticism, discloses in the structure and contents of our sacred books, makes it evident that we cannot continue to build our faith upon the Bible. If perplexed inquirers are referred to the Church, and they ask, Where is it? no one can tell them where it is, or through what organ its voice is to be heard—no one but the Romanist, who has the satisfaction of seeing his Church distinctly enough in the person of the Pope. And here is Mr. Pearson telling us—though he is not the first to make the discovery—that the morality of the State, its interpretation of human duty, has proved itself superior to the morality of the Church. That is, no doubt, a trying and awakening discovery to those who have loved and honoured the Church, but there is nothing in it that need utterly discomfit us. Is God the God of the Church only?—is He not the God of the State also? Yea, of the State also, if so be that God is one. Often has the religious authority shown itself less careful of justice, sometimes even of humanity, than the State. And we are thus warned that the Church, whose office it is to learn as well as to teach, has no commission to be the exclusive or the infallible teacher of mankind. The living God has not resigned his own prerogative as the universal Teacher into the keeping of any earthly authority. When the Church puts itself in the place of God, it is sure to go wrong and to be humiliated. But because the Church, however wanting in faithfulness, cannot help bearing witness to the Christ of the New Testament and to the Father revealed in Him, it has the power—a power unknown to the State as a mere expression of the will of the majority or of the strongest—of awakening and feeding the noblest and most vital and fruitful instincts of human nature—the trust, the hope, the love, the self-surrender, which are the true life of the world.

If we who retain our belief in the God of our fathers try to run before time, and to imagine what is to be, our first feeling will be that it is only with extreme diffidence that we can form any expectations. It has become a proverb, that it is always the unexpected that happens. But that the pursuit of what is just and humane will injure the higher interest of mankind, and accelerate the decline of the civilised world, we shall emphatically refuse to believe. Timid members of society have long been threatening us with the subversive tendencies of Democracy and Liberalism, and for some time they made

Socialism a name of horror to the respectable classes ; but the changes that have been promoted by the feeling for justice and humanity have up to this moment amply commended themselves to the moderately well-informed and intelligent, and the most Conservative are now almost ashamed to continue the old predictions of revolution and ruin. No one openly expresses a wish that we should go back and undo the democratic changes of recent times. We may concede to Mr. Pearson that in these days the world-movements are so large and sweeping that we can but slightly control or modify them. We can only go on in faith, careful and resolute that the steps we have consciously to take shall be in the right direction. And we may deny that, so far as we can see, the future threatens to make our faith foolish any more than the past has done.

It is true that at this time, by what we do and what we refrain from doing, we may be said to be nursing the prolific inferior races into power. That means, according to Mr. Pearson, that our trade will be wrested from us and our emigration reserves closed to our surplus population. We may prefer to dwell upon the immense increase of the volume of the world's trade which the expansion of the inferior races seems to promise, and on the probability that openings may present themselves which we cannot count upon foreseeing. And I have intimated that, according to all historical precedent, there will be no great developments in the less civilised parts of the world without exciting and destructive wars. Mr. Pearson predicts conditions which cannot fail to issue in war, but does not predict war. Thus he puts the European nations in a position of unstable equilibrium as regards mutual conflict, and assumes that they will not topple over. Each nation is to have a universal conscription and a strong military executive ; but the population is to go on within each country feeding itself in animal comfort, shut out from all excitements, and in respect of the nobler interests and aspirations becoming more and more anæmic. This is surely in a high degree improbable. Collisions of a shattering kind would hardly be avoidable. But it is open to us, if we like to speculate on Mr. Pearson's lines, to imagine the States of Europe forming a federation, in the face of the new Asia and Africa, in which there should be real coercive control exercised by the whole body over single members, and which should therefore be able to keep the peace between them all. Nothing but grave danger and the palpable interest of all would make such control possible ; and most of us will be unable to foresee any necessities strong enough to drive the European countries into federation. But this may take its place amongst the schemes on which the imagination may exercise itself. It is somewhat surprising, by the way, that Mr. Pearson has not given a prominent place to Australia, or even to North America, in his forecast.

The characteristic sentiment of our time, especially amongst the most religious Christians, includes an extreme shrinking from war. It is highly important that on this question we should "clear our minds of cant," and endeavour to discriminate between the kind of action which Christianity binds upon sincere uncompromising Christians, and that which is the indulgence of sentimental weakness. It is clearly wrong to bring on war, with its inevitable evils, to gratify selfish vanity, or greed, or ambition. But for high objects which appear to be committed to our keeping, it is right for Christians to go to war, and wrong to be deterred by its costliness or its horrors. For such objects, the more Christian we are, the more willingly ought we to prepare ourselves for war, and the more resolutely to go into it when it is forced upon us. It is an essentially Christian estimate, that the shortening by a few years of millions on millions of human lives—lives which are so often of little spiritual worth!—is an inconsiderable loss, compared with the loss of anything high and noble from amongst the spiritual possessions of the world. It has been an instinctive conviction of almost all good men, that national existence is an object for the sake of which any number of lives may rightly be given and taken, any quantity of sorrow inflicted on families. Wounds, deaths, griefs—these are not to deter Christians from doing their utmost to preserve a trust which God has committed to them. Contact with war, even through descriptions, may do something to brace spiritual resolution. The reader of such a book as "*La Débâcle*" may say to himself, "This is too dreadful! Let us submit to any indignity or oppression rather than be responsible for such horrors!" But the Christian will rather say, "In these scenes, and any still more appalling than these, we have a witness to the preciousness of ideal treasures." To fight for the existence and the honour of our country is the way to gain a higher conception of the trust committed to the children of a nation. In this age, more than ever, and for Englishmen more than for the citizens of any other country, it should be a sovereign aspiration that we may help to make the country for which we are ready to die and to kill increasingly worthy of its destiny, a better instrument in the hands of the Ruler of mankind. Christianity imposes upon those who govern the British Empire the obligation of caring little about lives or feelings compared with the security of the Empire and its power to do its appointed work in the world. Mr. Pearson's book is a call to us to prove that to be good is not to be weak; that we know it to be our Christian duty to guard by strenuous effort, and by any required amount of suffering, the priceless inheritance which has been entrusted to us.

## THE POPE AND FATHER BRANDI.

### A REPLY. .

SEVERAL years ago, when I was still an enthusiastic young student of poetry and painting, a playful friend of mine once asked me whether I knew Claude Lorraine's painting representing Ulysses delivering up Briseis to her father. On my confessing that it had escaped my notice, he exclaimed, "Well, if you are desirous of seeing a rare example of the admirable perfection with which modern French art interprets that of ancient Greece, a rich æsthetic treat is in store for you;" whereupon I visited the Louvre, prepared to admire and enjoy. Taking my stand before the picture, my astonishment was indeed boundless, and, had my friend been near me at the time, I fancy I should have given vent to it in terms characterised by truth and lucidity rather than courtliness or elegance. A Mediterranean seaport, with the "darkly, deeply, beautifully blue sky" bending over it; one ship majestically sailing out to sea; another anchoring in the harbour, little boats shooting hither and thither; to the right a palace; to the left other palaces and statues; the beach washed by cool-looking translucent waves—all this and much more were made beautifully visible by the magical brush of the artist; but the hero and heroine seemed to have been entirely left out. Far away in the background I could, it is true, discern several dots, dashes, and smudges which to a lively imagination might stand for them, for anything, or for everything. It was evident that the painter, who had not spent a moment's thought upon Achilles or Briseis, had had a laugh at the expense of his public when he was giving his picture a name; and it was equally obvious that my friend had played a trick upon me.\*

\* A joke which, I am informed, is not uncommon in some academical circles in Paris.

A somewhat similar joke would seem to have been perpetrated by the Rev. Father Brandi, S.J., on the readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, for whose benefit he lately published a paper purporting to be a reply to my article, entitled, "The Pope and the Bible." I mean a joke similar to that devised by my friend the Parisian student; for reverence for the sacerdotal character of my adversary forbids me to carry irony so far as to suggest a parallel between him and Claude Lorraine, though creative invention is certainly common to them both. The Jesuit Father's rejoinder contains remarks on all manner of subjects: forgery, plagiarism, Freemasonry, the children of St. Patrick, and—nay, even upon the "medieval customs of the descendants of Cain in the regions of the moon" (p. 664); but on the main points in dispute, he has allowed judgment to go by default.

And yet they are matters of life and death to all Catholics. Let me remind the readers briefly of the issues involved. It is human to err; and every Christian Church has erred at some period of its history. But deliberately to conspire to propagate error, laboriously to weave a net of scholastic threads wherein to entangle the mind of every Christian who would fain call himself Catholic, is very much more, or very much less, than human. And even such a plot as this would be venial, compared with the actual charges which have been brought home against the so-called "teaching Church." Scholastic quibbles and theses evolved from the inner consciousness of uneducated men are to be authoritatively imposed upon the "crowd of the faithful" as unerring and obligatory; even though they give the lie to the Bible, which is admittedly infallible; and yet, should they prove to be gross and avoidable errors, they are not to compromise the Church in any way. Probably no more degrading thralldom has ever yet been recorded in history or imagined in fiction since the human race appeared upon this globe.

I pointed out the existence and described the mechanism of this fallibly-infallible agency in my article published in the April issue of this REVIEW. I explained its twofold object: to defend the impregnable rock of the Church against the "ridiculous" attacks of Biblical criticism on the one hand, and to compel Catholics throughout the world to unite and restore, *at all costs*, the temporal power of the Pope, on the other; and I besought his Holiness in the name of a large section of intelligent Catholics—prelates, priests, and scholars—to banish the serpent Nithhügg now gnawing at the root of the seemingly flourishing tree Yggdrasil, and to restore peace to the minds of countless of his devoted children. And when it was announced in the newspapers that his Holiness's champion—a member of the Society of Jesus—was about to reply, there was an expectant hush among Catholics all over the world. But it was a case of *parturiunt montes*, for he only remarked that on these all-important subjects "I will not say

one word." For this extraordinary attitude the reverend gentleman gives two reasons, which an Englishman has only to read in order to appreciate at their real value: "First, because Biblical criticism has nothing to do with the present controversy (!)"; and secondly, "because I have no desire of affording the author an opportunity of treating the readers of the CONTEMPORARY, by way of a reply to my censures upon his numerous critico-Biblical errors, to another production akin to those which he has already achieved as *interesting*\* and pertinent to the point in question as would be a dissertation upon the transcendental constitution of the Republic of Utopia, or an elaborate sketch of the mediæval customs of the descendants of Cain in the regions of the moon" (p. 664). As if my writing or not writing were contingent upon Rev. Father Brandi's movements!

Now I put it to honest, plain-speaking men and women, of whatever race or religion, is it in this tone that they desire to see spiritual matters of the highest import treated by the appointed teachers of mankind, by professed brethren of Jesus? Is a thin, dry sneer or a lame excuse to inspire us with trust in the manufactured infallibility of a "teaching Church" that finds no better—nay, no other—reply to the racking doubts and torturing misgivings of sincere and earnest souls than a doubtful joke?

It is a somewhat curious "coincidence" that I should have predicted this strange attitude of Rev. Father Brandi, S.J., long before his article appeared, and that learned and pious Catholic ecclesiastics should also have written, that to my indictment there would be—nay, could be—no defence, and that judgment would be allowed to go by default.† Father Brandi, S.J., observes on another page, as if he really thought the supposition preposterous, that I "must have thought that the works and opinions of Wellhausen and of other German and English critics were familiar only to the few adepts of 'the new school,' and, of course, entirely unknown to Roman writers, who constitute what he irreverently calls 'the opaque theological body'" (p. 681). I regret to have to confess that I did think this, for I stated it in my article most emphatically, and adduced weighty facts in support of it; and numbers of prelates, priests, and lay scholars think exactly the same thing. But lest this should not seem convincing enough, I will add that the Jesuit Fathers themselves are precisely of our way of thinking, for *they themselves told me so*. Some professors of that pious and learned order, occupying the highest positions which Catholic scholars can attain in Europe or the world, assured me that they are wont to refute, without having ever read, the writings of Rationalist critics. "I never read any such books," said a very celebrated Jesuit professor of Scriptures, some time ago. "But you have refuted them," it was objected to him; "how

\* The italics are mine.

† The Editor of this REVIEW has seen some of these letters."

then could you——” “Oh,” he replied, “I got my knowledge of them from Catholic apologists, who, perhaps, had read and studied them.” Another confessed; “I once tried to read Wellhausen, but I gave it up. My conscience would not allow me to read such blasphemies.”\* And these are the Infallibles; the doctors of the “teaching Church” whose word is to be received as gospel truth.

I regret that in his eagerness to divert attention from the grave issues between us, Father Brandi, S.J., should have thought fit to attack me, and to make assertions respecting me which he must have known were absolutely groundless. I do not allude to the graver charges; he himself shows that he does not believe in them. And when, having composed several pages of his own lucubrations, attributed them to me, put them in inverted commas, and given the pages of my remarks, whence he alleges them to have been extracted, he affirms that looking into my article he sees forger and liar there, it is obvious that he is face to face with a personal reflection. I speak of lighter things. He complains, for instance, that I used a German translation of his pamphlet, well knowing that it is the authorised version in Austria and Germany. I should like, however, to say that *I received it from a Jesuit*.

When Rev. Father Brandi suggests that I belong to Dr. Döllinger's school, I feel called upon to protest. That, if true, would weaken all my arguments; but it is *not* true. I more than once told Dr. Döllinger that to my seeming he had made an irremediable mistake when he organised the Old Catholic movement. I repeated this in still more emphatic tones a few years later to the learned Anglican divine who now occupies the See of Lincoln. Events have shown that I was right then; and I fear they will soon prove that I am equally right now in predicting the incalculable importance of the movement now going on within the Catholic Church, which his Holiness has not yet had time to study, and at which his Holiness's spokesman solemnly sneers. The present current of neo-Catholic thought has a spiritualising tendency. It refuses to aid in turning religion into a clock-work mechanism, by means of which, if you put a penny in the slot and open the drawer underneath, you receive a binding declaration of an infallible truth and an absolute condemnation of a pernicious error. We must idealise, as far as possible, our religious dogmas, and strenuously avoid Papolatry, towards which we are rapidly drifting. It is a mere accident that our present Holy Father is a man of upright intention and clean living. Alexander Borgia was not a whit less infallible than Leo XIII.; and Leo XIII. is not one inch nearer to

\* \* Should this be called in question, I undertake to prove this, and a state of things very much worse than this, before a select committee of English-speaking men of standing, who will bind themselves to keep all names secret, and to publish only a verdict of proven or not proven. There are many Counts Hœnsbroeck in the Society of Jesus.



impeccability than Alexander Borgia. And yet our "teaching Church" has already laid the foundation of the doctrine of impeccability, which, to use F. Brandi's expression about the temporal power, "is necessary not absolutely, but in the present times—not *quoad esse*, but *quoad bene esse*" (p. 672). The Abbé Duchesne, who is a member of the Institute of France and Professor of Church History in Paris, writes of French ecclesiastical seminaries, that "the theological direction is in the hands of persons too much swayed by the suggestions of sentiment, not to say the gusts of passion. We have a seminary," he goes on to remark, "in which the doctrine of the impeccability of the Pope is currently taught. Nobody dares to raise his voice against this absurd doctrine. . . . This fact is a sign."\*

It certainly is, and a very eloquent sign, to say the least of it, and I may add, it is only one of a multitude of such alarming signs.

"Prisoner," asked the judge of a man who had been convicted on a number of very serious charges, "have you anything to say, before I proceed to pass sentence?" "Yes, my lord, I have to request the court to institute an inquiry into the mental condition of the prosecuting attorney." This, or something closely akin to this, is Rev. Father Brandi's line of defence. But if the charges have been brought home to the "teaching Church," it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the public accuser himself were even corrupt enough to treat the abominable crimes of an Alexander Borgia as "a somewhat worldly way of life."<sup>†</sup> But I am ready and able to clear up all the learned and pious gentleman's doubts, hesitation, and pain. He candidly expresses "surprise and sorrow" at my silence on the charge of plagiarism. He had shown in his pamphlet that Professor Geffcken's article and mine contained lines, sentences, and paragraphs absolutely identical, and he is pained that I should have made no sign, as this "charge" "more than any other" (even than forgery?) involves my reputation as an honest writer (p. 680). I took no notice of this absurd insinuation because it had nothing to do with the question at issue, and because if it had, the Rev. F. Brandi, S.J., had already replied to it for me himself, when he said in his pamphlet,‡ that whereas my article had appeared in London on the 1st of October, Professor Geffcken's pamphlets were published in Paris on the 16th of the same month. I could not, therefore, have plagiarised the writings of the German professor without a useless miracle. I declare emphatically, however, that I never read or saw Professor Geffcken's pamphlet, neither in October nor at any time before or after, and that I know nothing of

\* Extract from a letter of M. L'Abbé Duchesne. (Ÿ) "Giudizi sovra i Criteri teologici del Can. Salv. di Bartolo." Torino, 1891.

† This expression is frequently used by certain Church historians of Rome, among others by the Jesuit Father Grisar.

‡ P. 29 of the German edition, given to me by pious Jesuits. On page 52 of the same pamphlet F. Brandi acts on the hypothesis that Professor Geffcken is the plagiarist.

it except what his Reverence, Father Brandi, S.J., has incorporated in his pamphlet; further, that although I have often heard praised the custom of the Society of Jesus to allow the work of many pens to appear under the name of a single member, I have never yet seen my way to adopt it. It runs counter to my ethical views, for I am not as yet a probabilist. A few days after my article had appeared, the editor of this REVIEW forwarded to me the request of a highly respected personage to allow it to be translated into French, and published with such alterations and additions as might seem suitable. And I willingly gave the authorisation. I trust that this complete explanation will soothe the scrupulous soul of my antagonist.

This done I feel I have a right to make one or two remarks upon the Rev. Father Brandi's methods of controversy, leaving to others the task of qualifying them. I affirmed, and still affirm, that the Vatican made an insidious attempt to induce the Austrian Government to declare that the Kaiser's right to nominate a Patriarch in Venice had belonged to him as a private individual, not as a monarch—the object being to refuse this right to the King of Italy and embroil the Governments of the two countries. To this Rev. Father Brandi replies: "The fact is that no such *formal*\* request was ever made by the Vatican." Certainly not; I never mentioned a *formal* request. This reminds me of a simple-minded servant-girl in Austria who could not bring herself to tell visitors that her mistress was out if this was not actually the fact. She opened her mind to a Probabilist Father of the Society of Jesus, who smoothed over the difficulty by ordaining: "Whenever a visitor asks the question, do you put your hand upon your hip and say, 'she is not *here*,' meaning on your hip."

In like manner the Rev. Father Brandi corrects me for affirming that all Catholics are obliged to believe in the necessity of the temporal power. He denies this proposition himself, in fact, and gives as a reason that "for many centuries the Pope was deprived of it."† Catholics may think as they like, then, upon this matter? By no means. On the contrary, "it is a question concerning which Catholics are *not free* to entertain different opinions,"‡ for temporal power is necessary, "*not quoad esse but quoad bene esse*." In plain English, we have to believe it whether we relish it or not, but, at the same time, we can give the lie to those who say that we must believe it. Fortunately there are some fewer things in heaven, if not on earth, than are dreamed of in that queer philosophy§ which has again come into vogue since our present Holy Father donned the tiara.

\* The italics are mine.

† Cf. 672.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ I pass over in silence Rev. Father Brandi's unostentatious recantation of his optimistic view of Russian persecution. He had called my account exaggerated because, as he fancied, taken from lying Polish papers. I sent his pamphlet to the papers in question and the most clerical of them all, the *Czar*, published a series of articles in reply, corroborating all I had said. "You will see," said an influential Pole to me, "we shall compel the reverend Jesuit to eat his words." And they have done so.

Take another instance which possesses especial interest for English people. When Irish bishops swear solemnly that they and their flocks owe only spiritual obedience to the Pope, what, in plain English, does that mean? Is it not that his Holiness has no right to interfere in political matters in any shape or form? To ordinary mortals, and certainly to an English court of justice, such would be the import of the affirmation. Rev. Father Brandi, however, gives it a wholly different interpretation. "The only thing refused," he says, "by the Irish Catholics to the Pope of Rome, *as temporal ruler of the Pontifical States, and to any other prince or foreign power*, is interference or superiority, in the temporal or civil affairs of their kingdom." In other words, they promise that if the Pope meddles in political matters, *in his capacity of sovereign of the Pontifical States*, they will not listen to him. "As for the rest, they declare themselves obliged by their religion to be faithful, subject, and obedient to the visible Head of the Church *in all things* that he, in virtue of his Apostolic authority declares, defines, or commands" (p. 679). Are commentaries needed on the ethical trend of this doctrine of the "teaching Church?"

One more instance, and I have done with Rev. Father Brandi, S.J.—for a time. He makes merry over my assertion that there are no Freemason's lodges in Austria proper, and names four benevolent societies, known as *Zukunft*, *Socrates*, *Humanitas*, and *Lessing*, which exist in Vienna, and are in reality, he alleges, Masonic lodges. The person who makes this assertion, be it remembered, is not an Austrian, but an Italian Jesuit living in Rome, and presumably not speaking from personal experience. I, too, have no personal experience in the matter, but I have at least gone to Vienna and Budapest to make inquiries, with the following results: The *Vereins Department* of the Ministry of the Interior, at Vienna, authorises me to state most positively that there are no Masonic lodges in Austria proper, and have not been any during the period named by Rev. F. Brandi (1875–1893). I next made inquiries at the Head Police Office, in the *Vereins Bureau*, when I received the same information, varied by the details that there are numerous societies known as *Humanitas* and *Zukunft*, but not one Masonic lodge among them. Fearing that this evidence, coming from a strictly Catholic government, might not satisfy my opponent, I called on all the gentlemen who had occupied the post of Grand Master of the Hungarian Order of Freemasons since 1875. They are three in all: Fr. Pulszky, the illustrious Hungarian patriot, whose name was once as well known in Europe as that of Kossuth himself, and who was Grand Master from 1869 till 1886; his Excellency Stephen Rakovsky, President of the Court of Audits, who was at the head of Hungarian Freemasonry from 1886 till

two months ago; and his Excellency Privy Councillor Ivanka, member of the House of Peers, who is Grand Master to-day.

Their declarations are as follow:

"I was Grand Master from 1869 till 1886. No Mason could be initiated, or promoted, and no lodge founded or opened upon Austrian soil without a special authorisation from me. This I never granted, because Hungarian, like English, Freemasonry, makes it a rule never to open lodges, or to initiate brethren in a country the laws of which are hostile to the craft. Once and once only, during my long tenure of office, I was requested to dispense with the observance of this fundamental rule, and to allow a gentleman to be initiated in Austria. I refused. I empower you to publish this statement, and to declare emphatically that from 1869 down to 1886 there was not a single Masonic lodge in Austria proper.—FRANZ PULSZKY."

His Excellency Stephen Rakovsky confirmed this declaration, and extended it from 1886 to the present year:

"I became Grand Master immediately after the resignation of my illustrious Countryman, Fr. Pulszky; and I held that office until about two months ago. I authorise you to state that during all that time not a single Masonic lodge existed in Austria proper, and no one was initiated or promoted there.—ST. RAKOVSKY."

Privy Councillor Ivanka's evidence is to the same effect:

"I have been Grand Master for about two months. I succeeded his Excellency M. Rakovsky. Masonic lodges in Austria, if any existed, would necessarily be known to me. There are none, and you are free to make any use you wish of this my declaration.—Privy Councillor IVANKA, Member of the Hungarian House of Peers."

On the one hand, then, we have the statement of an Italian clergyman living in Rome who lays claim to a knowledge of facts in Austria, which, as he is a Catholic and a Jesuit, cannot possibly come within his personal experience; and, on the other hand, we find that the assertions of this gentleman, of whose truthfulness I should be sorry to say anything harsh, are flatly contradicted by two different sections of the Austrian Ministry, and more emphatically still by three gentlemen of the highest position and reputation who *must* know the truth and whose word is deservedly accepted as a bond throughout the empire. Is doubt possible?

In conclusion I should like to offer a few remarks on a statement of mine which aroused a widespread and painful interest in all Catholic countries, but more especially among our co-religionists in America, viz., that the Hungarian Church having frankly accepted mixed marriages and allowed the religion of the children to be determined by the principle *sexus sexum sequitur*, the hostile attitude of the Holy See towards the Hungarian Government was merely the result of the foreign policy of the Pope. If in this I have been mistaken I shall withdraw the statement and apologise for having made it. But as I have just tra-

velled over a thousand miles for the sole purpose of seeking for further facts calculated to corroborate or weaken the thesis, I feel bound to give a summary of the results, which are based *directly* upon official documents. The Hungarian law of 1868 on mixed marriages and the religion of the children, now denounced as irreligious, was accepted by the Catholic Episcopacy of Hungary, the Archbishop and Primate at their head, and scrupulously carried out by the clergy. Numerous letters are now in the State archives at Budapest which were written by the bishops to their clergy, urging them to obey the law and to take active measures to contribute to the baptizing by non-Catholic clergymen of children one of whose parents was a Catholic. The Minister of Justice, Count Csaky, has read some extracts from these letters to the House of Parliament in Budapest; and he allows it to be stated that there are *more than thirty* such letters at present in the archives of the ministry. Nay, more than that, he makes no secret of the circumstance that he possesses letters written by the bishops at the request of their clergy, *petitioning the Government to insist upon the strict observance of that law*. Now that, I submit, is a startling fact.

This curious state of things went on without interruption from the year 1868 to 1890, when his Holiness the Pope, convinced that the Triple Alliance effectually blocked the way to the temporal power, and that Austria-Hungary was the most vulnerable of the three allies, suddenly awoke to the fact that the Hungarian Government was enforcing an intolerant and intolerable law which no good Catholic could even excuse, much less observe. Now a plain unscholastic man or woman, who cares nothing for the quibbles of the schools, naturally asks: if this law be indeed so un-Catholic and irreligious, how comes it that for twenty-two long years it was observed and upheld by the Hungarian Episcopacy and clergy and at least connived at by the Vatican? For no Catholic will readily confess that the Holy See was utterly ignorant of what the Church of Hungary was doing and leaving undone for twenty-two years, in an age of newspapers and telegraphs. The dilemma, then, is this: either the law does in truth run counter to Catholic dogma, and should therefore have been inexorably condemned twenty-two years ago instead of being connived at, or else the discovery of the tendency of the law immediately after the change in the foreign policy of the Vatican is something more than a mere coincidence; a proof that things religious are occasionally—as in the days of Urban VIII.—subordinated to things human. And the last state is worse than the first.

And thus my propositions, melancholy though they sound, remain untouched. The policy of the Pope, based as it is upon a determination to recover, *coûte que coûte*, the temporal power, cannot claim the approval of Catholics who understand the elements of the problem.

The fallibly-infallible agency called the "teaching Church," and empowered to compel the "crowd of the faithful" to mix divine revelation with avoidable human error, bids fair to create difficulties to which those of the sixteenth century were but grilles; for, let there be no mistake about it, if this latter-day institution be indeed necessary to the Church, I care not whether, *quoad esse* or *quoad bene esse*, the acknowledgment of this fact is the fateful writing upon the wall. We sincerely hope that the American Episcopacy, which has more than once served as the divine instrument to keep the ecclesiastical ship upon the right course, will take the lead in a matter fraught with such vital importance to us all. A papal counsel to all Catholic theologians to study the Bible earnestly and thoroughly in the original would, as a first step, be hailed with lively gratitude. For at present Biblical criticism is the Medusa's head, at which our theologians, unlike Perseus, refuse to look even in a mirror. One of the most convincing proofs of this abject error of the Word of God is the article of the Rev. Father Brandi, S.J., in which he does not scorn to resort to very doubtful jokes for the purpose of diverting attention from the one absorbing question. In Italy, where street preachers are comparatively common, a few years ago one of them collected a crowd at a corner and began to harangue it on mortal sin. Suddenly a sort of Punch and Judy man, with his *polichinello*, took up his place hard by, and enticed the crowd away from the preacher. The good pastor at first appealed to the piety of his hearers, but seeing that appeals were in vain, resorted to a more drastic method, and, raising his crucifix aloft, cried aloud, "Brethren, behold the true Polichinelle!" In spite of the excellent intention and the naïve Franciscan simplicity of the preacher, one cannot but feel a little shocked at the irreverence involved in the comparison. But what must not sincere Catholics feel when the spokesman of his Holiness, who does not lay claim to these redeeming traits, coldly and deliberately puts on cap and bells, and endeavours by doubtful jokes about the mediæval customs of the descendants of Cain in the regions of the moon, to turn our eyes from Christ to a Polichinelle, and to cajole us into accepting, as infallible truths, errors which, though human in their origin, are diabolical in their results.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE POLICY OF THE POPE."











